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1886

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THE GRĪHYA-SŪTRAS

RULES OF VEDIC DOMESTIC CEREMONIES

TRANSLATED BY

HERMANN OLDENBERG .

PART I

SÂṆKHÂYANA-GRĪHYA-SŪTRA

ÂSVALÂYANA-GRĪHYA-SŪTRA

PÂRASKARA-GRĪHYA-SŪTRA

KHÂDIRA-GRĪHYA-SŪTRA

Oxford

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SÂṆKHÂYANA-GR/HYA-
SÛTRA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SÂÑKHÂYANA-GRÎHYA-SÛTRA.

THE *Grîhya-sûtra* ascribed to Sâñkhâyana, which has been edited and translated into German by myself in the XVth volume of the *Indische Studien*, is based on the first of the four Vedas, the Rig-veda in the Bâshkala recension¹, and among the Brâhmana texts, on the Kaushîtaka. Its reputed author, whom we ordinarily find called by his family name, Sâñkhâyana, had the proper name *Suyagñâ*. This we may infer from the lists of Vedic teachers given in different *Grîhya* texts where they describe the *Tarpana* ceremony. Though in these lists the order of names varies very much, yet the two names *Suyagñâ* and Sâñkhâyana are constantly placed side by side, so that this fact alone would render it probable that they belonged to the same person. Thus we read in the *Sâñkhâyana-Grîhya* IV, 10 = VI, 1 :

Kaholaṃ Kaushîtakim, Mahâkaushîtakim, *Suyagñâ*m
Sâñkhâyanaṃ, Âsvalâyanam, Aitareyam, Mahaitareyam.

Here we have grouped together the two Brâhmana authors (with the fictitious doubles, the great Kaushîtaki, the great Aitareya) and the two corresponding Sûtra authors belonging to the two chief branches of the Rig-veda literature; first comes one Brâhmana author (for Kahola Kaushîtaki is one person) with the Sûtra author connected with him, then the second Sûtra author and the corresponding Brâhmana teacher.

In the *Sâmbavya-Grîhya* (*Indische Studien*, XV, 154) the corresponding passage runs thus :

Gârgya- Gautama- Sâkalya- Bâbhavya- Mândattavya

¹ See IV, 5, 9.

[sic]- Mândûkeyâh Suyagñâ- Sâmkhyâyana- Gâtukar-
nyeyâh [sic] Paimga [sic]- Sâmbavy'-Aitareyâh.

The same Grîhya still more explicitly bears witness to the name of Suyagñâ SâŒkhâyana, by adding at the end of the list from which these names are quoted the following words: Suyagñâ Sâkhâyanas [sic] *tri*[pya]tu, i. e. 'May Suyagñâ SâŒkhâyana satiate himself (with the water offering).'

In the Âsvalâyana-Grîhya III, 4, we read:

Kaholam Kaushîtakam Mahâkaushîtakam PaiŒgyam
MahâpaiŒgyam Suyagñam SâŒkhâyana Aitareyam
Mahaitareyam.

We may also quote here a Kârîkâ given by Nârâyana¹ in his great commentary on the SâŒkhâyana-Grîhya (I, 1, 10):

Atrâranipradânam yad adhvaryuh kurute kvakîti²

matam tan na Suyagñasya, mathitam so 'tra nekhhati.

It would perhaps be hazardous to claim for the author of this Kârîkâ the authority of an independent witness, for very likely he may have derived his knowledge from the lists of teachers which we have quoted before. But at all events the concordance of the three Grîhya texts furnishes a proof which, I think, cannot be set aside by another testimony which we must mention now. At the end of the Kaushîtaki-Âranyaka (Adhyâya 15) we find a Vamsa or list of the teachers by whom the knowledge contained in that Âranyaka is supposed to have been handed down. The opening words of this list run thus:

'Om! Now follows the Vamsa. Adoration to the Brahman! Adoration to the teachers! We have learnt (this text) from Gunâkhyâ SâŒkhâyana, Gunâkhyâ SâŒkhâyana from Kahola Kaushîtaki, Kahola Kaushîtaki from Uddâlaka Âruzi, &c.'

It is a very natural supposition that the author of this list intended to begin with the name of the Doctor eponymus, if we may say so, of the Sûtras of his school, and then to proceed to name the Doctor eponymus of the Brâhmanas, and after him the more ancient teachers and

¹ Manuscr. Chambers 712 (Berlin Royal Library), fol. 12 b.

² Comp. Pâraskara-Grîhya I, 2, 5: arâranipradânam eke.

sages. But whether the author of this passage really supposed this *Guṇākhyā Sāṅkhāyana* to be the author of the *Sāṅkhāyana-sūtras*, or not, we shall be justified in following rather the unanimous statements of the texts previously quoted, and in accepting in accordance with them, as the full name of our *Sūtrakāra*, the name *Suyagñā Sāṅkhāyana*.

The *Gr̥hya-sūtra* which has been here translated presupposes, as all *Gr̥hya-sūtras* do, the existence of the *Srauta-sūtra*, with which it is intimately connected and which is referred to in the *Gr̥hya* in several instances¹.

Here the question arises whether the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* was composed by the same author to whom the authorship of the *Srauta-sūtra* belongs, so that the two texts form together, and would, in the conception of their author, be intended to form, one great body of *Sūtras*, or, on the other hand, whether the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* is a later addition to the *Srauta-sūtra*. On this question I have ventured, in the preface to my German edition of *Sāṅkhāyana*², to offer a few remarks which, however, I feel bound to say do not seem to myself quite decisive. I there pointed out that the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* contains a few aphorisms which we should rather expect would have found their place in the *Srauta-sūtra*, if the two texts were composed by the same author and on a common plan³. But, apart from the possibility that in a work of such considerable extent as that collection of *Sūtras* would be, such trifling incongruences or irregularities might very easily escape the attention even of a very careful author, there is still another objection that may be urged against the inference drawn by me from such passages. It can be shown⁴ that the *Gr̥hya* texts which we possess are based to some extent on one common original, from which they have taken verbatim, or nearly verbatim, a certain number of aphorisms. Thus if we were to suppose that *Sāṅkhāyana*,

¹ See, for instance, *Gr̥hya* I, 16, 1 (*Srauta* IV, 16, 2).

² *Indische Studien*, vol. xv, pp. 11, 12.

³ The *Sūtras* with reference to which I made that observation are I, 8, 14; 14, 13-15; II, 15, 10. Comp. *Srauta-sūtra* II, 7, 12; IV, 21.

⁴ I intend to give some proofs of this in the General Introduction to the *Gr̥hya-sūtras* which will be given in the second volume of these translations.

or whosoever the author of this *Grîhya-sûtra* may have been, found the aphorisms on which I once based my argument, in that original text, this would explain the occurrence of those passages in a portion of the great body of *Sûtras* different from that in which we should expect to meet them. Now several of the passages in question recur identically in other *Grîhya* texts, so that we may infer indeed that they are taken from that lost original, and we have no means to judge whether the other similar passages are not taken from it also. I believe, therefore, that the opinion which I once pronounced regarding the relation in which the two *Sûtra* texts stand to each other, cannot be vindicated, and that it is better to leave that question unanswered until perhaps further discoveries throw a new light on it.

For the reconstruction of the correct text of the *Sâṅkhâ-yana-Grîhya*, and occasionally also for its interpretation, it is of considerable importance that we possess, besides the *Devanâgarî* MSS. of the text and of the commentaries, a South Indian MS. written in the *Grantha* character (MS. Whish 78 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London) which contains a *Grîhya* based on that of *Sâṅkhâ-yana* and following it, during the greater part of the work, nearly word for word¹. It is designated in the MS., at the end of the single *Adhyâyas*, as '*Kaushîtaka-Grîhya*.' It therefore professes to follow the teaching of the same *Brâhmana* which is adhered to also by the *Sûtra* school of *Sâṅkhâ-yana*. A metrical commentary, which in the MS. follows after the text, names in its opening *Sloka* a teacher *Sâmbavya* as the author of this *Sûtra*. The *Sloka* runs thus:

Natvâ Kaushîtakâkâryam Sâmbavyam sûtakṛittamam
grîhyam tadiyah samkshipya vyâkhyâsyebahuvismṛitam.

(‘Having bowed to the most excellent author of *Sûtras*, to *Sâmbavya*, the *Âkârya* belonging to the *Kaushîtaka* school, I shall compose a short commentary on his *Grîhya*, which has been forgotten by many.’)

The name of this *Sâmbavya* does not occur among the

¹ Comp. the statements given with regard to that text in my German edition of *Sâṅkhâ-yana*, *Indische Studien*, XV, 4 seq.

teachers enumerated in the description of the Tarpana ceremony, neither in *Sāṅkhāyana* IV, 10, nor in *Āsvalāyana* III, 4; but in the list of the *Sāmbavya-Gṛihya* itself it is found (see above, p. 4); and besides it seems to me also to be mentioned in *Āsvalāyana-Gṛihya* IV, 8, 24, in which passage it will scarcely be considered too bold to conjecture *Sāmbavya* instead of *Sāṃvatya*.

Though the MS. of the *Sāmbavya-Gṛihya* is very confused, and full of blunders of all sorts, yet it deserves to be attentively studied by all scholars who are accustomed to look, if not in theory yet in practice, on the agreement of a few Vedic text MSS., or of a few Indian commentaries, as if it had a claim to an unassailable authority to which European Orientalists would have no right to deny their faith. In the *Sāṅkhāyana-Gṛihya* a number of passages are found in which corrupt readings or perverse explanations are supported by all the *Sāṅkhāyana* MSS. and by all the *Sāṅkhāyana* commentaries, and if, by a rare and fortunate chance, the *Sāmbavya Grantha* MS., which is unaffected by the blunders of the *Devanāgarī* MSS., had not been discovered in the south of the peninsula, these readings and explanations would seem to rest on the unanimous agreement of tradition. Perhaps it seems unnecessary to dwell on this point, for very few Orientalists, if any, would be prepared to assert that Indian tradition is infallible. But when looking over many of the editions and translations of the Vedic texts, even such as have been published in the last years, one finds plentiful occasion to observe that in hundreds of passages tradition has been practically treated, by scholars of very high merit, as if it had an authority not very far removed from infallibility. A case like that of which we have to speak here, in which a whole set of MSS., and occasionally also of commentaries, can be tested by a MS. of a nearly related text, written in a different character and in a distant part of India, will strengthen our belief that we are right in judging for ourselves, even if that judgment should oppose itself to such authorities as *Nārāyaṇa* or *Rāmaṇḍra* or *Gayarāma*.

Perhaps it will not be out of place to add here, as an

illustration of these remarks, a few observations on one of the passages in which the rejection of the traditional Sâṅkhâya reading, together with the traditional Sâṅkhâya explanation, is confirmed by the Sâmbavya MS., though no doubt, even without the aid of that MS., we ought to have formed the right conclusions for ourselves. At Sâṅkhâya II, 4, 1. 2 the traditional reading is :

Mama vrate hridayam te dadhâmi mama kittam anu kittam te astu | mama vâkam ekamanâ gushasva Brîhaspatish tvâ niyunaktu mahyam iti | kâmasya brahma-karyasyâsâv iti.

Sâṅkhâya is treating here of the Upanayana, or the initiation of the student who is received by a teacher and intends to study the Veda with him. The teacher on that occasion is to pronounce the Mantra which we have just transcribed, and which translated into English would run thus :

‘Under my will I take thy heart ; after my mind shall thy mind follow ; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart ; may Brîhaspati join thee to me.’ ‘Of the Brahma-karya of Kâma (or lust), N. N.1’

The MSS. give the end of the passage as we have printed it above, kâmasya brahma-karyasyâsâv iti. This Nârâyana explains in the following way. Brahma-karya here means the observances which the student has to keep through certain periods of time before the different texts which he has to learn can be taught him. First comes the Sâvitri verse, for which he prepares himself by observing the sâvitra vrata ; this lasts either one year, or three days, or the Sâvitri can also be taught him immediately (see chap. 5, 1-3). Then follows the sukriya vrata, of three days, or twelve days, or one year, or any other period of time according to the teacher’s pleasure (chap. 11, 10) ; by this vrata the student is enabled to study the main portion of the Veda. Finally come the sâkvara, vrâtika, aupanishada observances, each of which has to last one year, and which refer to the different parts of the Âranyaka (see chap. 11, 11 seq., and the sixth book). Now the formula of which we treat here refers principally to the sâvitra

vrata. The teacher announces to the student how long he has to keep that vrata. He says (Sûtra 1), 'May *Brihaspati* join thee to me (Sûtra 2) for a *brahma-kârya* (i. e. a vrata) of such and such (*kâmasya*) a time (one year, three days, &c.), N. N. 1' *Kâma* (the pleasure) would thus stand here as an expletive which was to be replaced in each single case by the indication of the real space of time that depended on the teacher's pleasure ('... *niyunaktu mahyam sâmvatsarikasya trairâtrikasya vânvakshikasya vâ sâvitrasya brahma-kâryasyâmukâmukasarmann iti vâkyasamyogo gñeyak'*). The same should take place at the corresponding forms of Upanayana which had to precede the entrance of the student upon the *sukriya*, *sâkvara*, &c. observances. This is the explanation of *Nârâyana*, with which *Râma-kandra* and all the other commentaries agree. It will scarcely be necessary to observe that the singular use of *kâma*, on which this traditional explanation rests, is neither in accordance with the meaning of the word, nor supported by any parallel texts. So, even before I had the opportunity of collating the *Sâmbavya* MS., I had no doubt that the system of the *Vratas* has nothing at all to do with our Sûtra, and that its text should be made intelligible by a slight alteration touching only the quantity of the *a* in two syllables, by writing, *Kâmasya brahma-kâryasya asâv iti* (thou art the *Brahma-kârin* of *Kâma*, N. N. 1), as we read in *Āsvalâyana* I, 20, 8, *kasya brahma-kâryasi, prânasya brahma-kâryasi*. Afterwards I found that the *Grantha* MS. of *Sâmbavya* gives the very reading which I had conjectured.

Passages like this are not very rare in the *Grîhya-sûtras*. In the other Sûtras we are not in the same favourable position of possessing a MS. which enables us, as the *Grantha* MS. of *Sâmbavya* does, to test their text.

We cannot conclude these introductory remarks without speaking of the later additions tacked on at the end of the original body of the *Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya-sûtras*¹. There are unmistakable indications that the fifth and sixth books are later additions. The fifth book is

¹ Comp. the remarks in my German edition of *Sâṅkhâya*, Ind. Studien, XV, 7.

designated as a *parisishṭa* in a *Kārikā* quoted by *Nārāyaṇa*:

parisishṭād āvasathye pārvaṇātikrame karuḥ
*Vaisvānarāyāgnaye kṛāgnaye*¹ *tantumatē tathā.*

(‘According to the *Parisishṭa*, if one of the half-monthly sacrifices has been omitted, a mess of rice should be offered on the sacred domestic fire to Agni *Vaisvānara* and to Agni *Tantumāt*.’)

The passages of the ‘*Parisishṭa*’ here referred to are the two first aphorisms of V, 4:

‘Now if a half-monthly sacrifice has not been performed, one or the other of them, then a mess of rice (is to be offered)—

‘With (the words), “To Agni *Vaisvānara* *svāhā*! To Agni *Tantumāt* *svāhā*!”’

There are, besides, several passages in which *Nārāyaṇa* himself mentions the fifth book under the designation of *Parisheshādhyāya*². And even if we had not the authority of the *Kārikā* and of *Nārāyaṇa*, the contents alone of the fifth book would raise our suspicion against its genuineness. The matter ordinarily treated of in the *Grīhya* texts is brought to an end in *Adhyāyas* I–IV; in the fifth book we find diverse supplementary additions on points discussed before; rules, which no doubt would have been given at their proper place, had the fifth book been composed at the same time, and by the same author, as the preceding books³. Besides, we find different *prāyaskitta* oblations treated of, and a description of two ceremonies which are mentioned, as far as I know, in no other *Grīhya-sūtra*, but belong to the rites frequently described in such works as *Purāṇas*, *Parisishṭas*, and later *Dharma* texts: the consecration of ponds or wells (chap. 2), and the consecration of gardens (chap. 3).

There can thus be little doubt as to the secondary character of the fifth book. And this alone suffices to

¹ *vāgnaye* the MS.

² *Nārāyaṇa* on I, 9, 3; 10, 2.

³ The *Paddhati* inserts the paraphrase of several of these rules into the explanation of the first *Adhyāya*.

furnish an important argument in favour of the same view with regard to the sixth book also. This view is furthermore supported by the opening invocation in that book, addressed to Brahman and to a number of mythological beings and Vedic sages and teachers. It is evident that by such an invocation this book is characterised as a separate treatise, presupposing of course the main body of the Sāṅkhâya-sûtras, but not forming part of it in the same sense in which, for instance, the second or the third Adhyâya does. The object of that treatise is the exposition of the ritual connected with the study of the Rahasya texts. The sixth book, composed no doubt by a later adherent of the Sāṅkhâya school, returns, in fact, to, and enlarges on, matters that have already found their proper place in the original *Gṛhya-sûtra* at II, 12, and partly also at IV, 7.

SÂÑKHÂYANA-GR/HYA-SÛTRA.

ADHYÂYA I, KHANDA 1.

1. Now henceforth we shall declare the Pākayagñas.

2. When (a pupil) is going to return (from his teacher), let him keep that fire (as his domestic fire) on which he has put the last piece of wood (as required by the regulations for a student),

3. Or (he should keep) his nuptial fire.

1, 1. The ceremonies to be treated of are defined here as the Pākayagñas (i.e. oblations of cooked offerings) just as in the opening sentence of the Pāraskara-Gr̥hya they are called gr̥hyasthâlpākās. This is indeed the most characteristic form of offerings belonging to the domain of the Gr̥hya ritual, though it would not be correct to state that the Gr̥hya-sûtras treat exclusively of sacrificial ceremonies of this kind.

2. As to the duty of the Vedic student of putting every day a piece of wood on the sacred fire of his teacher, see below, II, 6, 8, and compare the Gr̥hya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa II, 58. According to a Kārikā given by Nārāyaṇa, and the Karmaṇpradīpa (I, 6, 13), the prescription of this Sûtra regarding the time for the kindling of the sacred fire refers exclusively to the case of vâgdâna (betrothal). Comp. also Dr. Bloomfield's note on the Gr̥hya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa I, 76 (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XXXV, 560). In the Kārikā it is stated that if the betrothed girl dies after the fire has been kindled, but before the marriage, the sacrificer is not to forsake his fire, but to marry another girl; if he cannot find a bride, he should make the fire enter into himself according to the rules given by Sâṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya V, 1, and himself become uttarâśramin, i.e. enter one of the two final Âśramas.

4. Some declare (that the domestic fire should be kindled) at the time of the division of the inheritance.

5. Or that after the death of the householder the eldest one himself (should kindle it).

6. (It should be kindled) on the day of the new moon of the month of Vaisâkha or on another (new moon day).

7. Some say (that the fire should be kindled) according to the (sacrificer's) wishes under the (corresponding) constellation.

8. He should light his fire at one of the following places, viz. in the house of a Vaisya who is rich in

5. Nârâyana: 'If the fire has not been kindled at the time stated above, then, after the householder . . . i. e. the father, even if he should not have performed the âdhâna, or the elder brother has died, the eldest son (or the son who after his elder brother's death has become the eldest), after he has performed the Sapinâkaraṇa (for the dead father or brother; see below, IV, 3, and the ninth chapter of the Parishîṭa [book V]), even if he has not divided the inheritance with his younger brothers (so that the time stated in the fourth Sûtra would not have arrived), should kindle the fire himself, i. e. without an officiating priest (ṛtvig). . . . Or the Sûtra should be divided into two; prete vâ grihapatau (or after the death of the householder), and svayam gyâyân (the eminent one himself), i. e. of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas a gyâyân, which means a most eminent person, a Brâhmana, performs the Pâkayagñas himself; for the two other castes the Pâkayagñas have to be performed through an officiating priest: this is the meaning of this svayam (himself).' I have given this note of Nârâyana as a specimen of the entirely arbitrary and obviously misleading explanations which are unfortunately so frequently found in this author, as indeed in most of the other Sûtra commentators. As to the true meaning of this svayam I still adhere to the explanation which I proposed in my German edition of the text (p. 118), that in case no division of the inheritance takes place, the sacred fire should be kindled on behalf of all the joint-proprietors, but that only the eldest brother should act personally (svayam).

8. Or, 'at (the fire of) a person rich in cattle, in the house of a Vaisya,' &c.? The commentators (see p. 118 of the German

cattle, at a frying-pan, or (at the fire of) one who offers many sacrifices.

9. Some say that (the fire should be fetched from one of the above-mentioned places) in the evening and in the morning.

10. The inauguration (of the fire) by an evening offering should be learnt from the Adhvaryus, according to (my) teacher.

11. In the morning he shall offer a full oblation with a verse sacred to Vishnu, or silently.

12. The time for setting it (i.e. the domestic fire) in a blaze and for sacrificing on it has been explained by (the rules given with regard to) the Agnihotra.

edition) differ as to whether in puruṣa-vi-kula one or two alternatives are contained, and it is interesting to see that the Sûtra authors themselves differed in this respect ; Pâraskara (I, 2, 3), when declaring from what place the fire should be fetched, speaks of the house of a Vaisya rich in cattle ; Âśvalâyana, on the contrary, who in the Grîhya-sûtra does not expressly treat of the kindling of the domestic fire, in the corresponding passage of the Srauta-sûtra (II, 2, 1), gives the rule that the dakṣiṇâgni is to be fetched 'from the house of a Vaisya or from a rich person.'

9-11. I now differ from the opinion which I pronounced in my German edition with regard to the relation in which these three Sûtras stand to each other. I think they ought to be understood thus: 9. Some teachers say that the fetching of the fire from its yoni, as taught in Sûtra 8, ought to be done twice ; in the evening, so that the fire, after the necessary rites have been performed, goes out, and then again in the morning. 10. But my (the author's) teacher (comp. as to âkâryâh, Kâtyâyana's Srauta-sûtra I, 3, 7 ; Professor Garbe's note on Vaitâna-sûtra 1, 3) is of opinion that the fire should be fetched only once, and that with this fire the ceremonies which are taught by the Adhvaryus are to be performed in the evening (see, for instance, Kâty. IV, 7. 8, which passage is paraphrased here by Nârâyana). 11. In the morning (according to the same teacher, not, as I once understood this passage, according to the eke referred to in Sûtra 9), a full oblation is to be offered, &c.

12. Srauta-sûtra II, 6, 2 seq.

13. And 'invested with the sacrificial cord,' &c., all these rules, as far as they are applicable, should be applied (here also) in consequence of the unity of the ritual.

14. With regard to this they quote also (the following Sloka):

15. 'The kinds of Pākayagñas, the kinds of Haviryagñas, and again the kinds of Soma sacrifices,
'Twenty-one by number, these are proclaimed to be the kinds of sacrifice.'

KHANDA 2.

1. At the end of the sacrificial acts (follows) the distribution of food to Brāhmanas.

2. Voice, (pleasantness of) form, age, learning, moral character, (right) conduct are the qualities (required in the Brāhmanas who are to be invited thereto).

13. Srauta-sūtra I, 1, 6. 7: yagñopavītī devakarmāṇi karoti, prāñināvītī pitryāni, &c. The unity of the ritual of course means the unity of the two great domains of the Srauta and Gr̥hya ritual.

15. With regard to the twenty-one kinds of sacrifice compare, for instance, Gautama VIII, 18-20; Max Müller, Z.D.M.G. IX, p. lxxiii; Weber, Indische Studien, X, 326. The seven kinds of Pākayagñas are the Ashvakâ sacrifices (see below, III, 12 seq.), the sacrifices offered at each Parvan (I, 3), the Srāddha (or funeral) sacrifices (IV, 1 seq.), the sacrifice of the Srāvaṇī full moon (IV, 15), of the Âgrahāyaṇī (IV, 17 seq.), of the Kairī (IV, 19), and of the Âsvayugī (IV, 16). The seven Havis sacrifices (belonging, as is the case also with the third division of sacrifices, to the Srauta ritual) are the Agnyādheya, the Agnihotra, the sacrifices of the full and new moon, the Âgrayana, the three Kâturmāsya sacrifices, the Nirûdhasubandha, and the Sautrāmaṇī. The seven kinds of Soma sacrifices (of which the more ancient texts mention only three or four samsthās, see Weber, Indische Studien, IX, 120) are the Agnishōma, the Atyagnishōma, the Ukthya, the Shodasin, the Atirātra, the Aptoryāma.

3. Learning, however, outweighs every (other qualification).

4. A learned one should not be passed over.

5. 'The threefold (knowledge, viz. that) which refers to the deities, that which refers to the Ātman, and that which refers to sacrifice,

'(Handed down) in the Mantras and in the Brāhmaṇa : this is called learning.

6. 'A performer of the sacred rights, a man who has studied (the Veda), who is old in learning and devoted to austerities :

'He who gives food (even) once to such (a Brāhmaṇa), hunger will not befall that man any more.

7. 'Whatsoever deity he may wish to satiate at any sacrifice,

'Destining it to that (deity) in his mind, he shall give (the food) to a person like that.

8. 'An oblation deposited in a person like that will never miss its way to the deity ;

'Treasure of men, vessel of gods (in which they receive what is given to them) he is called.'

KHANDA 3.

1. Now (follow) the ceremonies of the days of the new and full moon.

He fasts.

2. In the morning, when the sun shines on the

3, 1. Most probably this rule should be divided into two Sūtras, so that *atha darsapūrṇamāsau* would stand as the heading of the chapter; comp. below, chap. 18, 1, *atha śaturthīkarma*; chap. 24, 1, *atha gātakarma*, &c.

2. 'If this is expressly stated, the oblation is to be made in night-time ; for instance, at the Vāstoshpatiya ceremony it is stated, "The tenth oblation of the Sthālipāka, to Agni Svishṭakṛt at night" (see below, III, 4, 8).' Nārāyaṇa.

top of the great trees, that is the most auspicious time for all kinds of sacrifices, unless there be a special rule.

3. With a genial mind, clean, on a pure, protected spot, having cooked a full, thin mess of rice, he offers that cooked oblation to the deities of the festivals of the new and full moon, distributing it in the due way.

4. In the oblations of cooked food the acts of taking (the intended oblation), of putting it down (near the fire), and of sprinkling it (with water) are performed with regard to the deities of the (respective) Mantras.

3. On *vighana*, which I have translated thin, see the note in the German edition, pp. 119 seq.

The deities of the festivals of the new and full moon (i. e. of the rites which in the *Srauta* ritual correspond to that taught here) are, at the full moon, Agni and Agnîshomau, at the new moon, Agni, Vishnu, and Indrâgnî, who are preceded in both cases by Agni and Soma as the deities of the two âgyabhâgas (see below, ch. 9, 7), and followed by Agni Svishakrit. For more detailed statements see Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer* (Jena, 1879), pp. 102 seq.

4. For instance, the taking of the portion of food destined to Agni should be performed with the Mantra: *Agnaye tvâ gush-tam grîhnâmi*, &c. A number of ceremonies common to the *Sthâlipâka* ritual and to the ordinary ritual of Âgya oblations, such as the strewing of Kusa grass round the fire, the ceremonies regarding the Pavitras (strainers), &c., have to be supplied here from the Âgya ritual given below (ch. 7 seq.); this may be looked upon as an argument in favour of our conjecture which will be stated in the preface (vol. ii of the *Grihya-sûtras*), that our text, as probably is the case also with the *Pâraskara-sûtra*, is based on an original, the opening sentences of which are preserved to us in *Sânkh. I. 5, 1-5*=*Pâraskara I. 4, 1-5*, so that the first chapters of *Sânkhâ-yana*, and among them the exposition of the festivals of the full and new moon, would have been prefixed to the original commencement of the text.

5. And the rules about the portions to be cut off (from the sacrificial food, are valid).

6. But before the sacrifices of the new and full moon one should make offerings to the deities of the Anvârambhantya ceremony.

7. The time for the new moon sacrifice is not elapsed until the full moon, nor that for the full moon sacrifice until the new moon.

8. And some say that the morning oblation may be made at the time of the evening oblation, in the case of danger.

9. But the time is fixed, as at the Agnihotra an expiation has been prescribed for him who has neglected the time.

10. At the two daily oblations one should use as sacrificial food either rice or barley or grains.

11. In case these are not at hand, other (sorts of sacrificial food are) not prohibited.

12. Some say that if he uses grains, he should wash them.

13. With the other (kinds of food) no such preparation takes place.

5. On the avadânadharmâs comp. Weber, Indische Studien, X, 95; Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, pp. 122 seqq.

6. The Anvârambhantya-îsh/i is the sacrifice taught in the Srauta texts which is to be performed before the sacrificer for the first time offers the Darsapûrnamâsa sacrifice. See Weber, Indische Studien, X, 330; Hillebrandt, loc. cit., p. 185. The deities of this ceremony are Agnîvishṇu, Sarasvatî, and Sarasvat.

7. Comp. the expiatory sacrifice prescribed in the Parishatâ book, V, 4.

8. The text here passes over from the two monthly sacrifices to the two daily ones, which correspond to the Agnihotra of the Srauta ritual.

14. In the evening (he makes the oblation) to Agni, in the morning to Sûrya,
 15. And after both silently to Pragâpati.
 16. Some (say that) before the first oblation a piece of wood (is to be put on the fire).
 17. The sprinkling with water as indicated (in the Srauta-sûtra).

KHANDA 4.

1. When he has risen in the morning and has sipped water, let him daily repeat his recital.
 2. (This consists of, or is accompanied by, the following texts :) the two verses, 'To-day, god Savitar' (Rig-veda V, 82, 4-5); the hymn, 'Go away, Manasaspati' (X, 164); the hymn, 'Right and truth' (X, 190); the verses, 'Look down, ye Âdityas,' to the end of the hymn (VIII, 47, 11-18);

14, 15. These are the same deities who are worshipped also at the Agnihotra.

17. Srauta-sûtra II, 6, 9-11. Comp. p. 120 of the German edition.

4, 1. The Paddhati of Râmakandra understands svâdhyâyam adhîyâta as a prescription to perform the daily Brahmayagñâ (comp., for instance, Âsvalâyana-Gṛhya III, 2; Âpastamba I, 11, 22 seq.), which consists in the recitation of portions of the Veda; the hymns and verses stated in Sûtra 2 are, according to the same authority, to be repeated immediately after the recitation of the svâdhyâya ('svâdhyâyânantaram'). Nârâyana, on the contrary, considers that the svâdhyâya prescribed in Sûtra 1 consists of those very hymns and verses which are indicated in the second Sûtra. As to the Brahmayagñâ, he says that the ka at the end of the second Sûtra may be referred to it ('the word ka means that texts procuring a long life, such as Rig-veda I, 89, should be murmured, or an injunction of the Brahmayagñâ is intended'). At all events it is very difficult to believe that the recitation of the texts stated in this chapter should be quite independent from the daily Brahmayagñâ. About the performance of the Brahmayagñâ in our days comp. the note of Professor Bühler, Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. 43.

the verse, 'O Indra, the best treasures' (II, 21, 6); the verse, 'The swan dwelling in purity' (IV, 40, 5); the verse, 'Adoration to the great ones' (I, 27, 13); the verse, 'What we fear, Indra' (VIII, 50, 13); the verse, 'And of the sleep' (I, 120, 12); the verse, 'He who says to me, O king' (II, 28, 10); the hymn, 'Let glory be mine, Agni' (X, 128); and the five verses, 'Bliss may create for us' (V, 51, 11 seq.).

KHANDA 5.

1. There are four kinds of Pākayaḡñas, viz. the HUTA, the AHUTA, the PRAHUTA, and the PRÂSITA.

2. On the following five occasions, viz. the wedding, the tonsure (of the child's head), the initiation (of the Brahmaḡarin), the cutting of the beard, and the parting of the hair, (on these occasions) in the outer hall—

3. To a place that has been smeared (with cow-dung), which is elevated, and which has been sprinkled (with water), he carries forward the fire,

4. Having kindled it by rubbing, according to some teachers, at his marriage.

5. During the northern course of the sun, in the

5, 1. This Sûtra and the following ones down to the fifth are identical with Pâraskara I, 4, 1-5; it seems to me that we have here before us the opening Sûtras of a lost text from which this passage has been copied both by Sâñkhâyana and Pâraskara. Comp. the preface of the second volume of the Grîhya-sûtras.

With regard to the fourfold division of Pākayaḡñas stated here comp. below, chap. 10, 7.

2. Comp. the Kârikâ quoted by Nârâyana, 'vivâhâdishu bâhyo 'gnir mandape ka tad ishyata iti.'

3. On the Agni-praṇayana comp. the details given in the Grîhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. xxxv), I, 64-69.

time of the increasing moon, on an auspicious day he shall seize the hand of a girl,

6. Who should possess (the auspicious) characteristics (required),

7. Whose limbs should be proportionate,

8. Whose hair should be smooth,

9. Who should also have at her neck two curls turned to the right.

10. (Of such a girl) he shall know that she will give birth to six men.

KHANDA 6.

1. If he will acquire a wife, let him recite over the wooers (whom he sends to the girl's father) when they go away, the verse, 'Thornless' (Rig-veda X, 85, 23).

2. When they arrive, they take flowers, fruits, barley, and a pot of water.

3. They say thrice, 'Here I am, sir!'

4. When these words have been uttered, they ask the girl in marriage, reciting the clan names, the dwellers turning their faces to the east, the visitors to the west.

5. When the matter pleases both sides, let them touch a full vessel into which have been put flowers,

9. On âvartau comp. the note in the German edition, p. 121.

6, 1. 'The wooers, i. e. his own father, &c.' Nârâyana.

3. 'When the father of the suitor and the others, together with their Âkârya, have arrived at the house of him who is to give away the girl, they station themselves in the hall, and the father of the suitor says thrice, "Here am I, N. N. (amukasarman), Sir!"—in these words he announces himself three times For at the house of the person who gives the girl away, there arrive also, in order to see the festivities, many other people. In order to distinguish himself from these, he pronounces his name.' Nârâyana.

fried grain, fruits, barley, and gold, and let them recite (the formula), 'Undisturbed art thou, the undisturbable vigour of the gods, not cursed, protecting against a curse, unexposed to a curse. Might I straightway attain to truth. Put me into prosperity.'

6. With the verse, 'Offspring may produce us' (Rig-veda X, 85, 43), the Âtârya of the girl's (family), standing up, places (the vessel) on her head (saying), 'Offspring I put into thee, cattle I put into thee, splendour and holy lustre I put into thee.'

KHANDA 7.

1. When assent has been declared (by the girl's father, the bridegroom) sacrifices.

2. He besmears a quadrangular space with cow-dung.

3. (Let him consider in the ceremonies to be performed,) of the two eastern intermediate directions, the southern one as that to which (the rites) should be directed, if the rites belong to the Manes,

6. The position of the words as well as the sense favours combining the genitive kanyâyâh with âkâryah, not with mûrdhani, though Râmakandra says that the varapakshâkârya is to be understood.

7, 1 seq. Here follows a description of the sacrifice which is to be performed when the girl's father has declared his assent (pratisrute) to give her away in marriage: this is the general model for all Grîhya sacrifices.—'Varo guhoti,' Nârâyana.

3. 'He here states an exception to the rule, "The ceremonies sacred to the Manes are directed towards the south" (Srauta-sûtra I, 1, 14) He should consider the south-eastern direction, sacred to Agni, as that to which the ceremonies are to be directed (prâkîm pûrvâm kalpayet) which are sacred to the Manes, such as

4. The northern one, if the rites belong to the gods,

5. Or rather the east (itself) according to some (teachers).

6. He draws in the middle (of the sacrificial ground) a line from south to north,

7. Upwards from this, turned upwards, to the south one line, in the middle one, to the north one.

8. These he sprinkles (with water),

9. Carries forward the fire with the verse, 'I carry forward Agni with genial mind; may he be the assembler of goods. Do no harm to us, to the old nor to the young; be a saviour to us, to men and animals,'

10. Or (he carries it forward) silently,

11. Then he wipes with his wet hand three times around the fire, turning his right side to it. This they call SAMŪHANA (sweeping together).

prescribed in the Sûtra, "Let him make oblations every month to the Fathers" (IV, 1, 1) He states an exception to the rule, "The ceremonies sacred to the gods are directed towards the east" (Sraut. I, 1, 13) The northern of the two eastern intermediate directions, sacred to Îrâna, should be considered as that to which the ceremonies sacred to the gods, such as oblations, &c., are to be directed.'—Comp. Âsvalâyana-Sraut. I, 12, 4.

6-7. See the quotations from Râmakandra's and Nârâyana's commentaries, p. 123 of the German edition. An illustration of the form of the *sthândila* with the lines drawn thereon is given by Dr. Bloomfield in his note on the *Grîhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa* I, 52 seq.; instead of the three lines, however, which are here prescribed in Sûtra 7, there are four indicated in accordance with the doctrine of that *Parīśiṣṭa* and of Gobhila himself, which are stated to be sacred to *Prithivî*, *Pragâpati*, *Indra*, and *Soma*, while the line turned from south to north is sacred to *Agni*.

9. On the *Agniprayana* (carrying forward of the fire) see the *Grîhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa* I, 64-69.

12. Once, turning his left side to it, in the rites belonging to the Manes.

KHANDA 8.

1. Now (follows) the strewing (of grass) around (the fire).

2. He strews eastward-pointed Kusa grass around it, in three layers or in five layers,

3. Beginning on the east side, then to the west, then to the west.

4. He covers the roots (of the grass-blades) with the points.

5. And all kinds of rites are to be performed beginning south, ending north.

6. He places the Brahman south with the words, BHŪR BHUVAH SVAH,

7. Adorns him with flowers,

8. Carries forward on the north side the Prāṇtā waters with the words, 'Who carries ye forward?'—

9. Takes up with the left hand the Kusa blades, and arranges them (on the ground) with the right hand,

8, 1. Comp. the passages quoted in Professor Eggeling's note on Satapatha Br. I, 1, 1, 22.

6. Ordinarily there was no real Brahman present, and his place was filled by a bundle of Kusa grass that represented him. Nārāyana states that this bundle should consist of fifty blades of Kusa grass. Comp. also the *Grhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa* I, 89-90.

8. Comp. the passages quoted by Dr. Bloomfield, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxv, p. 565, note 2.

9. This Sūtra shows that the *paristarana*, though already treated of in Sūtras 1-4, is not to be performed till after the 'carrying forward' of the Prāṇtā water. Comp. Nārāyana's note on Sūtra 1 (p. 123 of the German edition). That this is indeed the order of the different acts is confirmed by Pāraskara I, 1, 2.

10. Bending his right knee,
11. The left when worshipping the Manes.
12. The strewing around (of the grass) is not necessary in the Āgya offerings,
13. Nor in the standing offerings, according to Māndūkeya.
14. He now measures off with the span (of his hand) two Kusa blades, which are not unequal, with unbroken points, bearing no young shoots in them, and severs them (from their roots) with a Kusa blade, saying, 'Purifiers are ye.'
15. There are two or three (of these Kusa strainers).
16. He holds them with their points to the east and sprinkles them (with water, saying), 'Belonging to Vishnu.'
17. With the two Kusa blades he sprinkles (water) around the fire three times, keeping his right side turned towards it,
18. Takes up the Āgya pot with the words, 'Milk of the cows art thou;'
19. Puts it on the fire with the words, 'For sap thee;'
20. Takes it from the fire towards the north with the words, 'For juice thee;'
21. And holding the two (Kusa) strainers with their points to the north, seizing them on both sides

13. 'In the standing offerings, such as the Vairvadeva sacrifice in the morning and in the evening.' Nārāyaṇa.

14-16. Vāgasaneyi Samhitā I, 12 a.

18. Vāg. Samh. IV, 3 a.

19. Vāg. Samh. I, 22 d.

20. Vāg. Samh. I, 30 c.

21. Vāg. Samh. I, 12 b.—The division of Sūtras 21 and 22 should be after iti, not, as the Indian tradition has it, after rasmibhiḥ.

with his two thumbs and fourth fingers, he bends them down, the points upwards, and dips them into the Āgya with the words,

‘By the impulse of Savitar I purify thee with this uninjured purifier, with the rays of the good sun.’

22. (This) preparation of the Āgya (takes place) each time.

23. Let him not offer (Āgya) which has not been (thus) prepared.

24. Also the waters in the Sruva spoon (he purifies) with the words, ‘(By the impulse) of Savitar (I purify) you.’

25. This (is called) the PRANĪTĀ and the PROKSHANĪ water.

KHANDA 9.

1. The Sruva spoon (serves as) a vessel.

2. According to the purpose the properties (of the different things to be used at each oblation) should be chosen.

3. Taking up Kusa blades with the left, and the

24, 25. Rāmakaṇḍa: ‘He pours water into the Sruva and purifies this also, as he had done with the Āgya (Sūtra 21) He then pours a little portion of that water on to the Pranīta water (see above, Sūtra 8), and with the rest, which is called the Prokshani water, he sprinkles the sacrificial food, the fuel, and the Barhis.’

9, 1. ‘When no special rule is stated, the Sruva is to be understood as the vessel (for the offering). Thereby the rule, “The Guhū is the vessel” (Srauta-sūtra III, 19, 5) is abolished (for the Grīhya rites).’ Nārāyaṇa.

3. The manner of holding the Sruva in which the Āgya is, is described by Kātyāyana, Sraut. I, 10, 6 seq., Stenzler’s note on Pāraskara I, 1, 4.

Sruva at its bottom with the right hand, with the words, 'The hand of Vishṇu art thou'—

4. He offers with the Sruva the Âgya oblations.

5. Beginning from the north-west side of the fire he offers (the Âgya) unintermittingly on the south side (of the fire) with (the verse), 'Thou Agni art full of foresight' (Rig-veda I, 31, 10).

6. Beginning from the south-west side of the fire he unintermittingly offers on the north side with (the verse), 'To whom these snowy mountains' (Rig-veda X, 121, 4).

7. To Agni belongs the northern Âgya portion, to Soma the southern.

8. In the middle (are made) the other oblations,

9. (With the words,) 'Agni is the begetter; may he give to me N. N. as my wife; svâhâ!

'Soma is rich in wives; may he make me rich in wives by N. N.; svâhâ!

'Pûshan is rich in kindred; may he make me rich in kindred by the father, the mother, the brothers of N. N.; svâhâ!'

10. At the Âgya oblations the offering of the two Âgya portions and of the Svishṭakṛit oblation is not standing,

4. As to the characteristics of Âgya (sacrificial butter), which is the substance offered at most of the Grîhya sacrifices, comp. the statements of the Grîhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa I, 105 seq.

5. *Aviḷḷḷinnam* (unintermittingly) is explained in Nâr.'s commentary by *ekadhârayâ*.

8 seq. Here are indicated the chief oblations of this sacrifice (*anyâ âhutayaḥ pradhânabhûtâḥ*, Nâr.), or the âvâpa (the insertion, Sûtra 12) which comes between the standing introductory and concluding oblations.

10. On Svishṭakṛit, comp. Weber, Indische Studien, IX, 217.

11. Nor in the standing oblations, according to Māṇḍūkeya.

12. The place for the insertion is the interval between the Mahāvyaḥṛitis, the general expiation, and the oblation to Prāgāpati.

11. See chap. 8, 13.

12. This Sūtra prescribes where the āvāpa, i.e. the special characteristic offerings of each sacrifice, is to be inserted between the regular offerings that belong to the standing model. The same subject is treated of in the Srauta-sūtra in the two rules, I, 16, 3 and 4: 'Whatsoever is offered between the two Āgya portions and the Svishṭakṛit, that is called āvāpa; this is the chief part (pradhāna) (of the sacrifice); the other (oblations) are subordinate thereto (tadaṅgāni).' The position of the āvāpa among the other oblations is indicated by Pāraskara in the following rule (I, 5, 6): 'Between the general expiation and the oblation to Prāgāpati, this is the place for the āvāpa.' (The word vivāhe at the end of this Sūtra seems to me to belong not to this rule, but to Sūtra 7.) Our Sūtra is identical with that of Pāraskara word for word; only instead of sarvaprāyaskitta, as Pāraskara has, we read here, mahāvyaḥṛitisarvaprāyaskitta. This means, I believe, that the āvāpa, preceded and followed by the Mahāvyaḥṛiti oblations (comp. below, I, 12, 13), should be placed between the Sarvaprāyaskitta and the Prāgāpatya oblation. The oblations made with the Mahāvyaḥṛitayas are four in number; the corresponding formulas are: bhûḥ svâhâ, bhuvaḥ svâhâ, svâḥ svâhâ, bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ svâhâ (comp. below, chap. 12, 12). The Sarvaprāyaskitta (general expiation) consists of two oblations, one with the three Mahāvyaḥṛitayas, the other with the verse ayâs kâgne, quoted in the Srauta-sūtra III, 19, 3, and in Āsvalâyana's Srauta-sūtra I, 11, 13. (On the Sarvaprāyaskitta in the Srauta ritual, compare Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 166.) The Prāgāpatya oblation is performed with the formula Prāgāpataye svâhâ. The discussions of Nārāyaṇa on this Sūtra (see p. 125 of the German edition) evidently fail to bring out the true meaning of the text; according to this commentator the oblations follow each other in this order: the two Āgyabhāgas, the principal oblations (pradhānâhutayaḥ), the Svishṭakṛit, the four Mahāvyaḥṛiti oblations, the two Sarvaprāyaskitta oblations, the Prāgāpatya oblation. Finally we may mention the corrupt form in which the corresponding passage of the Sāmbavya-sūtra is pre-

13. If the oblation consists in Āgya, let him seize the Kusa blades in his left hand with his right hand at their points and with the left at their roots, and let him wet their points (with Āgya) in the Sruva, the middle and the roots in the Āgya pot;

14. In the oblations of cooked food, however, the points in the Sruṣ, the middle in the Sruva, the roots in the Āgya pot.

15. When he then has thrown them (into the fire) with the words, 'Agni's garment art thou,'

16. And has put on (the fire) three pieces of wood,

17. (Water) is sprinkled round (the fire) as stated above.

18. Oblations for which only the deities are indicated, but no texts prescribed, are to be made merely with the word SvĀHĀ, 'To such and such a deity svāhā! To such and such a deity svāhā!'

19. The ritual (here) declared of the sacrifice (to

served in the MS. There the two Sūtras 10 and 11 are placed before the Mantra in Sūtra 9. This Mantra then is given down to svāheti, then follows āgyena, which seems to me to form part of the same Sūtra, and to refer to the oblations to which the Mantra belongs. Then the MS. goes on: mahāvyaḥṛitishu sarvaprayaskittāram (sic) etad āvāpasthānam āgyahavishi vyāhritishu sarvaprayaskittāram (the syllables prayaskittāram seem to be expunged) svish/akṛito sthālīpāke. In the commentary I find the following Śloka, which I give exactly as they are read in the MS.: tistrinām vyāhritīnām ka prayaskittāhutir api yad antaram tad āpāpasthānam sarpiḥpradhānake. sthālīpāke vyāhritīnām yat tat svish/akṛitottaram āhutinām pradhānānām nānādaivataḥḥandasām yas tu kālās tad āvāpasthānam itākṛyate budhaiḥ tatas tat tam ma ārabhya prayaskittāhutiḥ kramāt.

17. See above, chap. 8, 17.

19. This Sūtra, though reckoned in the Indian tradition to

be performed) when (the father's) assent (to give away his daughter) has been declared—

KHANDA 10.

1. Forms the standard for all sacrifices that procure happiness,
2. And for all Āgrya offerings,
3. For the sacrifice of animals which are tied to a branch,
4. And for the offerings of boiled (rice) grains and of cooked food.
5. These are performed, all the offerings of cooked food, without PRAYĀGA and ANUYĀGA oblations, without (the invocation of) the ILĀ, without NIGADA recitation, and without SĀMIDHENĪ verses.
6. There are also the following Ślokas :

chap. 9, seems to me clearly to belong to the next chapter, and to contain the subject, to which the predicate is given in 10, 1. For *pratisrute*, see chap. 7, 1.

10, 1. 'As in the *Srauta* ritual the sacrifice of the full and new moon forms the standard for the *ishās*, the *parubandha*, &c., thus the *pratisrut-kalpa* is the standard for the *vikrītis* of the *Smārta* ritual, such as the *gātakarman* (chap. 24), &c.' *Nārāyana*.

3. 'It is the standard of the sacrifices prescribed in the rules, "The animal (offered) to the teacher is sacred to Agni; to an officiating priest, to *Bṛhaspati*, &c.'" *Nārāyana*. This refers to the sacrifice of animals which forms part of the *Arghya* ceremony; see II, 15, 4 seq.

4. *Karūnām pākayagñânām ka*. *Nārāyana*.

5. On the five *Prayāgas* and the three *Anuyāgas* (introductory oblations and oblations following on the principal offerings) prescribed in the *Srauta* ritual, comp. Hillebrandt's *Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, pp. 94 seq., 134 seq. On the *Ilā*, see *ibid.*, 122 seq.; on *nigada*, Weber's *Ind. Studien*, IX, 217, &c.; on the *Sāmidhenī* verses, Hillebrandt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 74 seq. On this *Sūtra* compare also the passage in *Kātyāyana's Srauta-sūtra*, VI, 10, 22 seq.

7. ' (An oblation is called) HUTA, (if made) by the performing of the Agnihotra ; AHUTA (i.e. unsacrificed, if) by the Bali offering; PRAHUTA (i.e. sacrificed up, if) by a sacrifice to the Manes; PRĀSITA (i.e. tasted, if) deposited as an offering in a Brāhmaṇa.

8. 'Without raising his knees, with spread knees let him always offer his oblation ; for the gods never accept an offering (that has been made holding the hand) not between (the knees).

9. 'But when he has repeated a text sacred to Rudra, to the Rakshas, to the Manes, to the Asuras, or that contains an imprecation, let him touch water, and so also when he has touched his own body.'

KHANDA 11.

1. Now when the bride is to be carried away (to the bridegroom's house) that night, or on the next, or on the third night,

2. On that night, when (the darkness of) night is gone, they wash the girl up to her head with (water that has been made fragrant by) all sorts of herbs and the choicest fruits together with scents ;

7. Comp. chap. 5, 1.

8. Comp. the *Grihya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa* I, 46, and the note, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XXXV, 556. Nārāyaṇa: *dakṣiṇam bāhum gānvor antare kṛitvety arthaḥ, sarvadā sarvasminn api karmani havir homadrayam guhuyāt*.

9. This verse is found also in the *Karmapradīpa* III, 8, 4.

11, 1. The ceremony described in this chapter is called *Indrāṇī-karman*. The goddess *Indrāṇī* is mentioned in *Sūtra* 4 among the deities to whom *Āgya* oblations are made.

2. *Nirākāle, nirā madhyastham praharadvayam, tasmin kāle atīte. Nārāyaṇa.*

On the *anvārambha*, comp. *Weber's Indische Studien*, IX, 224.

3. They put on her a newly-dyed garment or (a new one) which has not yet been washed ;

4. Then (the Âkârya of the bride's family) makes the girl sit down behind the fire, and while she takes hold of him he sacrifices with the Mahâvyâhṛtis, and then he makes Âgya oblations to Agni, to Soma, to Pragâpati, to Mitra, to Varuṇa, to Indra, to Indrâṇi, to the Gandharva, to Bhaga, to Pûshan, to Tvashṭar, to Br̥haspati, to the king Pratyânika.

5. After they have regaled four or eight women, who are not widows, with lumps of vegetables, Surâ, and food, these should perform a dance four times.

6. The same deities (they worship also) on behalf of the man,

7. And Vaisravana and Îsâna.

8. Then follows the distribution of food to Brâhmanas.

KHANDA 12.

1. The bridegroom, who has bathed and for whom auspicious ceremonies have been performed, is escorted by happy young women, who are not widows, to the girl's house.

2. To these he shall not behave unobsequiously, except where forbidden food or a transgression is concerned.

3. Having obtained their permission, he then gives her the garment with (the verse), 'The Raibhî was' (Rig-veda X, 85, 6).

4. The 'king Pratyânika' has given origin to a very curious misunderstanding in the *Sâmbavya-Gr̥hya* and its commentary; see p. 127 of the German edition.

4. With (the verse), 'Mind was the cushion' (ibid. 7) he takes up the salve-box.

5. The verse for the anointing is, 'May the Visve devâs anoint (or, unite),' (ibid. 47.)

6. 'As this (has protected) Sañ the beloved one, and Aditi the mother of noble sons, and Apâlâ who was free from widowhood, may it thus here protect thee, N. N.!'—with these words (the bridegroom) gives her into her right hand the quill of a porcupine (and) a string of three twisted threads,

7. With the verse, 'Shape by shape' (Rig-veda VI, 47, 18) a mirror into the left.

8. Her relations tie (to her body) a red and black, woollen or linen cord with three (amulet) gems, with the verse, 'Dark-blue and red' (Rig-veda X, 85, 28).

9. With the verse, 'Full of honey the herbs' (Rig-veda IV, 57, 3), (the bridegroom) ties (to her body) Madhûka flowers.

12, 5. On the ceremony of 'salving together' (*samañgana*), comp. Pâraskara I, 4, 14; Gobhila II, 2, &c. Professor Stenzler is certainly wrong in translating Pâraskara's *samañgayati* by 'heisst sie beide zusammentreten' (according to Gayarâma's explanation, *sammukhîkaroti*). It is clear from Sâṅkhâyana, that a real anointing of bridegroom and bride took place. This was performed, according to Gobhila, by the 'audaka' (this seems to be the same person that is mentioned in Pâraskara I, 8, 3), of whom it is said, *pânigrâham* (i. e. the bridegroom) *mûrdhadese 'vasiñkati, tathetarâm*. Nârâyana, on the contrary, in his note on our passage, says that it is the bridegroom who anoints the eyes of the girl with the verse quoted. But the word *sam-añgana*, and the obvious meaning of the whole rite, make it rather probable that both were anointed, and that this was done by a third person.

6. Comp. below, chap. 22, 8, where the use of a porcupine's quill is prescribed at the *sîmantonnayana* ceremony; and see chap. 22, 10.

10. At the wedding one cow, when the Argha ceremony has been performed; in the house one cow: these are the two Madhuparka cows.

11. (The bridegroom) makes the girl sit down behind the fire, and while she takes hold of him he makes three oblations with the Mahāvyaḥṛitis.

10. As to the meaning of arhayitvā I differ from the opinion of Nārāyaṇa (see his note on p. 127 of the German edition), who takes gām as the object of this verb (gām arhayitvā pūṅgavā mātā rudrānām ity *rikam* gapitvā [comp. Pāraskara I, 3, 27]). The real meaning of arhayati is, to perform the Argha ceremony for a guest. Evidently in this Sūtra two different occasions are stated on which the Argha reception, eventually with the killing of a cow, should be performed; firstly, the bridegroom should be so received in the house of the bride's father; secondly, when the newly-married people have arrived at their own house, an Argha reception should there be offered to them, perhaps, as the commentaries state, by the Âtârya.

11. According to Nārāyaṇa it is the Âtârya who performs the rite prescribed in this Sūtra; Rāmaṇdra, on the contrary, refers it to the bridegroom, which seems to me right. Comp. Gobhila II, 1.

In Sâṅkhāyana's description of the wedding ceremonies the point at which the bride passes over from the paternal power into that of her new husband is not expressly indicated. Pāraskara (I, 4, 15) clearly indicates it (pitṛā prattām âdâya), and in the Parisishṭa of the Âsvalāyana-Grīhya this act of handing over the girl is treated of in detail (I, 22). On this depends the description in the Prayogaratna, fol. 69; comp. also Colebrooke's Miscell. Essays, I, 210. The Paddhati of Rāmaṇdra does not fail to mention the kanyâpradâna, but I do not think that the succession of the different rites is stated there correctly. According to the Paddhati the bridegroom goes to the house of the girl's father, and there, after the madhuparka has been offered, the bride is given over to him; he then (labdhavadhûkaḥ) goes (chap. 12, 1), accompanied by young women, to the kautukâgâra, where the ceremonies described in chap. 12, 3 seq. take place. Pāraskara, on the contrary, describes the handing over of the garments, the anointing, &c., as preceding the giving over of the girl, and indeed it is scarcely possible to see in the acts of dressing, adorning the girl, &c., in which both the bridegroom and her relations

12. A fourth (oblation) with (the three Mahāvya-hṛitis) together is to be understood from this rule.

13. In this way, where no express rule is stated, in all sacrifices that procure happiness, one is to sacrifice before and afterwards with these same (Mahāvya-hṛitis).

KHANDA 13.

1. 'Be queen with thy father-in-law,' with this verse (Rig-veda X, 85, 46) her father or brother sacrifices with a sword's point on her head, or with the Sruva, standing while she is sitting, with his face turned to the west, while her face is turned to the east.

2. 'I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness' (Rig-veda X, 85, 36), with these words (the bridegroom) seizes with his right hand her right hand with the thumb, both hands being turned with the palms upwards, he standing while she is sitting, with his face turned to the west, while her face is turned to the east.

3. And when he has murmured the following five verses,

4. (He continues thus,) 'This am I, that art thou;

take part, anything but preparatory performances that precede the decisive moment. The sacrifice, on the contrary, which the bridegroom performs, according to chap. 12, 11, in common with his bride, seems to presuppose that he has already received her from her father; and the ceremonies described in chap. 13, the pānigrahaṇa, the pronouncing of the Mantra, chap. 13, 4, which reminds one of the Roman formula *ubi tu Gaius*, the seven steps—all that should be understood not as intended to establish the power of the husband over his wife, but as presupposing that power and showing an exercise of it.

13, 4. Nārāyaṇa states that here four Brāhmaṇas should repeat

that art thou, this am I ; the heaven I, the earth thou ; the *Rik* art thou, the *Sāman* I. So be thou devoted to me.

‘Well ! Let us here marry. Let us beget offspring. Let us acquire many sons who may reach old age.’

5. (The *Ākārya*) fills, with the words *bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ*, a new water-pot,

6. Throws into it (branches) with milky sap and leaves, of a tree the name of which is masculine, together with *Kusa* grass,

7. And gold, according to some (teachers),

8. And hands it over to a student who observes silence.

9. They should walk round this *Stheyâ* water, (placed) to the north-east, so that they turn their right sides towards it.

the *Sûryâ* hymn (*Rig-veda* X, 85) to the bride. That, according to *Sāṅkhāyana*, that hymn is recited at the wedding, is clear from chap. 14, 12.

6. *Sakshîrânt sapalâsânt sakusân*. *Nârāyana*’s commentary divides *sa kusân*, and refers *sa* to the *âkārya*. But this *sa* would be superfluous, and the substantive to which *sakshîrân* and *sapalâsân* are to be referred, is, as both the nature of the case and the corresponding passages show, *sâkhân* and not *kusân*. Comp. the *Srauta-sûtra* IV, 17, 5 : *palâsasâkhâm sapalâsâm nikhâya*, and a passage concerning the very rite here described, *Āsvalāyana-pariśiṣṭa* I, 24 : *audumbaryârddhayâ* (read, *ârdrayâ*?) *sâkhayâ sapalâsayâ sahiranyapavitrayâ sadûrvâpavitrayâ*. The MS. of the *Sāmbavya-sûtra* has *sakshîrân palâsân sakusân*.

9. ‘The *Stheyâ* water has to be so placed that when the bride and the bridegroom walk (their seven steps, see chap. 14, 5 seq.), their right sides are turned towards it.’ *Nârāyana*. Comp., regarding the *Stheyâ* water and its bearer, the *Grīhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa* II, 26. 30. 35.

10. And after (the Ātārya) has placed a stone towards the northern direction,

11. (The bridegroom) makes her rise with the words, 'Come, thou joyful one,'

12. And makes her tread with the tip of her right foot on the stone, with the words, 'Come, tread on the stone; like a stone be firm. Tread the foes down; overcome the enemies.'

13. He then leads her round the fire so that their right sides are turned to it,

14. And gives her a second garment with the same text (chap. 12, § 3).

15. Her father or brother pours out of a basket fried grain mixed with Samī leaves into her joined hands.

16. The spreading under, the sprinkling over, and the second sprinkling over (are done) with Āgrya.

17. She sacrifices those (fried grains).

KHANDA 14.

1. 'This woman, strewing grains, prays thus, "May I bring bliss to my relations; may my husband live long. Svāhā!"'—while the husband murmurs (this) text, she sacrifices standing.

2. (All the ceremonies,) beginning from the tread-

17. I believe that the words forming this Sūtra, tāñ guhoti, are taken from the same lost old Gr̥hya text which Sāṅkhāyana has followed word for word also in I, 5, 1-5 and elsewhere. This is made probable by the comparison of Pāraskara I, 6, 2. The author of our text, while literally adopting the words of his original, has not quite succeeded in welding them together with his own statements; thus the sacrifice of grains is treated of in this Sūtra and in the first Sūtra of the next chapter, as if there were two different acts, while indeed it is one and the same.

14, 2. The treading on the stone is prescribed in chap. 13, 12.

ing upon the stone, (are repeated) in the same way for a second time,

3. And in the same way a third time.

4. Silently, if they like, a fourth time.

5. (The Ākârya ?) makes (them) step forward in a north-eastern direction seven steps (with the words),

6. 'For sap with one step, for juice with two steps, for the prospering of wealth with three steps, for comfort with four steps, for cattle with five steps, for the seasons with six steps. Friend be with seven steps.'

7. (The Ākârya ?) 'appeases' those (foot-steps) with water.

8. With the three Āpohishthiyâ verses (Rig-veda X, 9, 1-3) he wipes (them) with the Stheyâ water,

9. And sprinkles it on their heads.

10. (The bridegroom then) says, 'I give you a cow.'

11. Let him give something to the Brâhmaṇas each time at the Sthâlpâkas and other rites;

12. To him who knows the Sûryâ hymn the bride's shift.

5, 7. According to Nârâyana it is the teacher who makes them walk the seven steps; the Paddhati says that the bridegroom or the Ākârya causes her to do so. Comp. Pâraskara I, 8, 1; Āśvalâyana I, 7, 19, &c.

8. Comp. chap. 13, 9.

9. Probably we should read mûrdhanî (acc. dual.), not mûrdhani. Āśvalâyana has sirasî. Of course the heads of both the bridegroom and the bride were sprinkled with water; comp. Āśvalâyana I, 7, 20, &c.

12. The Sûryâ hymn is Rig-veda X, 85. Comp. the note above on chap. 13, 4.

13. A cow is the optional gift to be given by a Brāhmaṇa,
14. A village by a Rāganya,
15. A horse by a Vaisya.
16. A hundred (cows) with a chariot (he gives to a father) who has only daughters.
17. To those versed in the sacrificial rites he gives a horse.

KHANDA 15.

1. The three verses, 'I loosen thee' (Rig-veda X, 85, 24), when she departs from the house.
2. 'The living one they bewail' (Rig-veda X, 40, 10), if she begins to cry.
3. The wife then smears the axle of the chariot with clarified butter with this (verse), 'They feasted, they got drunk' (Rig-veda I, 82, 2),

13-15. These Sūtras, treating of the fee for the sacrifice, are identical with Pāraskara I, 8, 15-18. Apparently they are taken from the same lost original from which several identical passages in the Sūtras of Pāraskara and Sāṅkhāyana seem to be derived (see the notes on chap. 5, 1; 13, 7). They stand rather out of place here, for they return to the same subject which had already been treated of in Sūtra 10, though in that Sūtra, as very frequently is the case in our text and in similar ones, only the case of the bridegroom being a Brāhmaṇa has been taken notice of.

16. Comp. the passages quoted by Professor Stenzler on Pāraskara I, 8, 18. Nārāyaṇa has the following note: 'To a duhitṛimat, i.e. to the father of a girl who has no brother, he shall give a hundred cows and besides a chariot, in order to destroy the guilt brought about by marrying a girl who has no brother.' Possibly we should here emancipate ourselves from the authority of the commentators, and explain duhitṛimat 'he who gives his daughter in marriage,' the bride's father. Comp. Âpastamba II, 11, 18; II, 13, 12; Weber, Indische Studien, V, 343, note 2.

15, 3. Probably the use of this verse on this occasion rests on the assonance of its opening word akṣhaṇ and akṣha (rathākṣha).

4. And with the two (verses), 'Pure are thy wheels,' 'Thy two wheels' (Rig-veda X, 85, 12. 16), of the two wheels the first with the first (verse) and the second with the second (verse),

5. And the two bulls.

6. After (the wife?) has put, with this (verse), 'In the box of the wheel' (Rig-veda VIII, 80, 7), a branch of a fruit-bearing tree into each of the holes destined for the pins,

7. Or, if (such branches) are (already) fixed, has recited (that verse) over them,

8. They then harness the two bulls with the two (verses), 'Harnessed be thy right one' (Rig-veda I, 82, 5-6), (the bridegroom) reciting the half-verse, 'White the two bulls' (Rig-veda X, 85, 10), over them when they have been harnessed.

9. Now should any part of the chariot break or burst, let him take the girl to the house of one who keeps the sacred fires,

10. And repair (the damage) with the verse, 'Cover thyself with the Khadiras' (Rig-veda III, 53, 19).

11. A knot with the verse, 'Him like a horse' (Rig-veda X, 143, 2).

12. He then murmurs the five verses, 'May prosperity give us' (Rig-veda V, 51, 11-15).

13. 'Adorned with *Kimsuka* flowers' (Rig-veda X, 85, 20), when she mounts the chariot;

14. 'May no waylayers meet us' (ibid. 32), at a cross-way;

15. 'Which the woman's' (ibid. 31), near a cemetery;

16. The half-verse, 'O tree with thy hundred

6. See Nârâyana's note on samyâgarta, p. 129 of the German edition.

branches' (Rig-veda III, 8, 11), he mutters near a big tree;

17. 'The good protectress' (Rig-veda X, 63, 10), when she ascends a ship;

18. 'Carrying stones' (Rig-veda X, 53, 8), when she crosses a river;

19. Optionally (he) also (murmurs the same verse, if that is done) with the harnessed chariot;

20. 'Up may your wave' (Rig-veda III, 33, 13), at deep places (in the river);

21. And (at such places) let her not look out.

22. The seven verses, 'Here may delight' (Rig-veda X, 85, 27 seq.), when she has reached the house, omitting the verses already employed.

KHANDA 16.

1. 'A bull's hide'—this has been declared.

2. On that hide the husband makes her sit down and sacrifices, while she takes hold of him, four oblations (with the following formulas),

3. 'With god Agni, with the earth-world of the worlds, and the Rig-veda of the Vedas: therewith I appease thee, N. N., svâhâ!

'With god Vâyu, with the air-world of the worlds,

16, 1. In chap. 15, 22 it is said that the bride arrives at the house; in 16, 12, that she enters the house. Probably we are to understand, therefore, that the sacrifice prescribed in this chapter, Sûtras 2 seq., is performed before the house, like the Vâstosh-patîya karman (below, III, 4). The words, 'has been declared,' refer to the Srauta-sûtra (IV, 16, 2), 'Having spread a red bull's skin, with the neck to the north or to the east, with the hair outside, behind the fire, they sit down,' &c.

2. On anvârambha comp. the quotation in the note on chap. 11, 2.

with the Yagur-veda of the Vedas : therewith I appease thee, N. N., svâhâ !

‘ With god Sûrya, with the heaven-world of the worlds, with the Sâma-veda of the Vedas : therewith I appease thee, N. N., svâhâ !

‘ With god Kandra, with the world of the quarters (of the horizon) of the worlds, with the Brahma-veda of the Vedas : therewith I appease thee, N. N., svâhâ !’

4. Or, ‘ Bhûh ! What harm dwells in thee, bringing death to thy husband, death to thy husband’s brother, that I make death-bringing to thy paramour, N. N., svâhâ !’—thus the first (of the before-mentioned formulas) may be joined with the first Mahâvyâhrîti, the second with the second, the third with the third, the fourth with (the three Mahâvyâhrîtis) together.

5. With (the verse), ‘ With no evil eye’ (Rig-veda X, 85, 44), let him besmear (her) eyes with Âgya salve.

6. (The bridegroom,) having touched the ends of her hair with the three (verses), ‘ How may us the resplendent one . . . ’ (Rig-veda IV, 31, 1-3),

7. And having quickly recited the four verses, ‘ And those divine medicines’ (Rig-veda VIII, 18, 8), at the end (of that text) with the word svâhâ (pours out) the remainder on (her) head.

8. Here some place a boy of good birth on both sides, in her lap, with this (verse), ‘ Into thy womb’ (see below, chap. 19, 6),

8. It should be noted that the verse â te yonim is quoted here only with the Pratika, while its full text is given below, chap. 19, 6. Can the Sûtras describing this ceremony with the kumâra ubhaya-ta^h-sugâta be a later addition ?

9. Or also silently.

10. Into this (boy's) joined hands (the bridegroom) gives fruits and causes (the Brāhmaṇas) to wish an auspicious day.

11. Thus she becomes the mother of male children.

12. With the rest of the hymn, 'Stay ye here both' (Rig-veda X, 85, 42 seq.), they make them enter the house.

KHANDA 17.

1. With the verse, 'I praised Dadhikrāvan' (Rig-veda IV, 39, 6), let them drink together curds.

2. Let them sit silent, when the sun has set, until the polar-star appears.

3. He shows her the polar-star with the words, 'Firm be thou, thriving with me!'

4. Let her say, 'I see the polar-star; may I obtain offspring.'

5. Through a period of three nights let them refrain from conjugal intercourse.

6. Let them sleep on the ground.

7. Let them eat together boiled rice with curds, with the three verses, 'Drink and satiate yourselves' (Rig-veda VIII, 35, 10).

8. Let them serve the nuptial fire in the evening and in the morning with the words, 'To Agni svâhâ! To Agni Svishṭakṛt svâhâ!'

9. 'Let the two men Mitra and Varuṇa, let the two men, the Asvins both, let the man Indra and also Agni make a man grow in me. Svâhâ!'—with

17, 2, 3. I have changed in the translation the division of these Sûtras; the native authorities divide after dhruvadarsanât, while I propose to divide after astamite.

(these words she offers) the first oblation if she is desirous of pregnancy.

10. For ten days they are not to set out (from home).

KHANDA 18.

1. Now the rites of the fourth day.

2. When the three nights have elapsed, he makes offerings of cooked food (with the texts),

3. 'Agni! Thou art expiation; thou art the expiation of the gods. What substance dwells in her that brings death to her husband, that drive away from her.

'Vāyu! Thou art expiation; thou art the expiation of the gods. What substance dwells in her that brings sonlessness, that drive away from her.

'Sūrya! Thou art expiation; thou art the expiation of the gods. What substance dwells in her that brings destruction to the cattle, that drive away from her.

'To god Aryaman the girls have made sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Aryaman, loosen her from this, and not from that place.

'To god Varuṇa the girls have made sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Varuṇa, &c.

'To god Pūshan the girls have made sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Pūshan, &c.'

4. The seventh oblation with the verse, 'Pragâ-pati' (Rig-veda X, 121, 10).

5. The eighth to (Agni) Svishṭakṛit.

18, 3. As to preto muñkâtu mâmutaḥ compare Pâraskara I, 6, 2: preto muñkâtu mâ pateḥ. This passage shows what itaḥ and amutaḥ refer to. Comp. Professor Weber's note 3 at Indische Studien, V, 347.

KHANDA 19.

1. Let him pound the root of the Adhyāṇḍā plant and sprinkle it at the time of her monthly period with the two (verses), 'Speed away from here; a husband has she' (Rig-veda X, 85, 21. 22), with svāhā at the end of each, into her right nostril.

2. 'The mouth of the Gandharva Visvāvasu art thou'—with these words let him touch her, when he is about to cohabit with her.

3. When he has finished, let him murmur,

4. 'Into thy breath I put the sperm, N. N. !'

5. Or, 'As the earth is pregnant with Agni, as the heaven is with Indra pregnant, as Vāyu dwells in the womb of the regions (of the earth), thus I place an embryo into thy womb, N. N. !'

6. Or, 'May a male embryo enter thy womb, as an arrow the quiver; may a man be born here, a son after ten months.

'Give birth to a male child; may after him (another) male be born; their mother shalt thou be, of the born, and (to others) mayst thou give birth.

'In the male verily, in the man dwells the sperm; he shall pour it forth into the woman: thus has said Dhâtār, thus Pragâpati has said.

'Pragâpati has created him, Savitar has shaped him. Imparting birth of females to other (women) may he put here a man.

'From the auspicious sperms which the men pro-

19, 6. The first verse is that quoted already at chap. 16, 8. The text of the verses quoted in this Sûtra is very corrupt; see the notes on p. 36 of the German edition.

duce for us, produce thou a son ; be a well-breeding cow.

‘ Roar, be strong, put into her an embryo, achieve it ; a male, thou male, put into her ; to generation we call thee.

‘ Open thy womb ; take in the man’s sperm ; may a male child be begotten in the womb. Him thou shalt bear ; (having dwelt) ten months in the womb may he be born, the most excellent of his kin.’

KHANDA 20.

1. In the third month the *Pumsavana* (i.e. the ceremony to secure the birth of a male child),

2. Under (the Nakshatra) *Pushya* or *Sravana*.

3. Having pounded a Soma stalk, or a *Kusa* needle, or the last shoot of a *Nyagrodha* trunk, or the part of a sacrificial post which is exposed to the fire,

4. Or (having taken) after the completion of a sacrifice the remnants from the *Guhû* ladle,

5. Let him sprinkle it into her right nostril with the four verses, ‘ By Agni may good’ (*Rig-veda* I, 1, 3), ‘ That sperm to us’ (III, 4, 9), ‘ May he succeed who lights fire’ (V, 37, 2), ‘ Of tawny shape’ (II, 3, 9), with *Svâhâ* at the end (of each verse).

20, 3. On *suṅgâ* compare the note of *Nârâyana* and the verse quoted from the *Karmapradîpa*, p. 131 of the German edition.

On *kusakan/aka* *Nârâyana* says, *kusakan/akam* *kuso darbhas tasya kan/akāḥ sūkī* (*sūka*, MS. Berol. Orient. fol. 602) *tām vâ peshayitvâ*. I do not understand why the commentators of *Pâraskara*, whom Professor Stenzler has followed in his translation of *Pâr.* I, 14, 4, make *kan/aka* equal to *mûla*.

5. *Nasto dakshinataḥ* stands here as in chap. 19, 1. *Âśvalâyana* I, 13, 6 has *dakshinasyâṁ nâsikâyâṁ*, and so has also

KHANDA 21.

1. In the fourth month the Garbharakshana (i.e. the ceremony for the protection of the embryo),

2. Sacrificing six oblations from a mess of cooked food with (the six verses of the hymn), 'Agni, joined with the prayer' (Rig-veda X, 162),

3. With (the verses), 'From thy eyes, thy nose' (Rig-veda X, 163), verse by verse besmearing her limbs with Âgya salve.

KHANDA 22.

1. In the seventh month, at her first pregnancy, the Simantonnayana (or parting of the hair).

2. He causes her, after she has bathed and put on a (new) garment which has not yet been washed, to sit down behind the fire.

3. He sacrifices, while she takes hold of him, with the Mahâvyâhṛtis.

4. He cooks a mess of food,

5. According to some (teachers) boiled rice with Mudga beans.

6. The implements used and the Nakshatra should be of male gender.

7. (He then sacrifices with the following texts,) 'May Dhâtâr give to his worshipper further life and safety; may we obtain the favour of the god whose laws are truthful.

'Dhâtâr disposes of offspring and wealth; Dhâtâr has created this whole world; Dhâtâr will give a

Pāraskara I, 13. Comp. the natthukamma treated of in the Pāli Buddhist texts (Mahāvagga VI, 13) and in the medical literature.

son to the sacrificer : to him you shall sacrifice, an offering rich in ghee.'

(Besides) with the three verses, 'Negamesha, fly away' (Rig-veda Khailika sŒkta, after X, 184, vol. vi, p. 31), and in the sixth place the verse, 'Pragâpati' (Rig-veda X, 121, 10).

8. (The husband then) parts her hair, upwards, beginning from the middle, with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, or with a Darbha needle together with unripe Udumbara fruits, with the words, 'BhŒr bhuva^h sva^h.'

9. He lays down (the thing he has used) in her lap,

10. Ties (the fruits) to a string of three twisted threads and fastens them to her neck with the words, 'Rich in sap is this tree ; like the sappy one be thou fruitful.'

11. (The husband) then says to lute-players, 'Sing ye the king—

12. 'Or if anybody else is still more valiant.'

13. Having poured fried grain into a water-pot, let him cause her to drink it with the six verses,

22, 8. Comp. above, chap. 12, 6.

10. Nârâyana: *tisribhis tantubhir vritte sŒtre udumbaraphalâni . . . gale . . . badhnâti*. I have translated accordingly. Pâraskara I, 15, 6 uses the same expression *trivrit*. Professor Stenzler there translates it, on the authority of Gayarâma, 'dreifache Haarflechte,' and says in his note on that passage that, according to SâŒkhâyana, he would have to tie the things with a threefold string to the neck of the woman, as if SâŒkhâyana's statement were different from that of Pâraskara. But both authors have the same word, and only the commentators differ in their explanations thereof.

11. Âsvalâyana more explicitly says (I, 14, 6), *Somam râgânam sangâyetâm iti*.

13. In my German translation there is a mistake which should be corrected. I have there referred *shalrika* to the verses Râkâm

'May Vishnu take care of thy womb,' 'I call Rákâ' (Rig-veda X, 184, 1; II, 32, 4-8).

14. Let him then touch her (with the words),

15. 'The winged one art thou, the Garutmat; the Trivrit (stoma) is thy head, the Gâyatra thy eye, the metres thy limbs, the Yagus thy name, the Sâman thy body.'

16. Let him cause her to sing merrily,

17. Wearing, if she likes, many gold ornaments.

18. A bull is the fee for the sacrifice.

KHANDA 23.

1. Let him pound the roots of the plants kâkâtant, ~~ma~~kâkâtant, kosâakt, of the egg-plant, and of the indigo plant, and besmear (therewith) the place in which she is going to be confined, in order to drive away the Rakshas.

KHANDA 24.

1. Now the Gâtakarman (i. e. ceremony for the new-born child).

aham, which are actually only five in number. The six verses are Vishnur yonim, &c., and the five verses mentioned.

15. Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ XII, 4.

16, 17. Nârâyana: modamânîm harshayuktâm tâm mân-galikair gîtair gâyayet . . . mahâhemavatîm bahvâbharaṇayuktâm vâ gâyayet.

24, 1. Comp. Dr. Speijer's essay on the Gâtakarman (Leiden, 1872). Nârâyana observes that, as it is prescribed below (chap. 25, 4) that a mess of food is to be cooked in the sûtikâgni, here the sûtikâgni is established, and sacrifice is performed therein. The Sûtra 1, 25, 4, from which it is to be inferred that the sûtikâgni should be kept, is considered, accordingly, as a Gñâpaka (see Professor Bühler's notes on Âpastamba I, 11, 7; Gautama

2. Let (the father) breathe three times on the new-born child and then draw in his breath with the words, 'Draw in your breath with the *Rik*, breathe within with the *Yagus*, breathe forth with the *Sâman*.'

3. Let him mix together butter and honey, milk curds and water, or grind together rice and barley, and give it to eat (to the child) thrice from gold (i.e. from a golden vessel or with a golden spoon),

4. With (the verse), 'I administer to thee honey food for the festival, the wisdom ("veda") raised by Savitar the bountiful; long-living, protected by the gods, live a hundred autumns in this world, N. N.!'—(with these words) he gives him a name beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, consisting of two syllables, or of four syllables, or also of six syllables; he should take a *krî*t (suffix), not a *taddhita*.

5. That (name only) his father and his mother should know.

6. On the tenth day a name for common use, which is pleasing to the *Brâhmanas*.

7. Let him pulverise black and white and red hairs of a black ox, intermix (that powder) with those four substances (see *Sûtra* 3), and give it to eat (to the child) four times: such (is the opinion of) *Mândûkeya*.

I, 31; *Nârâyana's* note on chap. 25, 4, p. 133 of the German edition).

2. *Abhyavânya* should be corrected into *abhyapânya*, as in IV, 18, 1 nearly all the MSS. read *nivâta* instead of *nipâta*. The *Sâmbavya* MS. reads in the text, *trîr abhyânyânuprânya*; in the commentary *trîr anyapânyânuprânyâ*. Comp., on the terminology of the different vital airs, *Speijer, Gâtakarma*, p. 64 seq.; *Eggeling, S. B. E.*, vol. xii, p. 20.

8. If he likes (let him do so) with the words,
'Bhûh! The Rîg-veda I lay into thee, N. N., svâhâ!

'Bhuvaḥ! The Yagur-veda I lay into thee, N. N.,
svâhâ!

'Svaḥ! The Sâma-veda I lay into thee, N. N.,
svâhâ!

'Bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ! Vâkovākya (colloquies), Iti-
hâsa, and Purâna—Om! All the Vedas I lay into
thee, N. N., svâhâ!'

9. The production of intelligence (is performed)
by thrice saying in his right ear, 'Speech!'

10. And let him recite over (the child the follow-
ing text), 'Speech, the goddess, united with mind,
together with breath, the child, uttered by Indra—
may she rejoice in thee, the goddess, for the sake of
joy, the great one, the sweet sounding, the music,
full of music, the flowing, self-produced.'

11. Let him tie a piece of gold to a hempen string,

12. And bind it to (the child's) right hand until
(the mother) gets up (from childbed).

13. After the tenth day let him give it to the
Brâhmanas,

14. Or keep it himself.

KHANDA 25.

1. After ten days the getting up (of the mother
from childbed).

8. Vetî vikalpârthe. bhûr rîgvedam ityâdikaturbhir mantrair
asāv ity atra pûrveva (read pûrvavat?) kumâranâmagrahanâpûr-
vakam kumâram prârayet. Nârâyana.

12. Bâlasya dakshine haste. Nârâyana.

25, 1. After ten days the impurity (arauka) that falls on the
mother at her confinement, ceases; see Gautama XIV, 16; Manu
V, 62; Vasishṭha IV, 21.

2. Father and mother with washed heads, wearing (new) clothes which have not yet been washed;
3. And so also the child.
4. Let (the father) cook a mess of food in that same fire that has been kept from her confinement,
5. And let him make oblations to the Tithi of (the child's) birth and to three constellations with their (presiding) deities.
6. Let him place in the middle the oblation to that constellation under which (the child) is born; the deity, however, is constantly to precede (the corresponding Nakshatra).
7. (He then makes two other oblations with the verses,) '(May) this Agni, the excellent one, (give) thee to-day life for (our) prayers; give us life that we may live long,'—(and,) 'Life-giving, Agni, be strong by Havis; may thy face and thy seat be full of ghee; drinking ghee, the sweet honey of the cow, protect, as a father (protects) his son, here N.N.' The tenth oblation of the mess of cooked food with the verse, 'Thou, Soma, givest bliss to the old one' (Rig-veda I, 91, 7).
8. Having pronounced aloud (the child's) name,
9. And caused the Brāhmaṇas to say auspicious words,
10. And having sacrificed in the same way every month to the Tithi of (the child's) birth,
11. He sacrifices, when one year has expired, on the (ordinary) domestic fire.

4. Comp. the note on chap. 24, 1.

7. The first Mantra is corrupt; in the Âśvalâyana-Srauta-sûtra (II, 10, 4) its text runs thus, âyush te visvato dadhad ayam agniṃ vareṇyāḥ, &c. Comp. Atharva-veda VII, 53, 6.

11. 'The words "every month" (Sûtra 10) retain their value

KHANDA 26.

1. To Agni, to the *Kṛittikâs*.
2. To Pragâpati, to *Rohini*.
3. To Soma, to *Mrigasiras*.
4. To Rudra, to the *Ârdrâs*.
5. To Aditi, to the two *Punarvasus*.
6. To *Bṛihaspati*, to *Pushya*.
7. To the Serpents, to the *Asleshâs*.
8. To the Manes, to the *Maghâs*.
9. To Bhaga, to the two *Phalgunîs*.
10. To Aryaman, to the two *Phalgunîs*.
11. To Savitar, to *Hasta*.
12. To *Tvashṭar*, to *Kitrâ*.
13. To *Vâyu*, to *Svâti*.
14. To Indra and Agni, to the two *Visâkhâs*.
15. To Mitra, to *Anurâdhâ*.
16. To Indra, to *Gyeshṭha*.
17. To *Nirriti*, to *Mûla*.
18. To the Waters, to the *Ashâdhâs*.
19. To the *Visve devâs*, to the *Ashâdhâs*.
20. To Brahman, to *Abhigit*.

(here also). Thus the *sûtikâgni* is to be kept through one year. After the lapse of that year one should sacrifice every month on the domestic fire as long as his life lasts. As it is said "in the domestic fire," the *sûtikâgni* is not to be kept any longer.' *Nârâyana*.

26, 1. This chapter is not found in the *Sâmbavya-Grîhya*, and *Nârâyana* expressly designates it as *kshepaka khanda*. It is a sort of appendix to the *Sûtras* 25, 5. 6; a sacrifice having there been prescribed to three *Nakshatras* with their presiding deities, an enumeration of the *Nakshatras* and deities is here given. Compare, on similar lists, Weber's second article on the *Nakshatras* (*Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1861), pp. 289 seq., 315, 367 seq.

21. To Vishṇu, to Sravana.
22. To the Vasus, to the Dhanishthās.
23. To Varuna, to Satabhishag.
24. To Āga ekapad, to the Proshthapadās.
25. To Ahi budhnya, to the Proshthapadās.
26. To Pūshan, to Revatī.
27. To the two Asvins, to the two Asvins.
28. To Yama, to the Bharanīs.

KHANDA 27.

1. In the sixth month the Annaprāsana (i.e. the first feeding with solid food).

2. Goat's flesh, if he is desirous of nourishment,
3. Flesh of partridge, if desirous of holy lustre,
4. Fish, if desirous of swiftness,
5. Boiled rice with ghee, if desirous of splendour—
6. (Such) food, prepared with milk curds, honey, and ghee, he should give (to the child) to eat.

7. After he has made oblations with (the verses), 'Lord of food, give us food, painless and strong; bring forward the giver; bestow power on us, on men and animals;' 'Whatsoever' (Rig-veda IV, 12, 4); 'Even of great' (ibid. 5), 'Him, Agni, (lead) to long life and splendour; sharp strength (mayst thou), Varuṇa, king Soma, protection may Aditi, like a

27, 2-6. These rules stand here, in the beginning of the chapter, as introductory remarks; the act of feeding itself (Sūtra 10) does not follow till after the sacrifice and the other performances prescribed in Sūtras 7-9.

3. This rule evidently rests on the allusion of taittira (partridge flesh) to the Taittirīya school.

7. Both metre and construction show that the Pāda imam Agna āyushe varṇase is incomplete; the Sāmbavya-Grīhya and Taitt. Samhitā II, 3, 10, 3 add *krīdhi* after *varṇase*.

mother, afford to him, and all the gods that he may reach old age'—

8. And has recited over (the child) the verse, 'Powers of life, Agni' (Rig-veda IX, 66, 19),

9. And has set him down on northward pointed Kusa grass with (the verse), 'Be soft, O earth' (Rig-veda I, 22, 15)—

10. The act of feeding is performed with the Mahâvyâhr̥itis.

11. Let the mother eat the remnant.

KHANDA 28.

1. After one year the *Kûḍâkarman* (i.e. the ton-sure of the child's head);

2. Or in the third year;

3. In the fifth for a Kshatriya;

4. In the seventh for a Vaisya.

5. Having placed the fire (in the outer hall; see chap. 5, 2)—

6. And having filled vessels with rice and barley, sesamum seeds and beans,

7. And having put down northwards bull-dung and a layer of Kusa grass for receiving the hair, a mirror, fresh butter, and a razor of copper,

8. He pours cold water into warm with (the verse), 'Mix yourselves, ye holy ones, with your waves, ye honied ones, mixing milk with honey, ye lovely ones, for the obtaining of wealth.'

9. 'May the waters moisten thee for life, for old age and splendour. The threefold age of Gamad-agni, Kasyapa's threefold age, the threefold age of

28, 1. *Kûḍâkarman* literally means, the preparing of the lock or the locks (left when the rest of the hair is shaven).

Agastya, the threefold age that belongs to the gods, that threefold age I produce for thee! N. N.!'—with these words he sprinkles the right part of his hair three times with lukewarm water.

10. Having loosened the tangled locks, according to some (teachers), with a porcupine's quill,

11. And having anointed (his hair) with fresh butter,

12. He puts a young Kusa shoot among (the hairs) with the words, 'Herb, protect him!'

13. Having touched the hair and the Kusa shoot with the mirror,

14. He takes up the copper razor with the words, 'Sharpness art thou; the axe is thy father. Do no harm to him!'

15. With (the words), 'The razor with which in the beginning Savitar, the knowing one, has shaven the beard of king Varuna, and with which Dhâtar Brîhaspati has shaven Indra's head, with that, ye Brâhmanas, shave this (head) to-day; blessed with long life, with old age be this man N. N.!' he cuts the tips of the hairs and the Kusa shoot.

16. In the same way a second time; in the same way a third time.

17. In the same way twice on the left side.

18. Under the armpits a sixth and a seventh time at the Godânakarman (ceremony of shaving the beard).

19. The Godânakarman is identical with the Kûdâkarman.

15. The parallel texts show that instead of *Brîhaspatir* we have to read *Brîhaspater*, instead of *adya*, *asya*. So the correct translation would be, '... with what Dhâtar has shaven *Brîhaspati's* and Indra's head, with that do ye Brâhmanas shave this head of this (child).'

20. (It is to be performed) in the sixteenth or in the eighteenth year.

21. At the third turn of shaving, however, he gives a cow and a garment that has not yet been washed.

22. Silently the rites (are performed) for girls.

23. To the north-east, in a place covered with herbs, or in the neighbourhood of water they bury the hairs in the earth.

24. To the barber the vessels of grain. To the barber the vessels of grain.

24. See Sûtra 6.

ADHYÂYA II, KHANDA 1.

1. In the eighth year after the conception let him initiate a Brâhmana,
2. With an antelope-skin,

1, 1. With regard to the standing terminology of the Upanayana, or the initiation of the student, we may observe that upa-nî does not mean, as, for instance, Professor Stenzler seems to understand it, 'to introduce a student to his teacher.' Thus Pâraskara's Sûtra II, 2, 1, *ash/âvarsham brâhmanam upanayet*, &c., is translated by that distinguished scholar, 'Den achtjährigen Brâhmana soll er (beim Lehrer) einführen,' &c. (comp. also Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 19, 1). The texts clearly point to another translation of upa-nî, for they show that the person that introduces the student (upanayati or upanayate; the middle is used very frequently, for instance, Satapatha Brâhmana XI, 5, 4, 1; Sâṅkh. II, 1, 25) is not the father or a relation of the youth who could be supposed to lead him to the teacher, but the teacher himself; he introduces (upanayati) him to the brahmaçarya, or introduces him with himself, and the student enters upon (upaity) the brahmaçarya, or enters with (upaity) the teacher; he who has thus entered upon studentship, is consequently designated as upeta (Sâṅkh. IV, 8, 1; Pâraskara III, 10, 10), and for the initiation, which is usually called upanayana, occasionally also the word upâyana is used (see the Mânava-Grîhya I, 22, quoted by Professor Jolly in his article, Das Dharma-sûtra des Vishṇu, p. 79). The following passages may be quoted here as supporting our opinion on this terminology. At Satapatha Brâhmana XI, 5, 3, 13 Sauçeya says to Uddâlaka Âruṇi, 'I will enter (as a student) with the reverend One' (upâyâni bhagavantam); and Âruṇi replies, 'Come, enter (with me)!' (ehy upēhi), 'and he initiated him' (tam hopaninye). Ibid. XI, 5, 4, 16 it is stated that according to some a teacher who has initiated a Brâhmana as a student (brâhmanam brahmaçaryam upaniya) should abstain from sexual intercourse, for a student who enters upon studentship (yo brahmaçaryam upaiti) becomes, as it were, a garbha, &c. Finally we may add that the Buddhist terminology regarding the entering into the order or upon a life of righteousness is clearly connected with that followed, for instance, in the dialogue between

3. Or in the tenth year after the conception.
4. In the eleventh year after the conception a Kshatriya with the skin of a spotted deer,
5. In the twelfth year after the conception a Vaisya with a cow-hide.
6. Until the sixteenth year the time has not passed for a Brâhmaṇa,
7. Until the twenty-second for a Kshatriya,
8. Until the twenty-fourth for a Vaisya.
9. After that (time has passed), they become patitasâvitrika (men who have lost their right of learning the Sâvitri).

Saukeya and *Âruri*. As *Saukeya* there says, *upâyâni bhagavantam*, we frequently read in the Pâli books expressions like this, *upemi Buddham saraṇam dhammañ kâpi anuttaram*, &c. (*Dhammap. Aṭṭhakathâ*, p. 97, ed. Fausbøll), and as *Âruri* replies, *ehy upehi*, Buddha says to those who wish to be ordained, *ehi bhikkhu, svâkkhâto dhammo, kara brahmacariyam*, &c. (*Mahāvagga* I, 6, 32, &c.; S. B. E., vol. xiii, p. 74, note).

The counting of the years not from the birth but from the conception occurs both in the Brahmanical and in the Buddhist ordinances, comp. H. O., Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde, p. 354, note 1. Several *Gr̥hya* texts (for instance, *Âsv.* I, 19, 1. 2) admit both ways of counting the years. The number of years given for the Upanayana of persons of the three castes (Brâhmaṇas 8–16, Kshatriyas 11–22, Vaisyas 12–24) is evidently derived from the number of syllables of the three metres which are so very frequently stated to correspond to the three castes, to the three gods or categories of gods (Agni, Indra, Visve devâs) &c., viz. the *Gâyatri*, the *Trishubh*, and the *Gagati*. This is a very curious example, showing how in India phantastical speculations like those regarding the mystical qualities of the metres, were strong enough to influence the customs and institutions of real life.

9 seq. All these are standing expressions recurring nearly identically in most of the *Gr̥hya* and *Dharma-sûtras*. In the rule contained in *Sûtra* 13 a number of the parallel texts have *vivah-eyuḥ* or *vivâhayeyuḥ*, others have *vyavahareyuḥ*. Comp. *Vasishṭha* XI, 75; *Indische Studien*, vol. x, p. 21.

10. Let them not initiate such men,
11. Nor teach them,
12. Nor perform sacrifices for them,
13. Nor have intercourse with them.
14. Or (let them initiate students of) all (castes) wearing a (new) garment that has not yet been washed.

And wearing a girdle.

15. The girdle of a Brâhmana (shall be) made of Muñga grass,
16. That of a Kshatriya (shall be) a bowstring,
17. That of a Vaisya a woollen thread.
18. The staff of a Brâhmana (shall be) made of Palâsa or of Bilva wood,
19. That of a Kshatriya of Nyagrodha wood,
20. That of a Vaisya of Udumbara wood.
21. That of the Brâhmana shall reach the tip of the nose,
22. That of the Kshatriya the forehead,
23. That of the Vaisya the hair.
24. Or all (sorts of staffs are to be used) by (men of) all (castes).
25. Whatsoever (the student) wears at his initiation, is at the disposal of the teacher.

14. This Sûtra should rather be divided into two, as indicated in the translation. As to the mekhalâ (girdle) comp. below, chap. 2, 1.

21. There is no doubt that prâṇasammīto (which Nârâyana explains thus, 'prâṇa is the wind [or breath]; [the staff should] reach to the place where the wind leaves the body, i.e. to the tip of the nose') should either be corrected into, or explained as, ghrâṇasammīto; the Sâmbavya MS. has ghrâṇântiko brâhmanasya. Comp. Gautama I, 26, &c. The parallel texts agree in assigning the longer staff to the higher, not as Sâṅkhâyana does, to the lower caste.

26. Having had him shaved all round (his head) he should initiate him.

27. After (the student) has washed and adorned himself,

28. (And) after (the teacher) has sacrificed, both station themselves behind the fire, the teacher with his face turned to the east, the other with his face to the west.

29. Let him initiate him standing while (the other also) stands.

30. ['The firm, powerful eye of Mitra, glorious splendour, strong and prosperous, a chaste, flowing vesture, this skin I put on, a valiant (man).']

KHANDA 2.

1. 'Here has come to us, protecting (us) from evil words, purifying our kin as a purifier, clothing herself, by (the power of) inhalation and exhalation, with strength, this friendly goddess, this blessed girdle'—with these words, three times repeated, he ties the girdle from left to right thrice round.

26. After the introductory remarks given in the preceding Sûtras the ritual itself of the Upanayana is now described.

28. Nârâyana : hutvâ 'nâdesaparibhâshâtâh (see above, I, 12, 13) purastâtsamgñakam hutvâ agnim sthâpitâgnim (see above, I, 5, 2) gaghanena . . . tish/hatah.

30. This Sûtra is wanting in most of the MSS. (see the note, p. 48 of the German edition). It contains the Mantra with which the Agina (the hide mentioned in Sûtras 2, 4, 5 of this chapter) is put on. Nârâyana gives the Mantra which he says is taken from the Mâdhyandina-Grîhya (in the Pâraskara-Grîhya it is not found), after chap. 2, 3, and he states that the corresponding act to which it belongs has its place after the rites concerning the girdle (chap. 2, 1) and the sacrificial cord (2, 3).

2. (There should be) one knot, or also three, or also five.

3. He adjusts the sacrificial cord with (the words), 'The sacrificial cord art thou. With the cord of the sacrifice I invest thee.'

4. He fills the two hollows of (his own and the student's) joined hands (with water), and then says to him: 'What is thy name?'

5. 'I am N. N., sir,' says the other.

6. 'Descending from the same *Rîshis*?' says the teacher.

7. 'Descending from the same *Rîshis*, sir,' says the other.

2, 2. *Râmakāṇḍa*: 'Let him make one, or three, or five knots, according to (the student's) *Ârsheya*,' i. e. accordingly as he belongs to a family that invokes, in the *Pravara* ceremony, one, or three, or five *Rîshis* as their ancestors. Comp. Weber, *Indische Studien*, vol. x, p. 79.

3. On the sacrificial cord (*upavîta*) comp. the *Grîhya-samgraha-parishîṭa* II, 48 seq.

4. *Nârâyana*: *Âkârya âtmano mânava*kasya *kânḡalî udakena pûrayitvâ*, &c.

6, 7. A similar dialogue between the teacher and the student at the *Upanayana* is given in the *Kausika-sûtra* (ap. Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 71). The student there says, 'Make me an *Ârsheya* (a descendant of the *Rîshis*) and one who has relations, and initiate me.' And the teacher replies, 'I make thee an *Ârsheya* and one who has relations, and I initiate thee.' As in this passage of the *Kausika-sûtra* the teacher is represented as having the power of making, by the *Upanayana* ceremony, an *Ârsheya* of the student, thus, according to the view expressed by Professor Weber (loc. cit., p. 72 seq.), *Sâṅkhâyana* would even give it into the teacher's power to make the student his *samânârsheya*, i. e. to extend his own *Ârsheya* on as many pupils as he likes. Professor Weber understands the sixth *Sûtra* so that the teacher would have to say, *samânârsheyo bhavân brûhi* (*Nârâyana*: *bhavân brûhîti brahmâkârî bhavân brûhîty ataḥ* [*Sûtra* 8] *simhâvalokananyâ-yenâtrânushagryate*. According to *Râmakāṇḍa*'s *Paddhati* he is

8. 'Declare (that thou art) a student, sir.'

9. 'I am a student, sir,' says the other.

10. With the words, 'Bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ' (the teacher) sprinkles thrice with his joined hands (water) on the joined hands (of the student),

11. And seizing (the student's) hands with (his own) hands, holding the right uppermost, he murmurs,

12. 'By the impulse of the god Savitar, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pûshan's hands I initiate thee, N. N.'

13. Those who are desirous of a host (of adherents, he should initiate) with (the verse), 'Thee, (the lord) of hosts' (Rig-veda II, 23, 1).

14. Warriors with (the verse), 'Come here, do not come to harm' (Rig-veda VIII, 20, 1).

15. Sick persons with the Mahāvyaḥritis.

only to say samânârsheyaḥ). The student answers, samânârsheyo 'ham bho; Professor Weber, who supplies the imperative asâni, translates this, 'May I have the same Ârsheya, sir!'

I think it more natural to simply translate the teacher's question, 'Art thou samânârsheya?' (or, supplying bhavân brûhi from Sûtra 8, 'Declare that thou art samânârsheya'), and the student's reply, 'I am samânârsheya, sir!' Thus we ought possibly to consider these formulas, which state a fictitious, ideal samânârsheyatva of the teacher and the students as a trace, and as far as I can see as the only trace, of an ancient rule requiring a real samânârsheyatva of teacher and student. As long as the ritual differences between the different Gotras, of which, as is well known, only a few traces have survived in the Vedic tradition, had retained their full importance, it can indeed scarcely have been considered as admissible that a young Brâhmana should be confided to the guidance of a teacher who sacrificed and invoked the gods in another way than the customs of the pupil's own family required.

11. Nârâyana: dakshinottarâbhyâm dakshina utara upari yayos tau dakshinottarau, &c.

KHANDA 3.

1. 'Bhaga has seized thy hand, Savitar has seized thy hand, Pûshan has seized thy hand, Aryaman has seized thy hand. Mitra art thou by right, Agni is thy teacher, and I, N. N., both of us. Agni, I give this student in charge to thee. Indra, I give this student in charge to thee. Sun, I give this student in charge to thee. Visve devâs, I give this student in charge to you, for the sake of long life, of blessed offspring and strength, of increase of wealth, of mastership of all Vedas, of renown, of bliss.'

2. 'In Indra's course I move; in the sun's course I move after him'—with these words he turns round from left to right,

3. And grasping down with the span of his right hand over (the student's) right shoulder he touches the place of his heart with the words, 'May I be dear to thy inviolate heart.'

3, 1. Nârâyana : 'Instead of asau (N. N.) he puts the name of the student in the vocative case.' I think rather that the teacher here pronounced his own name. Comp. asâv aham bho, chap. 2, 5, &c., and the Mantra in Pâraskara II, 2, 20.

The text of the Mantra shows that the Âtârya here seizes the hand of the Brahmaârin; comp. Âsvalâyana I, 20, 4-6, where it is stated that he seizes the student's hand together with the thumb, quite in the way prescribed for the wedding at Sâṅkh. I, 13, 2. Comp. also Pâraskara II, 2, 17. Nârâyana : mânavakasya grîhita-samputa evâkâryo Bhagas ta imam mantram gapan, &c.

2. Literally, 'he turns round, following his right arm.' Nârâyana here has the following note, 'Âtâryo bafor dakshinam bâhum hastam aindrim âvritam iti mantrenânvâvartayet. ayam arthaḥ, âtârya imam mantram gaptvâ tam baṭum ka vâkayitvâ pradakshinâvartam kârayet.' I believe that the commentator here, as he frequently does, instead of interpreting the text of Sâṅkhâyana, fathers

4. Having silently turned round from right to left,

5. And then laying his hand with the fingers upwards on his (i.e. the student's) heart, he murmurs :

KHANDA 4.

1. 'Under my will I take thy heart ; my mind shall thy mind follow ; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart ; may *Bṛihaspati* join thee to me.'

2. 'Thou art the *Brahmakârin* of *Kâma*, N. N. !'

3. With the same text (see chap. 3, 2) he turns round as before,

4. And touching with the span of his right hand (the student's) right shoulder, he murmurs :

on him statements belonging to other *Sûtras*, in this case probably to *Âsvalâyana* I, 20, 9. As our text has not *anvâvartya* but *anvâvṛitya*, and in the Mantra not *âvartasva* but *âvarte*, we must conclude that he turned round himself, and, as far as the statements of the text go, did not cause the pupil to do so.

5. The gesture is the same as that prescribed in the *Pâraskara-Grihya* I, 8, 8 to the bridegroom at the wedding ; the Mantra there is identical with *Sânkh.* II, 4, 1, the only difference consisting in the name of the god who is invoked to unite the two : at the wedding this is *Pragâpati*, of course, because he is 'lord of offspring,' at the *Upanayana*, *Bṛihaspati*, the Brahman κατ' ἐξοχήν among the gods. It is very natural that at the *Upanayana* and at the *Vivâha*, which both are destined to establish an intimate union between two persons hitherto strangers to each other, a number of identical rites should occur, for instance, the seizing of the hand ; see the note on *Sûtra* 1.

4, 1. Comp. *Pârask.* I, 8, 8, and the note on chap. 3, 3. See also *Atharva-veda* VI, 94, 2.

2. As to *Kâmasya brahmakârya asi*, see my remarks in the Introduction, p. 9.

3. He turns round as described, chap. 3, 2. *Nârâyana* here also explains *paryâvṛitya paryâvartanam kârayitvâ*. See our note above, loc. cit.

5. 'A student art thou. Put on fuel. Eat water. Do the service. Do not sleep in the day-time. Keep silence till the putting on of fuel.'

6. With (the words), 'Thine, Agni, is this piece of wood,' he puts the fuel on (the fire), or silently.

KHANDA 5.

1. After one year (the teacher) recites the Sāvitrī (to the student),

2. (Or) after three nights,

3. Or immediately.

4. Let him recite a Gâyatrī to a Brāhmaṇa,

5. A Trishūbh to a Kshatriya,

6. A Gagatī to a Vaisya.

7. But let it be anyhow a verse sacred to Savitar.

8. They seat themselves to the north of the fire,

9. The teacher with his face turned eastward, the other westward.

5. According to Nārāyaṇa the student correspondingly answers, to the teacher's word, 'A student art thou,' 'I will' (asāni), to 'Put on fuel,' 'I will put it on,' &c. Eating water means sipping water after having eased oneself. On the putting on of fuel, comp. Sūtra 6 and chap. 10. The whole formula given in this Sūtra is already found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa XI, 5, 4, 5.

5, 1. The study of the Veda is opened by the Sāvitrī. Comp. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, loc. cit., §§ 6 seq.

4-6. The Gâyatrī which the teacher shall recite to a Brāhmaṇa is the same verse of which it is said below, chap. 7, 11, that it belongs to Visvāmitra (Rig-veda III, 62, 10); the Trishūbh which is taught to the Kshatriya is a verse ascribed to Hiranyastūpa, Rig-veda I, 35, 2; the Gagatī which is to be repeated to a Vaisya is Rig-veda IV, 40, 5, belonging to Vāmadeva, or Rig-veda I, 35, 9, belonging to Hiranyastūpa. See the note on chap. 7, 10.

9. The same position is prescribed, in the same words, for the study of the main part of the Veda, below, chap. 7, 3; during

10. After (the student) has said, 'Recite, sir!'—

11. The teacher, having pronounced the word OM, then causes the other one to say, 'Recite the Sâvitri, sir!'

12. He then recites the Sâvitri to him, the verse 'That glorious (splendour) of Savitar' (Rig-veda III, 62, 10); (firstly) pâda by pâda, (then) hemistich by hemistich, (and finally) without a stop.

KHANDA 6.

1. 'Waters are ye by name; happy ones are ye by name; sappy ones are ye by name; undecaying ones are ye by name; fearless ones are ye by name; immortal ones are ye by name. Of you, being such, may I partake; receive me into your favour'—with these words (the teacher) makes the student sip water three times,

2. And hands over to him the staff with the five

the study of the *Âraṇyaka* the position is slightly different (VI, 3, 2). According to *Nârâyana* this Sûtra would contain a nishedha of the Sûtras 828 and 829 of the Rig-veda-Prâtisâkhyâ (p. ccxcii of Professor Max Müller's edition).

10, 11. The Indian tradition divides these Sûtras after âkâryaḥ, so that the words adhîhi bho would have to be pronounced by the teacher. Thus also *Nârâyana* explains, âkârya adhîhi bho 3 iti mânavaḥ uktvâ, &c. In my opinion it is the student or the students who say adhîhi bho. Thus the Prâtisâkhyâ (Sûtra 831, ed. Max Müller) says, 'They invite him with the words adhîhi bho 3, all the students the teacher, having embraced his feet.' Comp. also below, IV, 8, 12, the greater part of which Sûtra is word for word identical with these rules; VI, 3, 6; Gautama I, 46; Gobhila II, 10, 38.

6, 1, 2. Râmakāṇḍa : '... with this Mantra which the teacher tells him, and which he (the student) pronounces, he sips water

verses, 'Blessing may give us' (Rig-veda V, 51, 11-15).

3. An optional gift is the fee for the sacrifice.

4. After (the teacher) has led him round the fire, turning his right side towards it, (the student) goes through the village to beg food.

5. (Let him beg,) however, of his mother first,

6. Or of a woman who will not refuse.

7. Having announced the alms to his teacher, he may eat (the food himself) with the master's permission.

8. The daily putting on of fuel, the going for alms, the sleeping on the ground, and obedience to the teacher: these are the standing duties of a student.

three times . . . He (the teacher) then gives him again the staff, which he had given him before silently.' I do not think that this double handing over of the staff agrees with the real meaning of the text; Gobhila also (II, 10) and Âsvalâyana (I, 22, 1) prescribe the *dandapradâna* after the repetition of the *Sâvitri*, without mentioning that the same had been already done before; Pâraskara II, 2, 11 speaks of the handing over of the staff before the recital of the *Sâvitri*, and does not state that it should be repeated afterwards.

All these ceremonies, the teaching of the *Sâvitri* as well as the *dandapradâna*, were considered as forming part of the Upanayana, even though a longer or shorter space of time (chap. 5, 1-3) might elapse between the first arrival of the student at the teacher's house and the performing of these rites. This follows from chap. 11, Sûtras 2-4.

2. These five verses have already occurred above at I, 15, 12.

3. Comp. I, 14, 13-15.

4 seq. On the student's begging of alms compare the more detailed rules in Pâraskara II, 5; Âpastamba I, 3, &c.

7. Comp. the passages quoted by Professor Bühler on Âpastamba I, 3, 31 (S. B. E., vol. ii, p. 12).

KHANDA 7.

1. Now (follows the exposition) of the study of the Veda.
2. Both sit down to the north of the fire,
3. The teacher with his face to the east, the other one to the west.
4. After (the student) has reverentially saluted the teacher's feet and has sprinkled his (own) hands (with water),
5. And has kneeled down with his right knee on young Kusa shoots at their roots,
6. And has grasped round (those Kusa shoots) in their middle with his hands, holding the right uppermost,
7. The teacher, having seized them at their tops

7, 1. Nârâyana: 'Now (atha), i. e. after the observance of the Sukriya vrata,' &c. On the Sukriya vrata which has to be undergone before the Anuvâkâna treated of in this chapter can be performed, see the note on chap. 4, 1, and below, chap. 11, 9. One would have expected that in the arrangement of Sâṅkhâya the rites belonging to the Sukriya vrata would precede the exposition of the Anuvâkâna. Perhaps it was in consequence of the exact analogy of the Sukriya with the Sâkvara, Vratika, Aupanishada vratas, that the description of the former has been postponed till the latter had to be treated of.

Râmakâṇḍa's Paddhati has the following remark here, 'Now the way of studying the Veda, called Anuvâkâna, is set forth. This can be done only after the Sukriya vrata has been enjoined on the student; before that nothing but the Sâvitṛi can be taught to him.'

2 seq. Comp. above, chap. 2, 8 seq.

4. The way in which this reverential salutation should be performed is described below, IV, 12, 1 seq.

6. On dakshinottarâbhyâm, see chap. 2, 11 and Nârâyana's note there.

with his left hand, and with his right hand sprinkling them with water, then makes the other say :

8. 'Recite the Sâvitṛī, sir!' says the other.

9. 'I recite the Sâvitṛī to thee!' says the teacher.

10. 'Recite the Gâyatrī, sir!' says the other.

'I recite the Gâyatrī to thee!' says the teacher.

11. 'Recite the verse of Visvâmitra, sir!' says the other.

'I recite the verse of Visvâmitra to thee!' says the teacher.

12. 'Recite the *Rishis*, sir!' says the other.

'I recite the *Rishis* to thee!' says the teacher.

13. 'Recite the deities, sir!' says the other.

'I recite the deities to thee!' says the teacher.

14. 'Recite the metres, sir!' says the other.

'I recite the metres to thee!' says the teacher.

15. 'Recite the *Sruti*, sir!' says the other.

'I recite the *Sruti* to thee!' says the teacher.

16. 'Recite the *Smṛiti*, sir!' says the other.

'I recite the *Smṛiti* to thee!' says the teacher.

17. 'Recite faith and insight, sir!' says the other.

'I recite faith and insight to thee!' says the teacher.

8 seq. Comp. Weber's Indische Studien, vol. x, p. 131 seq.

10. Comp. the note on chap. 5, 4-6. Nârâyana states, in accordance with these Sûtras of the fifth chapter, that in case the student belongs to the second or third caste, an Ūha (i.e. a corresponding alteration of the formulas; from the *Srauta-sûtra*, VI, 1, 3 the definition is quoted here sabdavikâram ūham bruvate) takes place. If he is a Kshatriya, he has to say, 'Recite the Trishubh, sir!'—'Recite the verse of Hiranyastûpa (Rig-veda I, 35, 2), sir!' A Vaisya has to say, 'Recite the Gagatī, sir!'—'Recite the verse of Hiranyastûpa (or, of Vâmadeva, Rig-veda I, 35, 9 or IV, 40, 5), sir!'

17. Comp. Indische Studien, X, 132, note 1.

18. In that way, according to what *Rîshi* each hymn belongs to and what its deity and its metre is, thus (with the corresponding indications of *Rîshi*, &c.) let him recite each hymn ;

19. Or also, if he does not know the *Rîshis*, deities, and metres, the teacher recites this verse, 'That glorious (splendour) of Savitar' (Rig-veda III, 62, 10), pāda by pāda, hemistich by hemistich, (and finally) without a stop, and says, when he has finished, 'This (verse belongs to) Savitar ; it is a Gâyatrî ; Visvāmītra is its *Rîshi*).'

18-20. I do not think that Professor Weber (Indische Studien, X, 132) has quite exactly rendered the meaning of these Sūtras when he says, 'The teacher then (i. e. after the formula of Sūtra 17 has been pronounced) teaches him first the *Rîshi*, the deity, and the metre of each Mantra. In case he does not know them himself for a Mantra, he recites the holy Sāvitrî (tat Savitur vareṇyam). After this he teaches him in due order either (1) the single *Rîshis*, i. e. the hymns belonging to each *Rîshi*, or (2) the single Anuvākas,' &c.—It does not seem quite probable to me that the student should have had to learn first the *Rîshis*, deities, and metres of the whole Veda, before the text of the hymns was taught him ; I rather believe that hymn by hymn the indication of the *Rîshis*, &c. preceded the anuvākana of the text itself, and with this opinion the statement of Nārāyaṇa agrees, 'Evam pūrvoktena prakāreṇa rishidevatākṛṇḍaḥpūrvakam tam tam Agnim īla ityādikam mantram mānavakāyākāryo-nubhūyāt.'

19. According to Nārāyaṇa by esheti (literally, 'This [is the *Rîk*]') it is meant that the teacher, after having recited the Sāvitrî in the three ways mentioned, should say to the student, 'This *Rîk* is in the Gâyatrî metre. If recited pāda by pāda, it has three pādas. Thus also this *Rîk*, if recited hemistich by hemistich, has two Avasānas (pauses), the first at the end of the hemistich, the second at the end of the third kṛāṇa (or pāda). Thus also this *Rîk* is recited without stopping ; at the end of the three kṛāṇas, or of the twenty-four syllables, the pause (avasāna) should be made. Thus I recite to thee the Sāvitrî ; I recite to thee the Gâyatrî ; I recite to thee the verse of Visvāmītra.' 'For,' adds Nārāyaṇa, 'if the Gâyatrî has been recited, the whole complex of the Veda being of that very

20. Let him thus recite (the hymns belonging to) each *Rishi*, or (each) *Anuvāka*;

21. Of the short hymns (in the tenth *Maṇḍala*) an *Anuvāka*,

22. Or as much as the master may think fit.

23. Or optionally he may recite the first and last hymn of (each) *Rishi*,

24. Or of (each) *Anuvāka*,

25. (Or) one (verse) of the beginning of each hymn.

26. The teacher may optionally say at the beginning of the hymn, 'This is the commencement.'

27. This has been (further) explained in (the treatise about) the *Rishisvādhyāya*.

substance, a complete knowledge thereof has been produced.' The commentator then indicates a shorter form for the teacher's words which our *Sūtra* prescribes by *esheti*, 'This verse belongs to *Savitar*; it is a *Gâyatrī*; its *Rishi* is *Viśvāmitra*.'

21. The *Kshudrasūktas* are the hymns *Rig-veda* X, 129-191.

24 seq. This seems to be an abridged method by which students who had not the intention of becoming Vedic scholars, and probably chiefly students of the *Kshatriya* and *Vaiśya* caste, could fulfil their duty of learning the *Veda*; a student who knew the first and last hymn of a *Rishi*, or of an *Anuvāka*, was, as would seem from these *Sūtras*, by a sort of fiction considered as though he had known the whole portion belonging to that *Rishi*, or the whole *Anuvāka*.

27. *Nārāyaṇa* explains *Rishisvādhyāya* by *mantrasamhitā*. He says, 'The *Anuvāka* na which has been declared here, is to be understood also with regard to the *svādhyāya*, i.e. to the *Samhitā* of the *Mantras*.' I think there is a blunder in the MS., and instead of *tad api svādhyāye . . . gñeyam* we ought to read *tad rishisvādhyāye . . . gñeyam*. In this case we should have to translate the quoted passage, ' . . . is to be understood with regard to the *Rishisvādhyāya*, i.e. to, &c.'—I think, however, that the true meaning of the *Sūtra* is different from what *Nārāyaṇa* believes it to be. The expression *vyākhyātam* apparently conveys a reference to another treatise in which the rules regarding the *Rishisvādhyāya* would seem to have been fully set forth. The *Srauta-sūtra* contains

28. When (the lesson) is finished, he takes the young Kusa shoots, makes of cow-dung a pit at their roots, and sprinkles water on the Kusa (shoots) for each hymn.

29. For the rest of the day standing and fasting.

KHANDA 8.

1. In the afternoon, having obtained by begging fried barley grains, he shall sacrifice them with his hand on the fire according to the rites of the Āgya oblations with the text, 'The lord of the seat, the

no passage which could be the one here referred to; we may suppose, therefore, that either a chapter of a Prâtisākhya is quoted here, or a separate treatise on the special subject of the *R̥ishisvādhyāya*. References to such treatises are found in the Sūtra texts in several instances, of which the most important is that in the Gobhila-*Grihya* I, 5, 13, 'On what day the moon becomes full, the knowledge thereof is contained in a special text; that one either should study or ascertain when the Parvan is from those who have studied it.'

28. *Nārāyaṇa*: 'First stand the Mantras, then the Brāhmaṇa, because it contains the viniyoga (the ritual use of the Mantras), then the *Smṛiti* texts such as Manu, &c. When he has repeated these texts to the student, after the end of the *Anuvākana*, the teacher should take from the student the Kusa blades which had been taken up before for the sake of the *Anuvākana* (see Sūtras 5 seq.),' &c.—The teacher is made the subject of this rule also by *Rāmakaṇḍa*. On *yathāśūktam* *Nārāyaṇa* observes that according to some teachers these water oblations were directed to the *R̥ishis* of the different hymns (*r̥ishīn uddisryeti keṭi*). This statement seems to be countenanced by IV, 6, 6. Comp. the note below on IV, 9, 1.

29. 'This rule concerns the *Brahmakārin*.' *Nārāyaṇa*. See also *Āsvalāyana* I, 22, 11.

8, 1. This is the *Anupravāṇīyahoma* treated of by *Āsvalāyana* at I, 22, 12 seq. There it is stated that this sacrifice should be performed as well after the recitation of the *Sāvitrī* as after the other

wonderful' (Rig-veda I, 18, 6 seq.), verse by verse, down to the end of the hymn,

2. Causing the teacher by (the gift of) food to pronounce auspicious wishes.

KHANDA 9.

1. In the forest, with a piece of wood in his hand, seated, he performs the Sandhyâ (or twilight devotion) constantly, observing silence, turning his face north-west, to the region between the chief (west) point and the intermediate (north-western) point (of the horizon), until the stars appear,

2. Murmuring, when (the twilight) has passed, the Mahâvyâhṛtis, the Sâvitṛī, and the auspicious hymns.

3. In the same way in the morning, turning his face to the east, standing, until the disk of the sun appears.

10, 1. When (the sun) has risen, the study (of the Veda) goes on.

portions of the Veda, for instance, as the commentary there has it, after the Mahânâmās, the Mahâvṛata, and the Upanishad have been recited. Nârâyana indicates the time of this sacrifice in the words, 'On that same fast-day (chap. 7, 29) in the afternoon.'

2. 'He shall, by pronouncing such words as svasti bhavanto bruvantu, dispose the teacher favourably so that he may say svastil' Nârâyana.

9, 1. On the Sandhyâ ceremony comp. chiefly Baudhâyana II, 7. Samitpâni of course is not samyatatâni, as Nârâyana explains it. On anvash/amadesa comp. Professor Stenzler's note on Âsvalâyana III, 7, 4.

2. The Svastyayanâs are texts such as Rig-veda I, 89; IV, 31.

10, 1. This Sûtra evidently should be placed at the end of the ninth chapter; comp. IV, 6, 9. The fact that, as the commentary observes, the words nityam vâgyataḥ (chap. 9, Sûtra 1) are to be

KHANDA 10.

2. Every day in the evening and in the morning,

3. He establishes the fire (in its proper place),
wipes (with his hand the ground) round (it), sprinkles (water) round (it), bends his right knee,

4. (And puts fuel on the fire with the texts,) 'To Agni I have brought a piece of wood, to the great Gâtavedas; may he, Gâtavedas, give faith and insight to me. Svâhâ!

'Firewood art thou; may we prosper. Fuel art thou; splendour art thou; put splendour into me. Svâhâ!

'Being inflamed make me prosperous in offspring and wealth. Svâhâ!

'Thine is this fuel, Agni; thereby thou shalt grow and gain vigour. And may we grow and gain vigour. Svâhâ!'

supplied here also points in the same direction. That this Sûtra has nothing to do with the Agnipariśradyâ, of which the tenth chapter treats, becomes evident also from Râmākandra's Paddhati.

4. Nârâyana: samidham iti mantralingât samidhâm homaḥ, mantraprithaktvât karmaprithaktvam iti nyâyât.

In the Atharva-veda XIX, 64, 1 the MSS. have Agne samidham âhârsham. Professors Roth and Whitney have conjectured in this passage agre instead of Agne. It is shown by our passage and the corresponding ones in the other Sûtras that the true reading is Agnaye. Instead of âhârsham we should read âhârsham, as all the parallel texts have. In the passage 'Firewood art thou; might we prosper,' there is a play upon words untranslatable in English, 'edho-sy edhishîmahî.' Perhaps instead of samiddho mâṁ samardhaya we should read samṛiddho mâṁ samardhaya. As the Mantra referred to the Samidh-offering, samṛiddha could very easily be supplanted by the participle of sam-idh. In the parallel texts indicated p. 139 of the German edition it should be, Vâg. Samh. II, 14 a.

5. Having then sprinkled (water) round (the fire),
6. He approaches the fire with the verse, 'May Agni (vouchsafe) to me faith and insight, not-forgetting (what I have learned) and memory; may this praiseful *Gâtavedas* give blessing to us.'

[7. He makes with ashes the *tripundhra* sign (the sign of three strokes) which is set forth in the (treatise on the) *Sauparnavrata*, which is revealed, which agrees with the tradition handed down by the ancients, with the five formulas 'The threefold age' (see above, I, 28, 9), one by one, on five (places), viz. the forehead, the heart, the right shoulder and the left, and then on the back.]

8. He who approaches the fire after having sacrificed thus, studies of these Vedas, one, two, three, or all.

KHANDA 11.

1. Now (follows) the directing to the (special) observances.
2. The rules for it have been explained by the initiation.
3. He does not recite the *Sâvitṛi*.

7. This Sûtra is wanting in one of the Haug MSS. and in the *Sâmbavya* MS.; *Râmakandra's* Paddhati takes no notice of it. I take it for a later addition. It should be noticed that the words *dakshinaskandhe . . . ka pañkâsu* form a half Sloka.

11, 1. On the four Vratas, of which the *Sukriya* precedes the study of the main part of the Veda, the *Sâkvara*, *Vrâtika*, and *Aupanishada* that of the different sections of the *Âraṇyaka*, see the note on chap. 7, 1 and the Introduction, p. 8. On the name of the *Sukriya* *Râmakandra* says, *sukriyasabdo vedavâñi, tatsam-bandhâd vratam api sukriyam*.

- 2, 4. See the note on chap. 6, 1. 2.

4. Some say that the handing over of the staff forms the end (of this ceremony).

5. During the northern course of the sun, in the time of the increasing moon—

6. The teacher having abstained through one day and one night from sexual intercourse and from eating flesh—

7. With the exclusion of the fourteenth day and of the eighth (of the half-month),

8. And of the first and last, according to some (teachers),

9. Or on what day else the constellation seems lucky to him, on that day he shall direct (the student) to the duties of holiness according to the Sukriya rite.

10. Let him observe (those) duties through three days, or twelve days, or one year, or as long as the master may think fit.

11. The Sâkvara (observance), however, (is to be kept) one year.

12. (So also) the Vrâtika and Aupanishada (observances).

13. When the time has elapsed, when the duties

4. On the *dandapradâna*, see chap. 6, 2.

6. The pleonasm *brahmaṣaryam upetya . . . brahmaṣârî* should be removed by expunging *brahmaṣârî*, which is omitted in the Sâmbavya text. Comp. chap. 12, Sûtra 8; VI, 1, 2.

7. Comp. below, IV, 7, 7.

9. In the Sâmbavya text this Sûtra has a fuller form. It runs there thus, ' . . . he shall direct (the student) to the duties of holiness according to the Sukriya rite, the teacher saying, "Be a Sukriya-brahmaṣârin;" the other one replying, "I will be a Sukriya-brahmaṣârin." Thus also at the other observances he shall pronounce each time the name of the observance to which he directs him.'

10. Comp. above, II, 5, 1.

13. The *Samyu Bârhaspatya*, i.e. the verse beginning with the

have been observed, when the Veda has been studied down to the *Samyu-Bârhaspatya*-(hymn), let (the teacher then), should he intend to instruct (the student) in the secret (part of the Veda), ascertain the time (through which the student has to observe the special rites) and the rules to be observed, from the (special) directions (that are handed down on this subject).

KHANDA 12.

1. After (the student) has eaten something in the morning, in the afternoon, to the north-east—

words *taḥ kham yor â vrinîmahe*, is the last verse of the Rigveda in the Bâshkala redaction. See below, the note on IV, 5, 9.

On *kâlaniyamam*, see *Nârâyana's* note, pp. 140 seq. of the German edition.

12, 1 seq. The Indian tradition (with the exception only, as far as is known to me, of the *Sâmbavya* commentary) refers the ceremonies described in this chapter, like those treated of in chap. 11, as well to the *Sukriya* as to the *Sâkvara* and the other *Vratas*. This is not correct. The eleventh chapter gives the rites common to the four *Vratas*; the *Sukriya* vrata is connected with no special ceremonies beside those, so that the exposition of this *Vrata* is brought to an end in that chapter. The last *Sûtra* of chap. 11 marks the transition to the special rites which are peculiar to the three other *Vratas*, and are connected with the character of mystical secrecy attributed to the *Âraṇyaka*, and thus it is with the exclusion of the *Sukriya* that the twelfth chapter refers only to those *Vratas*. The difference which we have pointed out between the two chapters finds its characteristic expression in *Sûtras* 9 and 11 of chap. 11, compared with chap. 12, 13, 14; in the former *Sûtras* the statements there given are expressly extended to the *Sukriya*, the *Sâkvara*, the *Vrâtika*, and the *Aupanishada*, while in the latter passage mention is made first of the *Mahânâmnîs*, i.e. the text corresponding to the *Sâkvara* vrata, and then the *uttarâni prakaraṇâni* (the following sections) are referred to, i.e. the *Mahâvrata* and the *Upanishad*, so that the *Sukriya* vrata or the texts, the study of which is entered upon by that *Vrata*, are left out here.

There is a good deal of confusion in the several commentaries

2. Having sacrificed, the teacher then asks him with regard to those deities to whom he has been given in charge (see above, chap. 3, 1), 'Hast thou fulfilled the duties of holiness before Agni, Indra, the Sun, and the Visve devâs?'

with regard to the succession of the different ceremonies taught in this chapter. They all agree in stating that after the lapse of the year through which the Vrata is kept, a ceremony is performed called Uddîkshāṇikā, i. e. the giving up of the Dîkshā, or preparatory observance. This Uddîkshāṇikā consists chiefly in the teacher's ascertaining whether the student has fulfilled the duties involved by the Vrata (see Sûtras 2 and 3). Besides that, there is no doubt that a repetition of the Upanayana (chap. 11, 2) also formed part of the preparatory rites for the study of the Âraṇyaka. As to the way in which these different ceremonies and the other rites described in this chapter would have to be arranged according to our text, it is perhaps best to follow the statements given in an epitome from the bālāvabodhanârtham *Rîshidaivataġhāṇḍopaddhati* (MS. Berol. Chambers, 199 a, fols. 13-16); the slight confusion therein is not difficult to get rid of. There we read, 'The Sâkvara, however, is to be kept one year (chap. 11, 11). When the Uddîkshāṇikā has been performed, and three nights (chap. 12, 6) or one day and one night (ibid. 7) have elapsed, the Upanayana should be performed as above (chap. 11, 2), with this difference that at the end of the formula *mama vrata*, &c. (chap. 4, 1) one should say, "May *Brîhaspati* join thee to me for the holy observance of the Sâkvara through one year, O *Devadatta*!" (On this formula, resting on a misunderstanding of chap. 4, Sûtra 2, see the Introduction, p. 8.) The rest is the same as at the *Sukriya*. Then, when the year (chap. 11, 11) has elapsed, and the Uddîkshāṇikā has been performed, and the three days or the night have passed (chap. 12, 6, 7), he should go out of the village... and in the north-eastern direction,' &c. (here follows the description of how the secret doctrines should be taught to the student, according to *Sâṅkh. VI*). The confusion showing itself in the double mention of the Uddîkshāṇikā, before and after the Upanayana, should no doubt be put to the account of the excerptor or perhaps even of the MS.; what the meaning of the original *Paddhati* was is sufficiently shown in the remarks on the following Vratas, for instance, on the *Vrâtika* (fol. 16), 'Now follows the *Vrâtika vrata*. It lasts one year (chap.

3. If he answers, 'I have fulfilled them, sir!'—
4. The teacher three times envelops, from the left to the right, with a fresh garment the face (of the student) who is standing behind the fire, in front of the teacher, with his face to the east.
5. He turns the skirt (of that garment) upwards so that it cannot slip down,
6. (And says :) 'Leaving off for three days the putting on of fuel, the going for alms, the sleeping on the ground, and the obedience to the teacher, fast in the forest, in a god's house or in a place where Agnihotra is performed, keeping silence, with earnest care.'

11, 12). When the Sâkvara has reached its end [here we find added at the margin of the MS., "After the Uddiksharikâ has been performed." These words ought not to be received into the text; in the corresponding passage on the Aupanishada vrata they are not found] he performs the whole ceremony, beginning from the smearing (of the Sthanâla with cow-dung), the drawing of the lines, &c., as at the Upanayana . . . and then, when one year has elapsed, he performs the Uddiksharikâ, and the rules [given in chap. 12, 9 seq.] are observed as above.' I think that here the meaning of the text is correctly represented; first comes the Upanayana, then follows the Vrata lasting one year, then the Uddiksharikâ. After this ceremony the teacher gives to the student the directions mentioned in chap. 12, 16; then follow the three days, or the one night (chap. 12, 6. 7), and finally they both go out of the village to the north-east, and in the forest they recite the Rahasya.

On the whole ceremonies connected with the study of the Âra-nyaka the sixth book should be compared.

5. Nârâyana : Vastrasya darâh prântabhâga[m] uparishât krîtvâ tathâ badhnîyâd yathâ na sambhrasyeta adhastân na patati tathâ vidheyam.

6. The things which the student here is ordered to leave off for three days are the same that are mentioned above, chap. 6, 8, as his standing duties. According to Nârâyana this would be the Âdesa mentioned in chap. 11, 13.

7. Here some (teachers) prescribe the same observances only for one night, during which he is to stand.

8. The teacher refrains from eating flesh and from sexual intercourse.

9. When those three days or that night has elapsed, going out from the village he shall avoid to look at the following (persons or things) that form impediments for the study (of the Veda) :

10. Raw flesh, a *Kandâla*, a woman that has lately been confined, or that has her courses, blood, persons whose hands have been cut off, cemeteries, and all sorts of corpse-like (animals ?) which enter (their dens ?) with the mouth first (?), keeping them away from the place where he dwells.

8. Comp. chap. 11, 6.

10. With *Sûtikâ* is meant a woman during the first ten days after her confinement, for which period the *asauka* lasts.—*Apa-hasta* is rendered by *Nârâyana* by *kḥinnahasta*; the comment on the *Sâmbavya-Grihya* mentions *âyudhâṅkitahastâms ka*. The translation of the last words of this *Sûtra* (*sarvâni ka savarûpâni yâny âsyena na [or âsyena?] praviseyuh svasya vâsân nirasan*) is absolutely uncertain. *Nârâyana* says that such animals as lions, serpents, &c. are designated in common use as *savarûpâni*. (This literally means, 'having the form of a corpse.' Immediately afterwards *Nârâyana* gives a nearly identical explanation of *savarûpa* as different from the one stated first. So perhaps we may conjecture that his first explanation rests on a reading *sarpârûpâni*; comp. the reading *sarvarûpa* of *Pâraskara*.) Of these the animals entering their dwelling-places with the mouth first (*âsyena*) are to be understood here as forming, when looked at, an impediment for the study. *Nârâyana* then says that other authorities understand *sava* in the sense of a dead human body; then *savarûpâni* are beings having the form thereof (*tadrûpâni*), such as dogs, jackals, &c. The words *yâny âsyena praviseyuh* signify that the study is impeded also on the sight of lions, tigers, &c.; for these enter their dwelling-places with their faces first (? *anumukhaiḥ kṛitvâ*). The words *svasya vâsân nirasan* mean,

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11. Going out (from the village) in a north-eastern direction the teacher sits down on a clean spot, turning his face to the east.

12. When the sun has risen, he recites, in the way prescribed for the Veda-study, (the *Āraṇyaka* texts to the student) who is to keep silence and who wears a turban.

13. This rule is to be observed only for the *Mahānāmni* verses.

14. At the sections however that follow (after the *Mahānāmni*s) the other one hears while the teacher recites them for himself.

15. He gives (to the teacher) the turban, a vessel, a good cow.

16. (The teacher accepts the gifts) with the verses,

according to Nār., 'when he—i. e. the teacher—goes out of his dwelling-place.' *Rāmakaṇḍa* says that *savarūpa* either means lions, snakes, and other dangerous animals, or nails, horns, and other such things that fall off or are severed from the body. The text of the *Sāmbavya* MS. is *sarvāṇi ka syāmarūpāṇi yāvānyā (?) praviseyuḥ*, which the commentary explains, *sarvāms ka bhakshyavargāms ka*. I think there can be little doubt that the text of *Sāṅkhāyana* is correct (except that some doubt will remain as to *āsyena* or *āsyē na*), the more so as the passage reoccurs, nearly identically, below at VI, 1, 4. 5. As to the translation we can only go so far as to venture the opinion that the *Sāṅkhāyana* text does not admit the interpretation given by *Gayarāma*, and accepted by Professor Stenzler (who compares *Āpastamba* I, 11, 27; *Gautama* XVI, 41) in *Pāraskara* II, 11, 3 for *sarvarūpa*, which consequently should, in our opinion, be rejected also in that passage of *Pāraskara*. For ascertaining the true meaning of *savarūpa* we shall have to wait until new parallel passages have been discovered.

12. The rules for the *Anuvākana* have been given above in chap. 7.

13. The *Mahānāmni* verses are given in the fourth *Āraṇyaka* of the *Aitareyinas*. See *Sacred Books of the East*, I, p. xliii.

‘Thou him’ (Rig-veda I, 18, 5), and, ‘High in the sky’ (Rig-veda X, 107, 2), or (he accepts them) all with the *Pranava* (i.e. the syllable *Om*).

17. Here some prepare a mess of rice for the *Visve devâs* at all sections (of the *Âranyaka*);

18. For the gods to whom he has been given in charge, according to *Mândûkeya*.

KHANDA 13.

1. Now (follow) the rules regarding the staff.

2. Let him not leave a passage between himself and the staff.

3. Now should any one of these things, viz. staff, girdle, or sacrificial cord, break or rend, the same penance (takes place) therefore which (has been prescribed) at the wedding with regard to the chariot.

4. If the girdle cannot be repaired, he makes another and speaks over it (the following verses):

5. ‘Thou who knowest the distinction of pure and impure, divine protectress *Sarasvatî*, O girdle, prolong my vow unimpaired, unbroken.

‘Thou, *Agni*, art the pure bearer of vows. *Agni*, carry hither the gods to our sacrifice and our oblation.

‘Bearing the vows, the infallible protector of vows, be our messenger, undecaying and mighty. Giving treasures, merciful, *Agni*, protect us, that we may live, *Gâtavedas*!’

6. And he ties the sacrificial cord to the staff.

7. Here it is said also :

18. Comp. the second *Sûtra* of this chapter.

13, 3. See above, I, 15, 9 seq.

8. 'Let him sacrifice the sacrificial cord and the staff, the girdle and also the skin in water after the completion of his vow with a Varuṇa-verse or with the essence (of the Vedas, i.e. the syllable Om).'

KHANDA 14.

1. Now (follows) the Vaisvadeva (sacrifice).
2. The rite of the sacrifice has been explained.
3. Let him pour oblations of prepared Vaisvadeva food in the evening and in the morning into the (sacred) domestic fire.
4. 'To Agni svâhâ! To Soma svâhâ! To Indra and Agni svâhâ! To Vishṇu svâhâ! To Bharadvâga Dhanvantari svâhâ! To the Visve devâs svâhâ! To Praçâpati svâhâ! To Aditi svâhâ! To Anumati svâhâ! To Agni Svishṭakṛit

8. Nârâyana here quotes Rig-veda I, 24, 6, which is the first verse in the Rig-veda addressed to Varuṇa (i.e. to Varuṇa alone, not to Mitra and Varuṇa, &c.).

14, 1. The rules regarding the Vaisvadeva sacrifice stand here, as I have already pointed out in the German edition, p. 142, in a very strange position amid the matter that concerns the student, and before the description of the ceremony that concludes studentship (the Samâvartana; III, 1). On the first word of the chapter, atha, Nârâyana observes that thereby the householder is marked as the subject of the following rules. It seems rather forced to explain the position of this chapter, as Nârâyana does, by pointing out that in some cases, for instance when the teacher is away on a journey, a student also can eventually be called upon to perform the Vaisvadeva sacrifice (comp. below, chap. 17, 3).

2. This Sûtra shows, according to Nârâyana, that the Vaisvadeva offering does not follow the ordinary type of sacrifice (the Pratisrute homakalpa, as it is termed above, I, 9, 19), but the form described in the Agnikâryaprakarana, above, chap. 10, 3 seq.

svāhā !'—having thus offered the oblations belonging to those deities,

5. He then shall offer Balis (i.e. portions of food) in the centre of the floor to the same deities; (then another Bali with the words,) 'Adoration to Brahman and to the Brāhmanas!' and (with the verse), 'Vāstoshpati, accept us' (Rig-veda VII, 54, 1) in the centre of the floor to Vāstoshpati.

6. He then distributes Balis, from the left to the right, through the different quarters (of the horizon, to the presiding deities) in due order (with the words),

7. 'Adoration to Indra and to those belonging to Indra! Adoration to Yama and to those belonging to Yama! Adoration to Varuṇa and to those belonging to Varuṇa! Adoration to Soma and to those belonging to Soma! Adoration to Bṛihaspati and to those belonging to Bṛihaspati!'

8. Then (turned) towards the disk of the sun, 'Adoration to Aditi and to the Âdityas! Adoration

5. 'He shall offer a Bali to those deities, i.e. to those ten deities to whom he has sacrificed, to Agni, &c. (see Sûtra 4), addressing them with the word, "Adoration (to such and such a deity)"—because in the other cases the word "adoration" (namaḥ) has been prescribed for the Bali.' Nârâyana.

6, 7. The distribution of Balis begins in the east, which is the part of the horizon sacred to Indra; it then proceeds to the south, the west, the north, which are sacred respectively to Yama, Varuṇa, and Soma. Finally the Bali belonging to Bṛihaspati and the Bârhaspatyas is offered, according to Nârâyana, to the north-east.

8. The commentators (see p. 142 of the German edition) differ as to whether âdityamandala means the disk of the sun towards which this Bali should be offered, or a place or an apartment of circular form (âdityamandalarûpe mandalâgâre, as in my opinion we ought to correct the reading in Nârâyana's note).

to the Nakshatras, to seasons, to months, to half-months, to days and nights, to years !'

9. 'To Pûshan, the path-maker; to Dhâtar, to Vidhâtar, and to the Maruts' — (thus) on the thresholds.

10. To Vishṇu on the grindstone.

11. 'To the tree' — (thus) in the mortar.

12. 'To the herbs' — (thus) where the herbs are kept.

13. 'To Parganya, to the waters' — (thus) near the water-pot.

14. 'Adoration to Śrī' — (thus) in the bed at the head, 'to Bhadrakālī' at the foot.

15. In the privy, 'Adoration to Sarvānnabhûti !'

16. Then (he throws a Bali) into the air, in the evening with the words, 'To the night-walkers,' in the morning with the words, 'To the day-walkers,' and with the verse, 'Which gods' (Rig-veda I, 139, 11).

17. To the unknown deities to the north, and to Dhanapati (i.e. the Lord of treasures).

18. With the sacrificial cord suspended over the right shoulder he pours out the remnant to the south with the verse, 'They whom the fire has burnt' (Rig-veda X, 15, 14).

19. When he has made his offerings to gods, fathers (i.e. Manes), and men, let him give food to a Srotriya (i.e. to a learned Brâhmana).

20. Or let him give alms (of food) to a student.

21. Let him immediately afterwards offer food to a female under his protection, to a pregnant woman, to boys, and to old people.

21. Comp. Böhlingk-Roth s. v. *suvasinî*, and Professor Bühler's note on Gautama V, 25.

22. Let him throw (some food) on the ground for the dogs, for the dog-butchers, and for the birds.

23. Let him eat nothing without having cut off (and offered as a Bali) a portion thereof.

24. (Let him) not (eat) alone,

25. Nor before (the others).

26. With regard thereto it has been said also in the *Rik*, 'In vain the fool gains food' (Rig-veda X, 117, 6).

KHANDA 15.

1. Should any one of the six persons (mentioned in the *Srauta-sûtra* and in the *Sûtras* 4-9) to whom the *Arghya* reception is due, visit (him), let him make (ready) a cow, a goat, or what (sort of food) he thinks most like (thereto).

2. Let the *Argha* not be without flesh.

3. On the occasion of a sacrifice and of a wedding let (the guest) say, 'Make it (ready).'

22, 23. Probably these *Sûtras* should be divided after *iti*.

23. '*Pûrvam* means, he should not eat before his relations (*bandhubhyaḥ pûrvam prathamataḥ*).' *Nârâyana*.

15, 1. This *Sûtra* presupposes the *Srauta-sûtra* IV, 21, 1: 'To six persons the *Argha* reception is due, viz. to the teacher, to an officiating priest, to the father-in-law, to a king, to a *Snâtaka*, to a friend.' Here the fourth person mentioned is the *svasura*, while in the *Grihya* text the expression *vaivâhya* is used. It is difficult not to believe that both words are used in the same sense, and accordingly *Nârâyana* says *vivâhyaḥ svasuraḥ*. Comp. Professor Stenzler's note on *Pâraskara* I, 3, 1; *Âpastamba* II, 8, 7; *Gautama* V, 27.

Sâmânyatamam sadrisatamam mâshâdikam (*mâkhâdikam* the MS.) *annam*. *Nârâyana*.

2, 3. These *Sûtras* are identical with *Pâraskara* I, 3, 29. 30. The following *Sûtra* of *Pâraskara* stands in the *Sânkhâyana* text as

4. The animal (offered) to the teacher is sacred to Agni;

5. If offered to an officiating priest, to *Bṛihaspati*;

6. If to the father-in-law, to *Pragâpati*;

7. If to a king, to *Indra*;

8. If to a friend, to *Mitra*;

9. If to a *Snâtaka*, to *Indra* and *Agni*;

10. Even if he performs more than one Soma sacrifice during a year, let only priests who have received (from him) the *Arghya* reception officiate for him, not such who have not received it.

11. Here it is said also :

Sûtra 10. Probably *Pâraskara* here represents the text which both *Sûtrakâras* follow, more exactly, and the enumeration given by *Sâṅkhâyana* in *Sûtras 4-9* of the different categories of *Arghyas* with the corresponding deities, is an addition to that original stock of rules.

Apparently the two *Sûtras 2* and *3* stand in contradiction to each other, as *Sûtra 2* seems to prescribe that at the *Argha* meal in every case flesh should be given to the guest, and *Sûtra 3* specifies only two occasions on which the killing of the *Argha* cow cannot be dispensed with. Perhaps the meaning is this, that it is not necessary, except in the cases of a sacrifice and of a wedding, to kill a cow expressly for that purpose, but that in any case, even if the cow offered to the guest be declined by him, the host should take care that some flesh be served at that meal. So says *Nârâyana* in his note on *Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 24, 33*, '*Parukaranapakshe tanmâmsena bhoganam, utsarganapakshe mâmsântarena.*' Similarly the Buddhists distinguish between eating flesh and eating the flesh of an animal expressly killed in order to entertain that very guest.

6. The literal translation of *vaivâhya* would be 'a person related by marriage.' But comp. the note on *Sûtra 1*.

8. *Priya* of course does not mean *gâmâtara*, as is stated in a number of commentaries. *Gobhila* says, *priyo-tithiḥ*.

11. Other persons, for instance a king, can claim the *Argha* reception not more than once a year. Comp. *Âpastamba II, 8, 7*; *Gautama V, 28, 29, &c.*

KHANDA 16.

1. 'At the Madhuparka and at the Soma sacrifice, at the sacred rites for fathers (Manes) and gods only animals may be killed, not elsewhere: thus has Manu said.

2. 'Both his teacher and his father, and also a friend who does not stay in his house as a guest: whatever these dispose, that let him do; such is the established custom.

3. 'Let him not consider as a guest a person living in the same village, or one that comes in returning from a journey; (but let him consider as a guest only) one who has arrived at his house where the wife or the fires (of the host) are.

4. '(The fire of) the Agnihotra, bulls, and a guest that has come in at the right time, children and persons of noble families: these burn up him who neglects them.

5. 'A bull, the Agnihotra, and a student, these three prosper only if they eat; there is no prosperity for them, if they do not eat.

6. 'Day by day the domestic deities approach the man who performs the domestic rites, in order to receive their share; (that) let him pour out to them.

KHANDA 17.

1. 'Even if a man constantly gather grass and perform the Agnihotra, a Brâhmaṇa who stays (in his

16, 3. Comp. Gautama V, 40, &c.

4. On the right time for the arrival of a guest, see Gautama, loc. cit.

house) without receiving honour takes away all his good works.

2. 'One should give (even) if it were only a water-pot; one should sacrifice (even) if it were a piece of wood; (even) down to one hymn or to one Anuvâka the Brahmayagña is enjoined.

3. 'When on a journey let him not fast; (during that time) the wife keeps the vow. Let his son, his brother, or his wife, or his pupil offer the Bali oblation.

4. 'Those who perform this Vaisvadeva sacrifice in the evening and in the morning, they will prosper in wealth and (long) life, in fame and offspring.'

KHANDA 18.

1. A student who is going to set out on a journey, speaks thus to his teacher :

2. 'Of inhalation and exhalation'—(this he says) in a low voice; 'Om, I will dwell'—this aloud.

3. (The teacher) in a low voice (replies), 'To inhalation and exhalation I, the wide-extended one, resort with thee. To the protecting god I give thee in charge. God Savitar; this student belongs to thee; I give him in charge to thee; protect him; do not forsake him.'

4. 'Om, hail!' the teacher aloud. 'Hail!' the teacher aloud.

Here ends the Second Adhyâya.

18, 2. Perhaps vatsyâmi (I will dwell) is a sort of euphemism for pravatsyâmi (I will go away).

ADHYĀYA III, KHANDA 1.

1. A bath (shall be taken by the student) when he is going to return home (from his teacher).

2. 'A bull's hide'—this has been declared. On that hide he makes him sit down and have his hair and beard cut and the hair of the body and the nails.

3. Having had (the cut-off hair-ends, &c.) thrown away together with rice and barley, with sesamum-seed and mustard-seed, with Apāmārga and Sadāpushpī flowers,

4. Having sprinkled him (with water) with the Āpohishṭhīya-hymn (Rig-veda X, 9),

5. Having adorned him,

6. Having dressed him with two garments with (the verse), 'The garments both of you' (Rig-veda I, 152, 1),

7. He then puts on him a golden ornament (with the words), 'Giving life and vigour' (Vāgasaneyi Samhitā XXXIV, 50).

8. With (the verse), 'Mine, Agni, be vigour' (Rig-veda X, 128, 1), the veiling (of the head is done).

9. With (the verse), 'House by house the shining one' (Rig-veda I, 123, 4) (he takes) the parasol,

10. With (the verse), 'Rise up' (Rig-veda X, 18, 6), the shoes,

1, 2. Comp. above, I, 16, 1, and the note there.

4. Nārāyaṇa says here, *enam mānavakam abhishikṣya abhishekam snānam kārayatvā*. Comp. Pāraskara II, 6, 9 seq.

11. With (the verse), 'Long be thy hook' (Rig-veda VIII, 17, 10) he takes a bamboo staff.

12. Let him sit that day in solitude.

13. With (the verses), 'O tree! with strong limbs,' and, 'A ruler indeed' (Rig-veda VI, 47, 26; X, 152, 1) let him mount the chariot.

14. (Before returning home) let him first approach a place where they will perform Argha for him with a cow or a goat.

15. Or let him return (making his start) from cows or from a fruit-bearing tree.

16. With (the verses), 'Indra, give us best goods,' and, 'Be friendly, O earth' (Rig-veda II, 21, 6; I, 22, 15) he descends (from the chariot).

17. Let him eat that day his favourite food.

18. To his teacher he shall give (that) pair of garments, the turban, ear-rings and jewel, staff and shoes, and the parasol.

KHANDA 2.

1. If he wishes to have a house built, he draws with an Udumbara branch three times a line round (the building-ground) with (the words), 'Here I include the dwellings for the sake of food,' and sacrifices in (its) centre on an elevated spot,

2. (With the texts,) 'Who art thou? Whose art

12. Pratilîna evidently means the same thing that is so often expressed in the Buddhist texts by *paṭisallîna*.

18. The pair of garments are those referred to in Sûtra 6; on the turban see Sûtra 8. On staff and shoes comp. Sûtras 10, 11; on the parasol, Sûtra 9.

2, 1 seqq. On the house of the Vedic Indians, comp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 148 seqq.

thou? To whom do I sacrifice thee, desirous of (dwelling in the) village? Svâhâ!

‘Thou art the gods’ share on this (earth). From here have sprung the fathers who have passed away. The ruler has sacrificed, desirous of (dwelling in the) village, not omitting anything that belongs to the gods. Svâhâ!’

3. Having had the pits for the posts dug,

4. He pours water-gruel into them,

5. And with (the verse), ‘This branch of the immortal one I erect, a stream of honey, promoting wealth. The child, the young one, cries to it; the cow shall low to it, the unceasingly fertile one’—he puts an Udumbara branch which has been besmeared with ghee into the pit for the right door-post.

6. ‘This branch of the world I establish, a stream of honey, promoting wealth. The child, the young one, cries to it; the cow shall low to it that has a young calf’—thus to the left.

7. In the same way at the two (pits) to the south, to the west, and to the north.

8. With (the verse), ‘This branch of this tree, that drops ghee, I erect in the immortal. The child, the young one, cries to it; cows shall flock to it, unceasingly fertile ones’—he erects the chief post.

9. ‘May the young child come to it, may the calf . . . ; may they come to it with a cup of Parisrut, with pots of curds.

9. On parisrut, see Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 281. The words *bhuvanas pari* give no sense; Pâraskara probably gives the true reading, *â vatso gagadaiḥ saha* (III, 4, 4; comp. Sûtra 8: *Vasûms ka Rudrân Âdityân Îrânam gagadaiḥ saha*; *gagada* is explained in Gayarâma’s commentary by *anuga, anuḥara*). The word *gagada* of course was exposed to all sorts of corruptions:

KHANDA 3.

1. 'Stand here, O post, firm, rich in horses and cows, . . . ; stand safely, dropping ghee ; stand here, fixed in the ground, prosperous, long-lasting(?), amid the prosperity of people who satiate themselves. May the malevolent ones not reach thee!

'Hither are called the cows ; hither are called goats and sheep ; and the sweet essence (?) of food is called hither to our house.

'Stand fast in the Rathantara ; recline on the Vâmadevya ; establish thyself on the *Bṛihat*'—with (these texts) he touches the chief post.

2. When the house has been built conformably (to its proper dimensions), he touches the posts.

3. The two (posts) to the east with (the words), 'Truth and faith!'

4. Those to the south with (the words), 'Sacrifice and gift!'

5. Those to the west with (the words), 'Strength and power!'

6. Those to the north with (the words), 'The Brahman and the Kshatra!'

7. 'Fortune the pinnacle, law the chief post!'

thus the text of Ârvalâyana has *gâyatâm saha* ; the Atharva-veda (III, 12, 7) *gagatâ saha* ; and from this *gagat* to the *bhuvana* found in our text the way is not very long.

3, 1. According to Nârâyana the verse given in chap. 2, 9 forms one Mantra with those in 3, 1. The meaning of *sîlamâvatî* is uncertain. The word reoccurs in Rig-veda X, 75, 8. Pâraskara (III, 4, 4) has *sûnritâvatî*. On *tilvila*, comp. Rig-veda V, 62, 7. The following word is quite uncertain both as to its reading and its meaning. Comp. p. 143 seq. of the German edition. On *kîlâla*, comp. Zimmer, loc. cit. p. 281.

7. Comp. Pâraskara III, 4, 18.

8. 'Day and night the two door-jambs!'
9. 'The year the roof!'
10. With (the verse), 'A bull, an ocean' (Rig-veda V, 47, 3) let him bury an anointed stone under the pinnacle.

KHANDA 4.

1. At the sacrifice to Vâstoshpati—
2. Having established the (sacred) domestic fire outside with (the words), 'I place (here) Agni with genial mind; may he be the assembler of goods. Do no harm to us, to the old nor to the young; be a saviour to us, to men and animals!'
3. Having put a new water-pot on fresh eastward-pointed Kusa-grass,
4. And spoken over it (the words), 'Unhurt be our men, may our riches not be squandered!'
5. He sacrifices three oblations in the forenoon with the Stotriya text of the Rathantara with repetition and Kakubh-forming;
6. (Three oblations with the Stotriya) of the Vâmadevya at midday;
7. Of the Brîhat in the afternoon;
8. The four Mahâvyâhritis, the three verses, 'Vâstoshpati!' (Rig-veda VII, 54, 1-3), (the single verses,) 'Driving away calamity,' (and) 'Vâstoshpati,

4, 1. The sacrifice to Vâstoshpati is celebrated when the sacrificer enters his new house.

2. Comp. above, I, 7, 9.

5-7. On the way of reciting a Pragâtha, so as to form three verses, see Indische Studien, VIII, 25; Zeitschrift der deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft, XXXVIII, 476. The Stotriya of the Rathantara is Rig-veda VII, 32, 22 seq.; that of the Vâmadevya, IV, 31, 1-3; that of the Brîhat, VI, 46, 1 seq.

a firm post' (Rig-veda VII, 55, 1; VIII, 17, 14), and to (Agni) Svishṭakṛit a tenth oblation of cooked food at night.

9. Taking with himself his eldest son and his wife, carrying grain, let him enter (the house with the words),

'Indra's house is blessed, wealthy, protecting; that I enter with my wife, with offspring, with cattle, with increase of wealth, with everything that is mine.'

KHANDA 5.

1. 'To every able one, to every blissful one, to you I turn for the sake of safety, of peace. Free from danger may we be. May the village give me in charge to the forest. All! give me in charge to the great one,'—thus (he speaks) when leaving the village.

2. 'May the forest give me in charge to the village. Great one! give me in charge to the all'—thus (he speaks) when entering the village, not without (carrying) something (with himself, such as fuel, flowers, &c.)

3. I enter the blessed, joyful house, which does not bring death to men; manly (I enter) that which is rich in men. Bringing refreshment, dropping ghee (we enter the house) in which I shall joyfully rest'—this verse is constantly to be pronounced (when he enters the house).

5, 3. For anyeshv aham we should read perhaps yeshv aham. Āśvalāyana-Sraut. II, 5, 17 has teshv aham.

KHANDA 6.

1. One who has not set up the (sacred Srauta) fires, when setting out on a journey, looks at his house.

2. (He murmurs the text,) 'Do ye both, Mitra and Varuṇa, protect this house for me; unscathed, undisturbed, may Pūshan guard it till our return;'

3. And murmurs (the verse), 'Upon the path we have entered' (Rig-veda VI, 51, 16).

KHANDA 7.

1. When he then returns from his journey, he looks at his house (and says),

2. 'House, do not fear, do not tremble; bringing strength we come back. Bringing strength, joyful and wise, I come back to thee, to the house, rejoicing in my mind.

'That of which the traveller thinks, that in which dwells much joy, that I call the house. May it know us as we know it.

'Hither are called the cows; hither are called goats and sheep; and the sweet essence (?) of food is called hither to our house.'

3. Having approached the (sacred) domestic fire with the verse, 'This Agni is glorious to us, this is highly glorious. Worshipping him (?) may we suffer no harm; may he bring us to supremacy'—

4. Let him pronounce auspicious words.

5. When accepting the water for washing the feet he says, 'The milk of Virâg art thou; may I obtain

7, 2. On kîlâla, see chap. 3, 1.

5. Padyâ virâg is the Virâg metre, so far as it consists of

the milk of Virâg; in me (may) the milk of Padyâ Virâg (dwell)!'

KHANDA 8.

1. When one who has not set up the (sacred Srauta) fires, is going to partake of the first-fruits (of the harvest), let him sacrifice to the Âgrayana deities with (Agni) Svishṭakṛit as the fourth, and with the word SvÂHÂ, on his (sacred) domestic fire.

2. Having recited over (the food) which he is going to eat (the formula), 'To Pragâpati I draw thee, the proper portion, for luck to me, for glory to me, for food to me!'—

3. He thrice eats of it, sprinkling it with water, with (the verse), 'From the good you have led us to the better, ye gods! Through thee, the nourishment, may we obtain thee. Thus enter into us, O potion, bringing refreshment; be a saviour to us, to men and animals!'

4. With (the verse), 'This art thou, breath; the truth I speak. This art thou; from all directions thou hast entered (into all beings). Thou driving away old age and sickness from my body be at home with me. Do not forsake us, Indra!'—he touches the place of the heart;

Pâdas; in this connection, of course, the phrase is intended besides to convey the meaning of 'the splendour which dwells in the feet.' Comp. Pâraskara I, 3, 12 and Professor Stenzler's note there. My German translation of this Sûtra of SâŒkhâyana rests on a misunderstanding.

8, 1. The Âgrayaneshî is the corresponding rite of the Srauta ritual. Comp. Indische Studien, X, 343. The deities of that sacrifice are Indra and Agni; the Visve devâs; Heaven and Earth.

3. In the text read for tvayâ gvasena, tvayâ vasena.

5. With (the words), 'The navel art thou ; do not fear ; the knot of the breathing powers art thou ; do not loosen thyself,' (he touches) the navel ;

6. With the verse, ' Bliss with our ears ' (Rig-veda I, 89, 8), (he touches) the limbs as stated (in that verse) ;

7. Worshipping the sun with the verse, ' Yonder eye ' (Rig-veda VII, 66, 16).

KHANDA 9.

1. ' May the noisy (goddesses) keep you away from slaughtering hosts. May the entire share, O cows, that belongs to this lord of cows, suffer no harm among you—(and)

' May Pûshan go after our cows ' (Rig-veda VI, 54, 5)—this he shall speak over the cows when they go away (to their pasture-grounds).

2. ' May Pûshan hold ' (Rig-veda VI, 54, 10), when they run about.

3. ' May they whose udder with its four holes is full of sweet and ghee, be milk-givers to us ; (may they be) many in our stable, rich in ghee '—and, ' The cows have come ' (Rig-veda VI, 28), when they have come back.

4. The last (verse) when he puts them in (into the stable).

5. The hymn, ' Refreshing wind ' (Rig-veda X, 169), (he recites over the cows), when they are gone into the stable.

KHANDA 10.

1. The new moon that follows after the Phâlguna

9, 1. The noisy ones are the winds ; comp. the passage of Sâṅkhâyana-Srauta-sûtra, quoted p. 144 of the German edition.

full moon, falls under (the Nakshatra) Revati: on that (new moon day) he shall have the marks made (on his cattle),

2. With (the words), 'Thou art the world, thousandfold prospering. To Indra may exertion (?) give thee. Inviolable art thou, unhurt, sap, food, protection. For as many (cows) I shall do this now, for more (than these) may I do it in the latest year.'

3. Of that (cow) that calves first let him sacrifice the biestings with the two verses, 'Yearly the milk of the cow' (Rig-veda X, 87, 17. 18).

4. If she brings forth twin-calves, let him sacrifice with the Mahâvyâhr̥itis, and give the mother of the twins (to the Brâhmaṇas).

KHANDA 11.

1. Now (follows) the *Vr̥ishotsarga* (i.e. setting a bull at liberty).

2. On the Kârttika full moon day or on that day of the Âsvayuga (month) that falls under (the Nakshatra) Revati—

3. He sacrifices, after having kindled amid the cows a well-inflamed fire, Âgya oblations (with the words),

4. 'Here is delight; take delight here. Svâhâ!

10, 2. The reading of tvâ sramo dadat is doubtful. See the Various Readings in the German edition.

11, 1. A part of this chapter is nearly identical with the corresponding section of the Kâṇḍaka-gr̥ihya; see Jolly's article, *Das Dharma-sûtra des Vishṇu*, &c. (Sitzung der philos. philol. Classe der Bairischen Academie, 7 Juni, 1879), p. 39. Comp. also Pâraskara III, 9; Vishṇu LXXXVI, and Jolly's remarks, in *Deutsche Rundschau* X, p. 428.

Here is still-standing; here is (your) own still-standing. Svâhâ!

‘I have let the calf join its mother. May the calf, sucking its mother’s breast, support increase of wealth among us. Svâhâ!’

5. With the verse, ‘May Pûshan go after our cows’ (Rig-veda VI, 54, 5) he sacrifices from (a mess of sacrificial food) belonging to Pûshan.

6. Having murmured the Rudra-(hymns),

7. (He takes) a one-coloured, two-coloured, or three-coloured (bull),

8. Or one that protects the herd,

9. Or that is protected by the herd,

10. Or it may also be red.

11. It should have all its limbs complete, and be the finest (bull) in the herd.

12. Having adorned that (bull),

13. And the four best young cows of the herd, having adorned those too,

14. (He says,) ‘This young (bull) I give you as your husband; sporting with him, your lover, walk about. Do not desert us (?), being joined (with us) from your birth. In increase of wealth, in food may we rejoice. Svâhâ!’

15. When (the bull) is in the midst (of the cows), he recites over (them), ‘Refreshing,’ &c. (Rig-veda X, 169, 1 seq.) down to the end of the Anuvâka.

16. With the milk of all of them he shall cook milk-rice and feed Brâhmaṇas with it.

6. Rig-veda I, 43. 114; II, 33; VII, 46.

14. The translation ‘do not desert us,’ rests on the conjecture mâvasthâta; see the Various Readings, and the note on p. 145 of the German edition.

KHANDA 12.

1. After the Āgrahāyaṇī (or the full moon day of the month Mārgaśīrsha) (follow) the three Ashṭakās in the second fortnight (of the Mārgaśīrsha and of the two following months).

2. At the first of these he sacrifices vegetables,

3. With (the verse), 'She who shone forth first is this (earth); she walks, having entered into this (earth). The wife has brought forth (children), the new-creating mother. May the three powers follow her. Svāhā!'

4. Now (the oblation for Agni) Svishtakṛtī,

5. With (the verses), 'She in whom Yama, the son of Vivasvat, and all gods are contained, the Ashṭakā whose face is turned to all sides, she has satiated my desires.

'They call thy teeth "the pressing-stones;" thy

12, 1. On the Ashṭakā festivals, of which some texts reckon three, while others have four, comp. Weber, *Naxatra* (second article), pp. 337, 341 seq.; Bühler, *S. B. E.*, II, p. 214; Ludwig, *Rig-veda*, vol. iv, pp. 424 seq.; *Atharva-veda* III, 10. The last Ashṭakā, which is celebrated in the dark fortnight of Māgha, is called Ekāshṭakā; this Ashṭakā is called the 'wife of the year,' 'the image of the year,' 'the disposer of the days.' If the Phālguna month is reckoned as the first of the year, this Ashṭakā precedes the year's beginning only by a few days; there are also some Vedic passages which point to the Ekāshṭakā's following shortly after the beginning of the year; see Weber, loc. cit., p. 342.

3. Instead of *navakṛtī* the parallel texts (except the *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* II, 2, 12) have *navagat*, which is explained by *nūtanavivāhavaṭī* (Ludwig, loc. cit.); the 'three powers' are understood by Mādharma (in the commentary on *Taitt. Samh.* IV, 3, 11) as Agni, Sūrya, and Kandra.

5. After *pavamānaḥ* there is evidently a word wanting that

udder is (Soma) Pavamāna ; are the months and half-months. Adoration to thee, O glad-faced one! Svāhā!

KHANDA 13.

1. At the middle (Ashṭakâ) and in the middle of the rainy season,

2. The four Mahāvyaâhr̥tis (and) the four (verses), 'They who have thirsted' (Rig-veda X, 15, 9 seq.): having quickly recited (these verses) he shall sacrifice the omentum ;

3. Or (he shall do so) with the verse, 'Carry the omentum, Gâtavedas, to the Manes, where thou knowest them in the world of virtue. May streams of fat flow to them ; may the wishes of the sacrificer be fulfilled. Svāhā!'

4. (Then follow) the four Mahāvyaâhr̥tis (and) the four (verses), 'They who have thirsted' (see Sûtra 2): (thus is offered) an eightfold oblation of cooked food, together with the cut-off portions.

indicated the limb of the Ashṭakâ's body identified with the months and half-months.

13, 1. On madhyâvarsha, comp. Weber, loc. cit., pp. 331, 337. Nârâyana understands not 'in the middle of the rainy season,' but 'in the middle of the year' (see his note, p. 146 of the German edition). I cannot help thinking that the word madhyâvarshe, given by the MSS. here and in Pâraskara III, 3, 13, and explained by Nârâyana, is a corrupt reading which we should correct into mâghyavarsha ('the festival celebrated during the rainy season under the Nakshatra Maghâs'), or something like that. The MSS. of Âsvalâyana-Gṛhya II, 5, 9 have mâghyâvarsham, mâghâvarsham, mâdhyâvarsham. Vishnu (LXXVI, 1, comp. LXXVIII, 52, and Professor Jolly's note, Sacred Books of the East, VII, p. 240) mentions 'the three Ashṭakâs, the three Anvashṭakâs, a Mâgha day which falls on the thirteenth of the dark half of the month Praushṭhapada.' Comp. Manu III, 273, varshâsu ka maghâsu ka ; Yâgñavalkya I, 260.

5. Or, 'Interposed are the mountains; interposed is the wide earth to me. With the sky and all the points of the horizon I interpose another one instead of the father. To N. N. svâhâ!

'Interposed to me are the seasons, and days and nights, the twilight's children. With the months and half-months I interpose another one instead of the father. To N. N. svâhâ!

'With the standing ones, with the streaming ones, with the small ones that flow about: with the waters, the supporters of all I interpose another one instead of the father. To N. N. svâhâ!

'Wherein my mother has done amiss, going astray, faithless to her husband, that sperm may my father take as his own; may another one fall off from the mother. To N. N. svâhâ!'—these four (verses) instead of the Mahâvyâhr̥itis, if (the sacrificer) is an illegitimate child.

6. Or milk-rice (should be offered).

7. On the next day the Anvashṭakya ceremony (i.e. ceremony following the Aṣṭakâ) in accordance with the rite of the Pindapitriyagñâ.

KHANDA 14.

1. On the last (Aṣṭakâ) he sacrifices cakes,
2. With the words, 'The Ukthya and the Atirâtra, the Sadyaḥkr̥t together with the metre—Aṣṭakâ!

5. Instead of 'N. N.' (the text has the feminine amushyai) the sacrificer inserts the name of his mother. For mâsâs, ardhamâsâs I propose to read, mâsais, ardhamâsais.

7. On Anvashṭakya, comp. Bühler, S. B. E., XIV, p. 55; Jolly, loc. cit., p. 59.

Preparer of cakes! Adoration to thee, O glad-faced one. Svāhā!’

3. A cow or a goat is the animal (to be sacrificed), or a mess of cooked food (should be offered).

4. Or he may optionally offer food to a cow.

5. Or he may optionally burn down brushwood in the forest and say, ‘This is my Ash/akā.’

6. But let him not neglect to do (one of these things). But let him not neglect to do (one of these things).

Here ends the Third Adhyāya.

14, 3-6. This is one of the passages which the author has taken unchanged from a more ancient Sūtra ; see Âsv. II, 4, 8-11 ; Gobhila IV, 1 (end of the chapter). The Sūtras do not refer, as their position would seem to indicate, to the third, but to the second Ash/akā.

5. Comp. Weber, loc. cit., p. 342, note 1.

ADHYĀYA IV, KHANDA 1.

1. Let him offer (Śrāddha oblations) every month to the fathers.

2. Having invited an uneven number of Brāhmanas, versed in the Veda, at least three, to sit down as (representing) the fathers,

1, 1. *Khandas* 1-4 contain the rules regarding the Śrāddha oblations directed to the Manes. The dinners offered in connection with these Śrāddha sacrifices to Brāhmanas and also—though of this of course no notice is taken in Vedic texts—to Sramanas stood in the first line among the exhibitions of liberality of lay people towards priests and monks. Thus we find among the stock phrases that constantly reoccur in the Pāli Piṭakas, the mention of Samanas and Brāhmanas ‘who have eaten the food given to them out of faith’ (saddhādeyyāni bhogaṇāni bhuṅgitvā)—wherein the ‘food given out of faith’ (saddhādeyya) either chiefly or exclusively means the Śrāddha dinners, which are so called because the sacrificer gives them ‘full of faith’ (saddhāsamanvita, *Manu* III, 275) to the Brāhmanas and through them to the Manes.

The principal form of Śrāddha is that treated of in chap. 1, which is designated in other texts (see, for instance, *Āśvalāyana-Grīhya* IV, 7, 1) as *pārvana śrāddha*. There are, however, besides the *parvan* of the new moon, other times also considered as admissible for the performing of this monthly Śrāddha; see *Gautama* XV, 2 seq.; *Āpastamba* II, 16, &c.; and comp. on the Śrāddhas in general the passages quoted by Professor Jolly, *Das Dharma-sūtra des Viṣṇu* (Sitzung der Bair. Akademie, phil. Classe, 7 Juni, 1879), pp. 46 seq.; Max Müller, ‘India, what can it teach us?’ pp. 234 seq., 374 seq.

2. “As the fathers” means: he invites the youngest, middle-aged, and eldest Brāhmanas to sit down in the place of the father, the grandfather, and the great-grandfather’ (*Nārāyaṇa*). A similar explanation of *pitṛivat* is mentioned by *Nārāyaṇa* on *Āśvalāyana-*

3. And having strewn sesamum into an uneven number of water-pots,

4. He shall pour them out over the hands of the Brâhmanas, assigning (this gift) to them with the words, 'N. N.! This to thee!'

5. After this they should be adorned;

6. And after he has (respectfully) spoken to them, and has put food into the fire,

7. Assigning (the food) to them with the words, 'N. N.! This to thee!' he shall cause them to eat.

8. While they are eating, he shall murmur the Mahâvyâhritis, the Sâvitri, the Madhuvâtîya-verses (Rig-veda I, 90, 6 seq.), and verses addressed to the Manes and to (Soma) Pavamâna.

Grihya IV, 7, 2. My German translation of this Sûtra ought to be altered accordingly.

Besides the Brâhmanas mentioned in this Sûtra, who represent the fathers, according to all the commentaries, other Brâhmanas had to be invited as representing the Visve devâs. Nârâyana gives detailed statements as to the number of the *paitrika* and of the *daivika* Brâhmanas to be invited, and though at first sight a European reader would rather be inclined to doubt whether at the *Śrâddha* ceremony, as the author of the text intended to describe it, any Brâhmanas at all had to be present except the *paitrikas*, the Sûtra 2, 5 shows that the commentators are quite right in their statements regarding both categories of Brâhmanas.

5-7. It would be more natural to alter the division of the Sûtras, so as to bring *âmantrya* in the fifth, *annañ ka* in the seventh Sûtra. In this case we should have to translate: 5. After this, having (respectfully) spoken to them who have been adorned (by him with flowers, ornaments, &c.); 6. And having put (food) into the fire, 7. And having assigned the food to them, &c., he shall cause them to eat.—The respectful address mentioned in the fifth Sûtra consists, according to Nârâyana, in the announcement, 'Ye Brâhmanas, I will put (food) into the fire!' (comp. *Âsv.-Grihya* IV, 7, 18), which he subsequently does with the formulas, 'To Agni Kavyavâhana svâhâ! To Soma Pitrimat svâhâ! To Yama Ângirasvat Pitrimat svâhâ!' Comp. *Baudhâyana* II, 14, 8.

9. When they have finished with eating, he shall offer the lumps (of flour).

10. Before (their dinner he shall offer) the lumps, according to some (teachers).

11. Behind (these he places the lumps) for their wives, putting something between (these and the preceding ones).

12. To the Brāhmaṇas he shall announce the remnants.

13. The rites of the putting (of food) into the fire (see Sūtra 6), &c. have been declared (in the Srauta-sūtra) by the Pindapitriyagñā.

KHANDA 2.

1. Now (follows) the Ekoddishṭa (i.e. the Srāddha ceremony directed to a single dead person),

2. With one strainer,

3. One (pot of) Argha-water,

4. One lump (of flour).

5. No inviting (takes place here), nor the putting

9. As to the way in which the Pindas should be offered, Nārāyaṇa refers to the Srauta-sūtra (IV, 4).

10, 11. Pindān evidently belongs to the tenth Sūtra, not, as the Indian tradition takes it, to the eleventh. Between the Pindas of the fathers and those belonging to the mothers he puts, according to Nārāyaṇa, for instance, Darbha grass.

13. Srauta-sūtra IV, 3 seq.

2, 1. Eka uddishṭo yasmin srāddhe tad ekoddishṭam (Nār.). This is the kind of Srāddha sacrifice which is to be performed for one twice-born during the first year after his death; see Manu III, 247; Yāgñavalkya I, 250.

3. This rule about the Argha water corresponds to those given with regard to the Pārvaṇa Srāddha in the Sūtras 3 and 4 of the preceding chapter.

5. 'Because the āvāhana (inviting) is forbidden here, it follows

(of food) into the fire, nor (do) the *Viśve devās* (take part in this ceremony). 'Relished?'—thus are they to be asked whether they are satiated. 'May it approach (the fathers),' instead of 'imperishable.'

6. 'Be satisfied,' when sending them away.
7. Thus through one year, when one has died.
8. And (then) omission of the fourth one.

KHANDA 3.

I. Now (follows) the *Sapindāṅkarana* (i.e. reception of a dead person into the community of *Pinda*-offerings with the other Manes).

that it must take place at the *Pārvana Śrāddha* ('Nār.). According to *Rāmañdra's Paddhati* he shall say to the *Brāhmaṇas*, 'I will invite hither the fathers;' and when they give their consent, he invites them with *Rig-veda* X, 16, 12. Comp. *Yāgyavalkya* I, 232 seq., &c. Regarding the *Viśve devās* comp. the note on chap. 1, 2; as to the *trīptaprasna* (the question whether they are satiated) comp. *Manu* III, 251; *Yāgy.* I, 240. At the *Pārvana Śrāddha*, after the *Brāhmaṇas* have finished their dinner and rinsed their mouths, and after the *Pindas* have been offered, the sacrificer says, 'May what has been given at this *Śrāddha* to our father N. N., who belongs to the gotra N. N., be imperishable!' (comp. *Yāgy.* I, 242.) This phrase is to be altered at the *Ekoddishā Śrāddha* in the way indicated in this *Sūtra*.

8. After the *Ekoddishā Śrāddha* has been performed for a dead person during the first year after his death, he is to be admitted, by the *Sapindāṅkarana* ceremony, among the other Manes, and receives thenceforward his *Pinda* together with them at the ordinary *Pārvana Śrāddha*. As the ritual of this *Śrāddha* requires that the number of the 'fathers' worshipped should be three, the accession of a new person makes necessary the omission of the *pra-pratāmaha*, who has now become fourth among the fathers.

3, 1. It appears to me that this whole chapter is a later addition to the original text. The last *Sūtra* of the preceding chapter, treating of the omission of the fourth 'father,' which forms, as shown in the preceding note, a consequence of the *Sapindāṅkarana*,

2. When one year has elapsed, or three half-months,
3. Or on a day when something good happens,
4. He fills four water-pots with sesamum, scents, and water,
5. Three for the fathers, one for the (newly) dead person,
6. And pours the pot that belongs to the (newly) dead person out into the pots of the fathers with the two verses, 'They who commonly' (Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ XIX, 45. 46).
7. Thus also the lump (of flour).
8. This is the Sapindîkarana.

KHANDA 4.

1. Now (follows) the Âbhyudayika (i.e. the Srâddha ceremony referring to good luck).

supposes this ceremony to be known and to require no special explanation. Had the intention of the author been to treat of the Sapindîkarana, this would have been the right place for mentioning the âturtavisarga, and not, as we really read it, the end of the chapter treating of the Ekoddishâ. As pointing in the same direction I will mention that the Sâmbavya-Grhya, while giving the first, second, and fourth chapter of this Adhyâya, omits the third. Finally it seems decisive to me that the fifth (Parisishâ) book of the SâŒkhâyana-Grhya treats of the Sapindîkarana in a whole chapter (V, 9), which shows that the text itself, as the author of the Parisishâ read it, gave no exposition of this ceremony.

2. Nârâyana says that tripaksha means either three pakshas, i.e. one month and a half, or one paksha deficient by three days, i.e. twelve days. We need not say that the latter explanation is inadmissible; it evidently rests on a wrong conclusion drawn from a passage of another Sûtra quoted by him, in which it is stated that the Sapindîkarana should be performed samvatsarânte dvâdasâhe vâ.

- 4, 1. The Âbhyudayika Srâddha has to be performed on such

2. In the fortnight of the increasing moon, on an auspicious day,
3. After the sacrifice to the mothers has been performed,
4. And an even number of (Brāhmaṇas) versed in the Veda have been invited to sit down ;
5. In the forenoon ;
6. The rite is performed from left to right.
7. The murmuring with the omission of the verses belonging to the Manes.
8. The Darbha blades are straight.
9. Barley is to be used instead of sesamum.
10. The lumps are mixed with curds, jujube fruits, fried grain.
11. On inviting (the Manes, he should say), 'The Nāndī mukha (glad-faced ?) Manes will I invite.'
12. 'May the Nāndī mukha Manes be rejoiced,' instead of 'imperishable.'
13. 'The Nāndī mukha Manes will I make speak,' when he makes (the Brāhmaṇas) speak.
14. '(Was it) well done ?'—thus are they to be asked whether they are satiated.

occasions as the birth of a son, the marriage of a son or a daughter, the performance of ceremonies such as the nāmakarman, kûḍākarman, &c. See Yâgñavalkya I, 249.

3. A Srāddha ceremony directed to the mothers here precedes that consecrated to the fathers.

6. Professor Stenzler's translation of Yâgñavalkya, loc. cit. (pradakṣhināvr̥tika = die Ehrfurcht beobachtend), has to be corrected according to this Sūtra.

7. See chap. 1, 8.

9. See chap. 1, 3.

11. Concerning the 'invitation' (āvāhana) see the note on chap. 2, 5.

12. See chap. 2, 5 and the note there.

13. 'When he causes them to say Svadhâ.' Nârâyana. Comp. Āsv.-Gr̥hya IV, 7, 30.

14. Comp. chap. 2, 5.

15. The rest is the same (as in the other kinds of *Srâddha* rites), as far as it is not prohibited (by contrary rules).

KHANDA 5.

1. Now (follows) the *Upâkarana* (i.e. the ceremony by which the annual course of study is opened).

2. When the herbs appear, under the *Nakshatra Hasta* or *Sravana*,

3. Let him make oblations of the flour of fried barley and of grains, mixed with curds and ghee, with the (whole) *Veda*, verse by verse: thus say some (teachers).

4. Or with the first verses of the *Sûktas* and *Anuvâkas*.

5. With the first verses of the *Adhyâyas* and of the sections belonging to the (different) *Rishis*, according to *Mândûkeya*.

6. But *Kaushitaki* has said :

7. 'I praise *Agni* the *Purohita*' (*Rig-veda* I, 1, 1), this one verse,

8. 'The *Kushumbhaka* (mongoose?) has said it;' 'If thou criest, O bird, announce luck to us;' 'Sung by *Gamadagni*;' 'In thy abode the whole world rests;'

5, 1. As to the *Upâkarana*, see the statements of Professor Weber in his second article on the *Nakshatras*, *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1861, p. 338, and of Professor Bühler in his notes on *Âpastamba*, S. B. E., II, pp. 110, 111.

2. The *Nakshatra Sravana* is evidently considered as particularly fit for this occasion because of its name containing an allusion to *sruti*, &c.

4. I have followed *Nârâyana*, but perhaps I ought to have translated, '*Sûktas* or *Anuvâkas*,' and in the fifth *Sûtra*, '*Adhyâyas* or the sections, &c.'

‘Come to our sacrifice, O you that are worthy of sacrifice, with care;’ ‘Whosoever, be he ours, be he alien;’ ‘Look on, look about;’ ‘Come here, Agni, the Maruts’ friend;’ ‘The oblation, O king, cooked for thee:’ each time two verses,

9. ‘That blessing and bliss we choose’—this one verse (the first and last verse of each *Mandala*).

10. (Taking something) of the remnants of the sacrificed (food) they partake of that sacrificial food with this (verse), ‘I praised Dadhikrāvan’ (*Rig-veda* IV, 39, 6).

11. They sip water, sit down,

12. Murmur the *Mahāvyaḥrītis*, the *Sāvitṛi*, and the auspicious hymns commencing from the beginning of the *Veda*,

13. And cause the teacher to pronounce auspicious wishes.

9. According to Kaushītaki, the oblations are made with the first and last *rikas* of each *Mandala*. The last *rik* of the tenth *Mandala* quoted here, *taḥ kham yor ā vrinīmahe*, is different from the verse with which our *Samhitā* (the *Sākala Samhitā* of the *Rig-veda*) closes. It is well known that *taḥ kham yor ā vrinīmahe* is the last verse in the *Bāshkala Sākhā* which was adopted by the *Sāṅkhāyana* school (comp. *Indische Studien*, IV, 431; Weber, *Verzeichniss der Berliner Sanskrit-Handschriften*, p. 314, &c.; *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, second edition, Nachtrag, p. 2). It was also known long since that the *Bāshkala Sākhā* of the *Rig-veda* contains eight hymns more than the *Sākala Sākhā*. The *Karāṇavyūha Bhāṣya* (comp. Dr. von Schroeder’s Introduction to his excellent edition of the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, vol. i, p. xxiv), known to me through the kindness of Professor Weber, tells which eight hymns these are. There it is said (folio 22 of Professor Weber’s MS.) that in the *Bāshkala Samhitā* there followed after VIII, 48 the first two of the *Vālakhilya* hymns, after VIII, 94 the *Vālakhilya* hymns 3–7, and at the end of the whole collection the so-called *samgñāna* hymn (see Professor Max Müller’s edition, vol. vi, p. 32), which ends with the very verse quoted in our *Sūtra*, *taḥ kham yor ā vrinīmahe*.

14. Of this (ceremony) it is also said,

15. 'Desirous (of acquiring) for the hymns inexhaustible vigour, reverence, and also soundness, the *Rishis*, by the power of their austerities, have discovered the Upâkarman.

16. 'Therefore a constant performer of the six kinds of works should, in order that his Mantras might be successful, perform the Upâkarman—so they say—if he wishes for success of his (holy) works.

17. 'At the time of the Upâkarman and of the Utsarga an interruption (of the Veda-study) shall take place for (three days and) three nights, likewise at the *Ashvakâs* for one day and one night, and so on the last night of each season.'

KHANDA 6.

1. On the first day of the bright fortnight of Mâgha,

2. To the north-east,

3. In a place covered with herbs,

4. Having murmured the hymns sacred to the Sun, 'Upwards that *Gâtavedas*' (Rig-veda I, 50), 'The bright face of the gods' (I, 115), 'Adoration to Mitra's (eye)' (X, 37), 'From the sky (where he dwells) may *Sûrya* protect us' (X, 158),

16. The six kinds of works are, performing sacrifices (*yagana*), officiating at the sacrifices of others (*yâgana*), studying the Veda (*adhyayana*), teaching the Veda to others (*adhyâpana*), giving (*dâna*), and accepting gifts (*pratigraha*). *Nârâyana*.

17. Concerning the Utsarga, see chap. 6. This Sloka occurs also Manu IV, 119 with the reading *kshepanam* instead of *kshapanam* ('*kshapanam khandasâm virâma anadhyâyah*,' *Nârâyana*). *Kshapanam* is correct.

6, 1. This *Khanda* treats of the Utsarga, i. e. the ceremony performed at the end of the term.

5. And having thrown clods of earth (on the ground) to the different quarters (of the horizon), from the left to the right, with the hymn, 'A ruler indeed' (Rig-veda X, 152), verse by verse,

6. And having satiated (with water) the *Rîshis*, the metres, the deities, faith and insight, and the fathers man by man,

7. They interrupt (the study of) the hymns for six months and a half,

8. Or for five and a half.

9. But if they (wish to) recite them (nevertheless), let the recitation go on after a pause of one day and one night.

KHANDA 7.

1. Now the interruption (of the Veda recitation):—

2. In the case of prodigies until the same time (next day),

3. And in the case of other miracles ;

4. In the case of lightning, thunder, and rains (the recitation shall be interrupted) till the twilight has thrice passed;

5. At a *Srâddha*-dinner for one day ;

6. If a death (of relations) or birth has happened, for ten days ;

7. On the fourteenth days (of the fortnights), the new moon days, and the *Ashṭakâ* days,

6. On the *tarpana*, comp. chaps. 9 and 10.

7, 2. The translation of *âkâlam* given in my German edition (*Während der betreffenden Zeit*) is wrong: comp. the commentary there quoted at p. 150; Gautama XVI, 22; Professor Stenzler's note on *Pâraskara* II, 11, 2.

6. *Agham sapindasodakayor maranam*. *Nârâyana*.

7. According to *Nârâyana* the *ka* at the end of this *Sûtra* would

8. And on misty days.
9. And when the teacher has died, for ten days ;
10. When he has heard of it, for three days ;
11. And (on the death) of those whose family-head he is.
12. On receiving (gifts) as at the *Srâddha*.
13. On (the death of) a fellow-student ;
14. When he has followed (the funeral of) a dead person,
15. And when he has laid down the lumps of flour to the fathers.
16. At night ;
17. During twilight ;
18. On the full and change of the moon ;
19. After sunset ;
20. In the neighbourhood of a *Sûdra* ;
21. When the sound of a *Sâman* is heard ;
22. On a burial ground ;

be intended to convey the meaning that on the pratipad days of each fortnight the study should also be interrupted.

8. The translation of *nabhya* is quite conjectural. *Nârâyana* gives a different meaning to this word ; comp. p. 150 of the German edition.

11. *Âkâryaputrâdayaḥ*. *Nârâyana*.

21. The reason why the recitation of the *Rig-veda* is forbidden when the sound of a *Sâman* is heard, becomes manifest, for instance, from *Âpastamba* I, 10, 7, where the discontinuance of the *Veda*-study is prescribed when the barking of dogs, the braying of asses, the cry of a wolf, &c., the sound of musical instruments, of weeping, and of a *Sâman* is heard. Loud sounds like these would disturb the recitation of *Rik* or *Yagus* texts. A very curious opinion has been recently brought forward by Professor Aufrecht (see his edition of the *Rig-veda*, second edition, vol. ii, p. xxxviii) that the incompatibility of the recitation of *Rik* hymns and of *Sâmans* 'beruht auf der Kenntniss von der Willkür und der zum Theil unwürdigen Weise, in welcher der alte Text des *Rig-veda* in diesem Gesangbuche (i. e. the *Sâmavedârṅkika*) behandelt ist.'

23. In a wilderness which belongs to the village ;
24. In a village where a corpse is ;
25. On seeing forbidden sights ;
26. On hearing what is forbidden ;
27. On smelling a foul smell ;
28. If a high wind blows ;
29. If a cloud emits (heavy) rain ;
30. On a carriage road ;
31. And while the sound of a lute is heard ;
32. While being on a chariot ;
33. (In the neighbourhood) of a dog as (in that) of a Sûdra ;
34. Having climbed up a tree ;
35. Having descended into a pit ;
36. (Immersed) in water ;
37. While anybody cries ;
38. While suffering bodily pain ;
39. While he is naked ;
40. Whilst impure with the remnants of food ;
41. On a bridge ;
42. On the occasion of the shaving of the hair and the beard until the bath ;
43. While being rubbed ;
44. While bathing ;
45. When having sexual intercourse ;
46. While being anointed ;
47. (In the neighbourhood) of a man who has to touch corpses (a corpse-bearer, &c.), of a woman that has recently been confined, or that has her courses, as (in the neighbourhood) of a Sûdra ;

23. Grāmāranye grāmam (read, grāma?) evāranyam vanam tatra nâdhîyîta. Nârâyana.

29. Except during the rainy season. Nârâyana.

45. Nârâyana also understands maithuna, and I think that the German translation ought to be corrected accordingly.

48. With veiled hands ;
 49. In an army ;
 50. In presence of a Brāhmaṇa who has not had his meal, and of cows (that have eaten nothing) ;
 51. When (these impediments) have passed, let them (continue to) recite (the Veda).
 52. Should any of these cases arise against his will, let him (continue to) recite after having held his breath and looked at the sun.
 53. (The same rules hold good,) except (those regarding) lightning, thunder, and rain, for (the study of) the Kalpa. During the five months and a half (they have to behave) as while it rains.
 54. Thereof it is also said,
 55. 'Food, water, roots and fruits, and whatsoever else Śrāddha-food there may be : even when he has (only) accepted thereof, the study should be interrupted ; the Brāhmaṇa's hand is his mouth ; so it is taught.'

53. I think that this Sūtra contains two different rules which have to be separated, viz. 1. vidyutstanayitnuvarshavargam kalpe ; 2. varshavad arddhashash/heshu. The first of these rules would extend the cases of anadhyāya mentioned in this chapter to the study of the Kalpa-sūtra, except the cases of lightning, rain, &c. The second would refer to the five months and a half following on the Utsarga ceremony (comp. chap. 6, 8), and would imply that during this time the same texts are to be studied or not, according as their study is allowed or forbidden during rainfall : i. e. the study of the Samhitā is to be discontinued, while that of the Kalpa is allowed to go on. Rāmañdra and Nārāyaṇa differ from this interpretation ; see p. 151 of the German edition.

55. Comp. Manu IV, 117 ; Vasishṭha XIII, 16.

KHANDA 8.

1. And to (students) who have been duly initiated he shall set forth (the Veda) ;

2. The teacher sitting to the east or to the north, the other one to the south, with his face turned to the north.

3. Or two (students shall be so seated).

4. But more (than two) as there is room (for them).

5. He should not sit on a high seat in presence of a Guru,

6. Nor on the same seat (with him),

7. Nor with outstretched feet,

8. Nor stretching his arms under his knees,

9. Nor leaning his body (against a support),

10. Nor forming with his feet a lap,

11. Nor holding his feet like an axe.

12. After (the student) has said, 'Recite, sir!' the teacher shall cause him to pronounce the syllable OM.

13. 'OM,' replies the other.

14. Thereafter let him recite uninterruptedly.

15. When he has recited, he embraces (his teacher's feet),

16. Says, 'We have finished, sir!' and (goes away) according to his business.

8, 1. Nyâyena sishyadharmena upetâh prâptâs tebhyañ sishyebhyo vartayed adhyayanam âkâryañ pravartayet. . Nârâyana.

11. *Karanam* kuñhârikârûpam krîtvâ na pañhed ity arthañ. Nârâyana.

12. The words adhîhi bho (recite, sir!) are pronounced by the student ; this follows from the passages quoted in the note on II, 5, 10. Nârâyana states that those words are pronounced by the teacher (âkâryo guruñ sishyam adhyâpanârtham adhîhi bho 3 iti sabdam uktvâ . . .).

17. (He shall say,) 'Leave! Pause meanwhile!' according to some (teachers).

18. Let no one step between (a teacher and students) who study.

19. Let no one change his place during the recitation.

20. Should any fault be committed, let him fast three days, or one day and one night, repeat the Sâvitri as long as he can, and give something to the Brâhmanas; then after an interruption of one day and one night the study should go on.

KHANDA 9.

1. Having bathed,

2. And having submerged himself at the time prescribed for the bath, he satiates the deities :

19. The translation of *âtmânâṃ vipariharet* is conjectural; comp. also Nârâyana's note, p. 151 of the German edition.

9, 1. It is not expressly stated in our text for what occasion the *tarpana* (i. e. satiating of deities, *Rishis*, &c. with water-offerings), which is treated of in chap. 9-10, shall be prescribed. The comparison of Baudhâyana II, 9 might perhaps lead us to believe that the ceremony in question is to be performed whenever the sacrificer takes a bath. But the two texts which are most closely connected with ours, the Sâmbavya and Âsvalâyana Grîhyas, seem to point clearly to another conclusion. The Sâmbavya-sûtra transposes the rules about the *tarpana* to the place which would correspond to Sûtra II, 7, 28 of our text. The passage of the Sâmbavya-sûtra runs thus: *mûle kundam kṛtvâ yathoktam adbhîḥ parishiṅkaty athemâs* (so the MS.) *tarpayati Agniḥ Pragâpatir Virûpâkshaḥ*, &c. It ends: *pitaraḥ pitâmahâḥ prapitâmahâḥ Pailaḥ Kahoḷaḥ Kaushîtakaḥ* (sic) *Kahoḷâya Kaushîtakaye svadhâstv iti pratipurushaḥ* (sic) *pitṛîms tarpayitvâ*. The last words are taken from the Sûtra IV, 6, 6 of our text. Thus there can be no doubt that Sâmbavya intended to prescribe the *tarpana* for the conclusion of the

3. 'Agni may satiate himself; Vāyu may satiate himself; Sūrya may satiate himself; Vishṇu may satiate himself; Pragâpati may satiate himself; Virûpāksha may satiate himself; Sahasrâksha may satiate himself; Soma, Brahman, the Vedas, the gods, the *Rishis*, and all the metres, the word OM, the word VASHAT, the Mahâvyâhr̥itis, the Sâvitri, the sacrifices, heaven and earth, the Nakshatras, the air, days and nights, the numbers, the twilights, the oceans, the rivers, the mountains, fields, herbs, trees, Gandharvas and Apsaras, the serpents, the birds, the Siddhas, the Sâdhyas, the Vipras, the Yakshas, the Rakshas, the beings that have these (Rakshas, &c.) at their end, may satiate themselves.

'I satiate the *Śruti*; I satiate the *Smṛiti*; I satiate the firmness; I satiate the delight; I satiate

vedâdhyayana. The same can be said of Âsvalâyana, who also by the position which he assigns to the *tarpana* sections (III, 4) brings it into a similar connection with the vedâdhyayana (see Nârâyana's commentary on Âsv., loc. cit.). We may also refer to the treatise about the study of the Âranyaka, which is appended to the Sâṅkhâyana-*Gr̥hya* as its sixth book; there the *tarpana* is mentioned quite in the same connection (VI, 6, 10 seq.). I believe, therefore, that in our text, chapters 9 and 10 have found their place here as a sort of supplementary addition to chap. 6, 6, just as in the first book the list of Nakshatras seems likewise appended to the Sûtra I, 25, 5.

According to Nârâyana, *snâta* in the first Sûtra would refer to the bath which forms part of the Samâvartana ceremony (see III, 1, 1), so that it would be the *Gr̥hastha*, who has taken the Samâvartana bath, to whom the following rules refer.

3. Comp. the similar lists of Âsvalâyana, *Gr̥hya* III, 4; Sâmbavya, quoted in my German edition of Sâṅkhâyana, p. 153; and Baudhâyana II, 9 (S. B. E., vol. xiv, pp. 252 seq.). The last seems to be the most modern.

It should be observed that the section of the list contained in this Sûtra, as well as that given below, chap. 10, 3, is divided into

the success; I satiate the thought; I satiate belief and insight, and the memory, cows and Brāhmaṇas, movable and immovable things. All beings may satiate themselves!'—so far with the sacrificial cord suspended over the left shoulder.

KHANDA 10.

1. Now with the sacrificial cord suspended over the right shoulder,

2. Looking in the direction that belongs to the Manes (i.e. the south):

3. 'The (*Rishis*) of the hundred (*Rikas*), the (*Rishis*) of the middle (*Mandalas*), *Grītsamada*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Gamadagni*, *Vāmadeva*, *Atri*, *Bharadvāga*, *Vasishtha*, the *Pragāthas*, the (*Rishis*) of the *Pavamāna* hymns, the (*Rishis*) of the short hymns and of the long hymns, *Sumantu*, *Gaimini*, *Vaiśampāyana*, *Paila*, the *Sūtras*, the *Bhāshyas*, *Gārgya*, *Babhru*, *Bābhrya*, *Mandu*, *Māndavya*, *Gārgī Vā-*

two parts, in the first of which the name of the being to be worshipped is given in the nominative case, with the verb *tripyatu*, while in the second it stands in the accusative, with the verb *tarpayāmi*. The first part of this section contains the names of gods and of divine beings, such as the rivers, the mountains, &c.; in the second part are found abstract qualities or notions, such as *matī*, *dhrīti*, *sruti*. Similarly in chapter 10, 3 the Vedic poets, a few ancient teachers, and wise women, such as *Gārgī* or *Sulabhā*, form the first part of the list, and then follow, in the accusative case, the names of such doctors as *Sāṅkhāyana*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Sākalya*. In *Āśvalāyana's* *Sūtra* of the first of our two sections only the first part reoccurs, the second is omitted, while the second section is found there in its entirety, with the same difference of names given in the nominative and accusative cases. The conjectures, however, which I had once based on this difference (see my German edition, pp. 152, 153) as to the distinction of a more ancient part of the list, and of later supplements, are perhaps too hazardous.

kaknavi, Vadavâ Prâtithēyī, Sulabhâ Maitreyī (may satiate themselves).

‘(I satiate) *Kahola Kaushītaki, Mahākaushītaki, Suyagñā Sāṅkhāyana, Āsvalāyana, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, Bhāradvāja, Gâtūkarnya, Paīngya, Mahāpaīngya, Bāshkala, Gārgya, Sākalya, Māndūkya, Mahādāmatra, Audavāhi, Mahaudavāhi, Sauyāmi, Saunaki, Sākapūni, Gautami*; and whatsoever other teachers there are, may they all satiate themselves.

4. ‘The fathers man by man.

5. ‘The ancestry of the father may satiate itself.

6. ‘The ancestry of the mother may satiate itself.’

KHANDA 11.

1. Let him not look at a naked woman, except during sexual intercourse,

2. Nor (look) at the sun while it rises or sets,

3. At an enemy,

4. At an evil-doer,

5. At a person that has to touch dead bodies.

6. Let him not talk with a woman who has recently been confined or who has her courses,

7. Nor with those (mentioned before).

8. Let him not eat food from which its strength is taken away.

9. Let him not do his work with implements wasted by use.

10. Let him not eat together (with his wife),

11, 1 seq. Rules of conduct for a *Snātaka*, i. e. a man who has completed his studentship.

7. *Etaiḥ pūrvoktaḥ anāptādibhir na samvadet. Nārāyaṇa.*

10. *Nārāyaṇa* states that ‘with his wife’ is to be supplied to this *Sūtra*, which indeed is rendered probable through the comparison of *Gautama IX, 32; Manu IV, 43, &c.*

11. Nor remnants (of food).
12. Remnants of (food belonging to the) Manes, gods, guests, and servants he may eat.
13. Gleaning ears of corn, receiving alms unasked for, or for which he has asked the good, performing sacrifices for others, are the means of livelihood ;
14. (Of these) each preceding one is the more respectable.
15. Or if (his livelihood) cannot be gained (in one of the ways mentioned), let him follow the occupation of a Vaisya.
16. (He shall be) careful about his duties towards Manes and gods.
17. In due time (he shall) have intercourse with his wife.
18. He shall not lie down (to sleep) in the day-time,
19. Nor during the first or the last watch of the night.
20. Let him not sit on the bare ground.
21. He shall constantly perform the prescribed duties regarding the use of water.
22. (And constantly) have his sacrificial cord suspended over his left shoulder.
23. Let him not abandon his teacher,
24. Except on (his teacher's) command,
25. Or with (his) permission.

KHANDA 12.

1. Every day he shall respectfully salute his teacher,

11. Here also Nârâyana understands bhâryâyâ bhukta-sesham.

15. Comp. Professor Bühler's note on Gautama X, 5, S. B. E., vol. ii, p. 225.

19. Râtreḥ pûrvaprahare râtreḥ pasṭimaprahare ka. Nârâyana.

2. And his Gurus,
3. A Srotريا when meeting him,
4. When he returns from a journey, (also) one who is not a Srotريا.

5. In the words, 'I am N.N., sir!' pronouncing his own name, crossing his hands (so as to seize with his right hand the right foot, and with his left hand the left of the other person).

6. (The person who has been thus saluted, in reply addressing him with his name,) 'N.N.!' and seizing his hands, pronounces a wish to him.

7. Let him not go to a sacrifice without being chosen (thereto).

8. And let him beware of (doing) wrong.

9. Let him not go to assemblies of people.

10. If he has come upon (such assemblies), let him not point out (anything evil) against (anybody).

11. He shall not be a reviler, nor slanderous, nor a wanderer from house to house, nor a prattler.

12. He shall not walk alone,

13. Nor naked,

14. Nor with veiled hands.

15. Gods'-houses (he shall walk round) keeping the right side turned to them.

12, 5. Nârâyana : 'As to how that respectful salutation (abhivâdana) should be performed, he says . . . with his own right hand he touches the right foot of the Âtârya or other person (whom he salutes), and with his left hand the left foot (comp. Manu II, 72) (and says), "I am N. N. (amukasarman) of the Gotra N. N., sir ! I offer my respectful salutation !"'

6. 'The Âtârya or other person seizes the hands of the saluting person,' &c. Nârâyana.

10. See Nârâyana's commentary, p. 154 of the German edition.

16. Let him not run.
17. Let him not spit.
18. Let him not scratch himself.
19. Let him not look on urine and excrements.
20. Let him sit with veiled head,
21. Not on the bare (ground),
22. If he has only one garment, suspending his sacrificial cord on his ear,
23. Not turning his face to the sun,
24. Nor his rump,
25. In the day-time with his face to the north, at night to the south.
26. He shall not (eject) phlegm into water, nor in the neighbourhood (of water).
27. He shall not climb up a tree.
28. He shall not look down into a well.
29. He shall not go to an execution-place,
30. And in no case to a cemetery.
31. Let him bathe day by day with his clothes on.
32. When he has bathed, let him put on another garment before he is dry.

KHANDA 13.

1. Under (the Nakshatra) Rohiṇī he shall have the ploughing done.
2. Before it is done, he shall offer at the eastern boundary of his field a Bali to Heaven and Earth.
3. With a verse sacred to Heaven and Earth and with the words, 'Adoration to Heaven and Earth!' (he performs his) worship (to Heaven and Earth).

16. According to Nârâyana we should have to supply, 'while it is raining,' which is countenanced by a number of parallel texts, for instance, Âsv.-Grîhya III, 9, 6.

4. When the plough is being put into motion first, let a Brâhmaṇa touch the plough reciting this (verse), 'For luck may us the plough-shares' (Rig-veda IV, 57, 8).

5. 'Through the lord of the field'—with (this hymn) (Rig-veda IV, 57), verse by verse, to the different directions (of the sky), from left to right, worship is done.

KHANDA 14.

1. When going to cross water, he performs the Svastyayana (ceremony for lucky progress).

2. He sacrifices thrice with his joined hands full of water into the waters, with the words, 'Adoration to the Sea, the child of the reed! Adoration to Varuṇa, the lord of righteousness! Adoration to all rivers!'—

3. Murmuring, 'May Visvakarman, the father of them all, relish the food offered.'

4. Against the stream for flowing (waters); up into the air for standing ones.

5. Should he while crossing apprehend any danger, let him murmur the hymn of Vasiṣṭha, 'The eldest of which is the sea' (Rig-veda VII, 49); this (will serve to him as) a boat.

KHANDA 15.

1. The Śravana (oblation) he offers on the full moon day that falls under (the Nakshatra) Śravishthâs, of the flour of fried barley, or of cooked food,

2. With (the words), 'To Viṣṇu svâhâ! To (the Nakshatra) Śravana svâhâ! To the full moon of Śrâvana svâhâ! To the rainy season svâhâ!'

3. Having established the (sacred) domestic fire outside, and having mixed together fried grain and the flour of fried barley with butter, he sacrifices—

4. With (the words), 'To the Lord of the celestial Serpents svâhâ! To the celestial Serpents svâhâ!'

5. Having placed to the north of the fire a new water-pot on eastward-pointed, fresh Kusa grass,

6. With (the words), 'May the Lord of the celestial Serpents wash himself! May the celestial Serpents wash themselves!'—he pours water into it.

7. With (the words), 'May the Lord of the celestial Serpents comb himself! May the celestial Serpents comb themselves!'—he makes movements with a comb.

8. With (the words), 'May the Lord of the celestial Serpents paint himself! May the celestial Serpents paint themselves!'—he pours out portions of paint.

9. With (the words), 'May the Lord of the celestial Serpents tie (this) to (himself)! May the celestial Serpents tie (this) to themselves!'—he offers flowers.

10. With (the words), 'May the Lord of the celestial Serpents clothe himself! May the celestial Serpents clothe themselves!'—he offers a thread.

11. With (the words), 'May the Lord of the celestial Serpents anoint (his eyelashes)! May the celestial Serpents anoint (their eyelashes)!—he spirts out (small portions of collyrium) with a young Kusa shoot.

12. With (the words), 'May the Lord of the celestial Serpents look (at himself)! May the celestial Serpents look (at themselves)!—he makes them look in a mirror.

15, 7. For this signification of *phaṇa*, comp. *Kullavagga* V, 2, 3.

13. With (the words), 'Lord of the celestial Serpents, this is thy Bali! Celestial Serpents, this is your Bali!'—he makes a Bali-offering.

14. In the same way for the aerial (Serpents).

15. For those dwelling in the directions (of the horizon).

16. For the terrestrial ones.

17. (He repeats these Mantras) thrice each time, the first (part) with higher voice each time,

18. The second (part) with lower voice each time.

19. In this way he shall offer day by day with the spoon, in small portions, a Bali of the flour of fried barley with water, down to the Pratyavarohana (or the ceremony of the 'redescend'), at night, keeping silence.

20. And (his wife) shall put (it) down silently.

21. The close of the ceremony is the same as the beginning.

22. With (the verse), 'The good protectress' (Rig-veda X, 63, 10), let him ascend the (high) couch.

17, 18. The text has *uḷḷaistarâm*—*uḷḷaistarâm*, and *nīḷaistarâm*—*nīḷaistarâm*. Nârâyana (comp. the text of his scholion, p. 155 of the German edition) understands this in a different way; he says that in the water-pot mentioned in the fifth Sûtra two different sthânas are to be distinguished, a higher part of it and a lower (*uttarâdharatayâ*). Now when the sacrificer, for instance, as prescribed in Sûtra 6, invites the Lord of the celestial Serpents, and the celestial Serpents to wash themselves, the pouring out of water would have to be performed first thrice for the Lord of the celestial Serpents in the higher place, then thrice for the celestial Serpents in the lower place.

19. On the Pratyavarohana see chap. 17.

20. Nârâyana : *vâgyamayuktâ yagamânapatnî evam balidravayâdikam upasâdayet*.

22. 'From the *Śrâvanî* till the *Âgrahâyanî* (see chap. 17, 1) one shall not sleep on the ground out of fear of the snakes.' Nârâyana.

KHANDA 16.

1. On the full moon day of Āsvayuga a milk-rice oblation to Indra.

2. Having sacrificed Āgya with (the words), 'To the two Asvins svâhâ! To the two Asvayug svâhâ! To the full moon of Āsvayuga svâhâ! To the autumn svâhâ! To Pasupati svâhâ! To the tawny one svâhâ!'—

3. He shall sacrifice a mixture of curds and butter with this hymn, 'The cows came hither' (Rig-veda VI, 28), verse by verse.

4. That night they let the calves join their mothers.

5. Then feeding of the Brâhmanas.

KHANDA 17.

1. On the Āgrahâyanî full moon day he shall re-descend,

2. (Or) under (the Nakshatra) Rohinî, or under the Proshthapadâs.

3. In the morning, having taken a handfull of Samî leaves, Madhûka flowers, reeds, Apâmârga plants, and of Sirîsha, Udumbara, Kusa shoots, and jujube fruits, and an earth-clod (taken) out of a furrow,

4. Having put (all that) into a water-pot,

16, 3. Ghrîtamisram dadhi prîshâtakam. Nârâyana. Comp. the *Grihya-saṃgraha* II, 59.

17, 1. The Pratyavarohana (i. e. redescent) here described is the ceremony performed at the end of the time during which sleeping on high bedsteads is prescribed (chap. 15, 22). Beginning from the Srâvanî full moon till the Pratyavarohana, the offerings to the Serpents mentioned above have to be repeated every day (chap. 15, 19); the Pratyavarohana is the concluding ceremony of these rites devoted to the Serpents.

5. And, after he has quickly repeated the Mahāvyaḥritis and the Sāvitrī, having repeatedly immersed (it) therein with this hymn, 'May he burn away from us pain' (Rig-veda I, 97), he shall drive away the evil from the persons standing under his protection, from left to right, and pour out (the water) to the north.

6. A Madhuparka is the fee for the sacrifice.

KHANDA 18.

1. 'May summer, winter and spring, autumn and rainy season be well-ordered to us. May we be under the safe protection of these seasons, and may they last (to us) through a hundred years. Svāhā!

'Beat away, O white one, with thy foot, with the fore-foot and with the hind-foot, these seven daughters of Varuṇa and all that belong to the king's tribe. Svāhā!

'To the white one, the son of Vidārva svāhā! To Vidārva svāhā! To Takshaka Vaisāleya svāhā! To Visāla svāhā!'—with (these words) he sacrifices (oblations) of Āgrya.

2. 'May a good winter, a good spring, a good summer be bestowed (on us). May the rains be to us happy rains; may the autumns be blessed to us.'

3. With (the verse), 'Blessing on us, Mitra' (Rig-veda I, 90, 9), he sweeps (the floor) with a Palāsa branch,

5. *Saranyebhyo grīhebhyaḥ* (read, *grīhyebhyaḥ*) *sarvebhyaḥ sakāśāt*, &c. *Nārāyaṇa*.

18, 1. This chapter continues the description of the Pratyavarohana begun in the preceding chapter.

Rāgabāndhavaiḥ, as our text has, should be corrected into *rāgabāndhavīḥ*; comp. *Āsv.* II, 3, 3.

4. Sprinkles (it with water) with (the verse), 'From the sea the wave' (Rig-veda IV, 58, 1),
5. And spreads out a layer (of straw) with (the verse), 'Be soft, O earth' (Rig-veda I, 22, 15).
6. They then lie down on their sides, the eldest one to the right hand—
7. With (the words), 'In the Brahman I establish myself, in the Kshatra,' on (their) right (sides);
8. With (the words), 'Among the horses I establish myself, among the cows,' on (their) left (sides);
9. With (the words), 'Among the cattle I establish myself, in prosperity,' on (their) right (sides);
10. With (the words), 'Among offspring I establish myself, in food,' on (their) left (sides).
11. With (the verse), 'Arise, the living' (Rig-veda I, 113, 16), they arise.
12. During that night they lie on that layer.
13. Afterwards where they like.

KHANDA 19.

1. On the full moon day of *Kāitra*,
2. (Taking) jujube leaves, and making of meal (images) of couples of animals as it happens.
3. A figure with prominent navel to Indra and Agni.
4. Balls to Rudra.
5. According to custom the Nakshatras and (their ?) images (?). According to custom the Nakshatras and (their ?) images (?).

Here ends the Fourth Adhyāya.

19, 2-5. Several points in the translation of these Sūtras are uncertain. See the extracts from the commentary of Nārāyaṇa, pp. 156 seq. of the German edition.

ADHYĀYA V, KHANDA 1.

1. Now when he intends to set out on a journey, he makes (his sacred) fire enter into himself, (or) into the two kindling sticks, or into (an ordinary) log of wood,

2. Once with (the text), 'Come, enter into my *Prāṇas*,' twice silently.

3. Or with (the verse), 'This is thy womb' (*Rig-veda* III, 29, 10) he warms the two kindling sticks,

4. Or an (ordinary log of) wood.

5. And before sunset the kindling (by attrition),

6. And at the time of the *Vaisvadeva* sacrifice.

7. Having carried a common fire to a place that has been smeared (with cowdung), which is elevated, and

1, 1. The ceremony of *Samârohana*, by which the duties towards the sacred fire are suspended, by causing the fire to 'enter' into the sacrificer's body, or into the two *Araṇis*, or into another piece of wood, is already mentioned in several passages of the *Brâhmaṇa* texts; comp. the quotations given by Professor Weber, *Indische Studien*, IX, 311. Comp. besides *Āsvalâyana-Srauta-sûtra* III, 10; *Sâṅkhâyana-Sraut.* II, 17. The *Samârohana* into the sacrificer's own body is done by warming the hands at the sacred fire; see *Āsv.*, loc. cit., *Sûtra* 6. In the *Sâṅkhâyana-Srauta-sûtra* the corresponding rule, which regards there of course the *Āhitâgni*, runs thus, 'If he performs the *Samârohana*, he warms his hands at the *Gârhapatya* fire, and then touches his *Prāṇas* with the words, "Come, enter into my *Prāṇas*."' On the two other cases, see the *Sûtras* 3 and 4. *Sûtras* 2, 3, 5 are taken word for word from the *Srauta-sûtra*.

2. This *Sûtra* refers only to the case where he causes the fire to enter into himself.

5. Comp. the commentary on *Āsv.-Sraut.*, loc. cit. 8. He makes the fire redescend from his body or from the *Araṇis* by performing the *Manthana* (kindling the fire by attrition of the *Araṇis*).

7. The *Mantra* alluded to here is given in the *Srauta-sûtra*. It

which has been sprinkled (with water), he makes (the sacred fire) redescend (from its receptacle, with the formula), 'Redescend!'

8. If the fire goes out, he sacrifices the two Sarvaprâyasakitta oblations (oblations for general expiation) and (other oblations) with (the formulas), 'Protect us, Agni, that we may prosper. Svâhâ! Protect us that we may obtain all wealth. Svâhâ! The sacrifice protect, O resplendent one! Svâhâ! Protect everything, O hundredfold wise one. Svâhâ!'

9. In the case of a breach of his vow let him fast and sacrifice (an oblation) of Âgya with (the verse), 'Thou, Agni, art the lord of the vow' (Rig-veda VIII, 11, 1).

KHANDA 2.

1. Now about (the consecration of) ponds, wells, and tanks.

2. In the bright fortnight, or on an auspicious Tithi,

3. Having cooked barley-grains with milk,

4. He shall sacrifice with the two (verses), 'Thou

runs thus, 'Redescend, O Gâtavedas; carry again offerings to the gods, knowing us. Long life, offspring, wealth bestow on us; uninjured shine in our dwelling!'

8-9. These Sûtras stand in no connection with the Samârohana treated of before.

On the two Sarvaprâyasakitta oblations see above, I, 9, 12 and the note there.

The vow spoken of in Sûtra 9 Nârâyana refers to the restrictions regarding the food which the sacrificer and his wife are to eat on the Upavasatha days, connected with the festivals of the full and new moon.

2, 1 seq. Comp. Âsvalâyana-Parisish/a IV, 9.

hast us, Agni' (Rig-veda IV, 1, 4, 5), (and with the verses), 'We propitiate thy wrath' (I, 24, 14), 'This my prayer, Varuna' (I, 25, 19), 'Loosen the highest, Varuna' (I, 24, 15), 'This prayer of the man who exercises himself' (VIII, 42, 3),

5. (And with the words), 'The domestic one, he who goes away from the house, the refreshing one, he who goes into the kennel, he who dwells in the kennel, he who comes out of it, the greedy one, the destroyer of enemies'—to the different directions (of the horizon), beginning with that belonging to Varuna (i. e. the west), from left to right.

6. In the centre he makes oblations with milk with (the verses), 'Having eyes all around' (Rig-veda X, 81, 3), 'This has Vishnu' (Rig-veda I, 22, 17),

7. Plunging (into the water) with (the verse), 'Whatever here' (Rig-veda VII, 89, 5).

8. A cow and a pair of clothes is the fee for the sacrifice.

9. Then feeding of the Brâhmanas.

KHANDA 3.

1. Now at (the consecration of) a garden : having established the (sacred) fire (in that garden),

2. (And) having prepared a mess of cooked food,

3. He shall sacrifice with (the formulas), 'To

5. These are names of Agni dwelling in the waters; see Pâraskara II, 6, 10; Mantrabrâhmana I, 7, 1. Several of the names are here misspelled; thus *Grîhya*, *Apagrîhya* should be, no doubt, *Gohya*, *Upagohya*, which is the reading given in Pâraskara, loc. cit.

3, 1 seqq. Comp. Âsvalâyana-Parisishat IV, 10. Nârâyana uses for the ceremony here described the expressions Ârâmapratishatâ, Ârâmotarga.

Vishṇu svâhâ! To Indra and Agni svâhâ! To Visvakarman svâhâ!' (and with the verses), 'Whom the men' (Rig-veda III, 8, 6 seq.), verse by verse.

4. He recites over (the garden), 'O tree with thy hundred branches' (Rig-veda III, 8, 11).

5. The fee for the sacrifice is gold.

KHANDA 4.

1. Now if a half-monthly sacrifice has not been performed, one or the other of them, then a mess of rice (is to be offered as an expiation),

2. With (the words), 'To Agni Vaisvânara svâhâ! To Agni Tantumât svâhâ!'

3. In the case of an intermission of the (morning or evening) oblations—

4. (He shall make expiatory oblations), in the evening with (the formula), 'Enlightener of the darkness, adoration! Svâhâ!'

5. In the morning with (the formula), 'Enlightener of the morning, adoration! Svâhâ!'

6. After he has sacrificed as many oblations as there had been sacrifices (left out), the sacrifice (itself goes on) as (stated) above.

KHANDA 5.

1. If a dove or an owl sits down (on his house),

2. Let him sacrifice with (the hymn), 'O gods, the dove' (Rig-veda X, 165), verse by verse.

4, 6. Nârâyana: 'After he has thus taken and sacrificed as many Sruvas full of Âgya as there were sacrifices omitted through his guilt, the morning and evening sacrifices have to be performed as (stated) above (I, 3, 10) with oblations of rice or barley.'

3. If he has seen a bad dream or an occurrence boding misfortune,
4. Or when the cawing of a crow is heard in (the dead of) night,
5. And in the case of other prodigies,
6. Let him cook rice-grains with milk,
7. With the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour (with her own),
8. But in no case of a black (cow),
9. And let him sacrifice with the night-hymn (Rig-veda X, 127), verse by verse.
10. Having eaten the remnants of those oblations with the Mahāvyaḥrītis,
11. And having recited over his ears (the verse), 'Blessing with our ears' (Rig-veda I, 89, 8),
12. And over himself (the verse), 'May a hundred autumns be before us, ye gods' (ibid. 9),
13. He shall give something to the Brāhmaṇas.

KHANDA 6.

1. When a disease has befallen him,
2. Let him offer boiled rice-grains with Gavedhukâ-grass with (the hymn), 'These (prayers) to Rudra, the strong one, with braided hair' (Rig-veda I, 114), verse by verse.

KHANDA 7.

1. If (his wife) gives birth to a child, without the Sîmantonnayana having been performed,
2. (Or if) the Gâtakarman has not been performed (for the child),

7, 1. On the Sîmantonnayana, see I, 22.

2. The Gâtakarman has been described I, 24.

3. He places, when ten days have elapsed since (the delivery), the little child in the mother's lap,

4. And after he has sacrificed with the Mahâ-vyâhṛitis, the sacrifice (that had been omitted, is performed) as (stated) above.

KHANDA 8.

1. If a post puts forth shoots,

2. Let him prepare a mess of cooked food and offer the boiled rice with the two (verses), 'In that way bringing forth deeds' (Srauta-sûtra III, 17, 1), 'Of tawny shape, weighty, a giver of vigour' (Rig-veda II, 3, 9).

3. Should the pot for the Pranîtâ water, the Âgya-pot, or any other earthen (vessel) be damaged and leak,

4. He sacrifices the two Sarvaprâyasâkitta oblations and recites the three verses, 'He who without' (Rig-veda VIII, 1, 12 seq.), over the broken (vessel).

5. Should the two (Kusa blades which are used as) strainers be spoiled before the completion of the sacrifice,

6. Let him sacrifice the Sarvaprâyasâkitta and make new ones with (the verse), 'In the water, Agni' (Rig-veda VIII, 43, 9).

KHANDA 9.

1. Now (follows) the Sapindîkarana.

3. On the ten days, comp. I, 25, 1 and the note there.

8, 3. On the Pranîtâ water, see above, I, 8, 8. 25.

4. Comp. I, 9, 12 and the note there.

5. See I, 8, 14 seqq.

6. See Sûtra 4.

9, 1 seqq. Comp. above, IV, 3 and the notes there.

2. Let him fill four water-pots (for the Manes) from the father upwards,

3. And prepare in the same way lumps (of flour),

4. And let him distribute the first lump on the (other) three with (the verses), 'They who commonly, concordantly (dwell) in Yama's realm, the fathers: for them be space, freedom, adoration, sacrifice established among the gods.

'They who commonly, harmoniously (dwell), the living among the living, mine: may their prosperity fall to my lot in this world through a hundred years'—

And with the two (verses), 'Equal the design' (Rig-veda X, 191, 3. 4).

5. In the same way the vessels with Argha water.

6. In the same way for the mother, for a brother, and for a wife that has died before (her husband), adding (the lump belonging to that person) to those (other) lumps.

KHANDA 10.

1. If the bees make honey in his house,

2. Let him fast and sacrifice a hundred and eight pieces of Udumbara wood, which are besmeared with curds, honey, and ghee, with the two (verses), 'No (harm) to us in our offspring' (Rig-veda I, 114, 8. 9).

3. And let him murmur the hymn, 'For welfare may Indra and Agni' (Rig-veda VII, 35); and (the same hymn should be used) at all (ceremonies), such

2. On these four vessels, see IV, 3, 4 seq.

5. These are the vessels mentioned in the second Sûtra.

10, 3. This is a supplementary rule belonging to the exposition of the general type of sacrifice. On the 'Pratisruta' sacrifice, see I, 7, 1 seqq.; I, 9, 19.

as that of the sacrifice after assent has been declared (see above, I, 7, 1).

4. After he has sacrificed seventeen one span long pieces of Palâsa wood, he then seizes the Sruva.

5. Fifteen at the full and new moon sacrifices.

6. At the Ashṭakâ ceremony in the middle of the rainy season there may optionally be three (pieces of wood); the sacrifice as at the Pitriyagña.

KHANDA 11.

1. If an anthill arises in his house, the house should be abandoned.

2. Then, after having fasted three nights (and days), he should perform the great expiation.

Here ends the Fifth Adhyâya.

4. See I, 9, 1. 3.

6. Comp. III, 13, 1 with the note.

11, 2. Nârâyana understands the 'great expiation' as a rite directed to Ganesa and to the planets (comp. Yâgñavalkya I, 276 seq., 292, &c.); that this ceremony was known already to the author of this Sûtra seems very doubtful. Another 'mahâsânti' is frequently mentioned in the Kausika-sûtra (quoted in Böhlingk-Roth's Dictionary); comp. my German edition of Sâṅkhâya, p. 159.

ADHYÂYA VI, KHANDA 1.

1. Now, after having paid reverence to Brahman, to the Brahmarishi, to (those who descend from) Brahman's womb, to Indra, Pragâpati, Vasishtha, Vâmadeva, Kahola Kaushîtaki, Mahâkaushîtaki, Suyagña Sâñkhâyana, Âsvalâyana, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, Kâtyâyana, Sâtyâyana, Sâkalya, Babhru, Bâbhavya, Mandu, Mândavya, and to all the teachers of the past, we will henceforth explain the rules for the Âranyaka as forming the subject of Svâdhyâya (private recitation of a text).

2. The teacher abstains through one day and one night from sexual intercourse and from eating flesh.

3. Raw flesh, a *Kandâla*, a woman that has lately been confined, or that has her courses, seeing blood or persons whose hands have been cut off: (these persons and things he shall know form) impediments for the study.

4. And of the corpse-like (animals?).

5. Those which enter (their dens?) with the mouth first (?).

1, 1 seqq. Comp. the general remarks on this sixth book in the Introduction, p. 11.

For the names in the opening invocation, comp. above, IV, 10; on the Vratas and the study of the different Âranyaka sections chiefly treated of in this book, see above, II, 11. 12, and the Introduction, p. 8.

2. Comp. II, 11, 6.

3-5. Comp. II, 12, 10, and the note of Nârâyana, p. 160 of the German edition.

6. When he has vomited, or when his beard has been shaved,
7. When he has eaten flesh or partaken of a *Srâddha* or birth dinner,
8. During the days that immediately follow on (days of) study in the village,
9. Three nights (and days), if (he has been) put out of order,
10. (Or has been violently) seized by others,
11. And during the second half of the days that precede (?) the *Parvan* days,
12. And if fire-flames, lightning, thunder, (heavy) rains, and great clouds appear,
13. And if a storm (blows) that carries away pebbles, as long as that lasts.
- 2, 1. During four months after the full moon of *Âshâdha* let him not study.
2. Especially the *Sakvarî* verses (are concerned by what has been declared). Such are the rules.

KHANDA 2.

3. Let them go to a clean spot in the north-eastern direction, that receives its light from the east.
4. The drawing of water (should be done) before sunrise,

6. Comp. IV, 7, 42. See also Ait. *Âraṇyaka* V, 3, 9.

7. Comp. IV, 7, 5.

2, 2. It seems to me that this *Sûtra* should be divided into two (after *sakvarya*), so that the words *iti niyamâḥ* would correspond to *iti bhâshikam*, chap. 2, 13.

3. Comp. II, 12, 11. Perhaps the Petersburg Dictionary is right in proposing for *prâggyotisham* the translation, *vor Anbruch des Lichtes*. *Nârâyana* says, *prâk purastât gyotir yasmin tam . . . pradesam*.

5. And the entering into the circle with this verse, 'She who smells of salve' (Rig-veda X, 146, 6).

6. The circle should have its entrance to the east or to the north; it should be (praised as) excellent among the people, not too spacious, not too narrow.

7. The final expiation (should extend) to the Vâmadevya.

8. And the invitation to resume the recitation (is done in the following way):

9. After they have sipped water that stands outside the circle,

10. Let them resume the recitation, having performed the expiation.

11. If the vessel used in the expiation is damaged, sprinkling (with water forms) the expiatory act (to be performed for it).

12. (That) sprinkling, however, (one should perform) holding gold or a bunch of Darbha grass in his hand.

13. So far what pertains to the general rules. *

KHANDA 3.

1. Now after they have entered the circle—

2. The teacher sits down with his face to the east, the others, according to their rank, (sit down) towards the south, with their faces to the north.

5. The *Mandala* is a circular space marked by a line of water.

6. I am doubtful whether we should read *vâ ganâgrîyam* and translate as I have done in accordance with the note of Nârâyana, or if the reading should be *vâ-ganâgrîyam*, 'not in the presence of people,' so that *ganâgrîya* would mean *ganânâm agre*.

7. On the expiation (*sânti*) comp. chap. 3, 12.

3, 2, 3. Comp. IV, 8, 2-4.

3. If that is impossible, with their faces to all directions.

4. Let them expect the rising of the sun,

5. And when they behold it in its splendour,

6. Let them with (the words), 'Recite, sir!' seize with their hands, holding the right hand uppermost, the feet of the teacher, which have been washed, with the right (hand) the right (foot), with the left the left,

7. And having then put (the hands) into the vessel used for the expiation, into water in which pieces of Dûrvâ stalks are, let them begin their study, when their hands have ceased to drip.

8. This is the rite. But when they are tired, let one of them bring it about that the vessel used for the expiation be not empty.

9. And all (should do so) at the beginning and the end of (each) Adhyâya.

10. (All) that is done continuously, without interruption.

11. Now the expiation.

12. The syllable Om, the Mahâvyâhṛitis, the Sâvitri, the Rathantara, the Bṛihat, the Vâmadevya; Bṛihat and Rathantara with repetition and Kakubh-forming.

6. Comp. above, II, 5, 10, &c.

7. The translation of *apinvamânaiḥ pâṇibhiḥ* is conjectural. Nârâyana's explanation of *apinvamâna* by *asamsṛishṭa* is inadmissible.

10. Nârâyana explains this Sûtra in the following way. If it is impossible, for any reason, to recite the whole text, only the beginning and the concluding words of each Adhyâya (see Sûtra 9) are to be repeated; and these should be recited without interruption so as to form one continual text.

12. Comp. above, III, 4, 5.

13. These (holy words and verses) are (thus) made to attain (the number of) ten.

14. 'Of decades consists the Virâg'—thus says the Brâhmaṇa.

KHANDA 4.

1. 'Unerring mind, vigorous eye (is) the sun, the noblest of the stars. Inauguration, do no harm to me!'—with (these words) they look at Savitri (i. e. the sun).

13. The Gâyatrî is one verse; the Rathantara and the Brîhat are Pragâthas which are changed in the usual way into Triṅkas; the Vâmadevya is one Triṅka: thus the number of ten is obtained.

14. Kaush. Brâhmaṇa 17, 3; 19, 5.

4, 1. The formula 'Adabdhāmanah, &c. has to be recited before each of the single Âranyaka texts (the Sakvarî verses, the Mahâvratâ, &c.); to this formula are added, before or after it, as the case may be, other texts specified in the Sûtras 2-8. Of these there can be no doubt about the meaning of Sûtras 7, 8, treating of the introductory formulas of the Samhitâ section (Kaush. Âr. VII-VIII) and of the Manthâ section (ibid. IX): before the text adabdhāmanah, &c. are to be added, in the first case the formula *ritam vadishyâmi*, &c., in the second case two *Rikas* addressed to Savitri. These formulas and verses have been received into the Âranyaka text and are found there in the order here stated, at the beginning of books VII and IX. The meaning of the words *samhitânâm tu pûrvam* (Sûtra 7) having thus been established, I can see no reason why we should not interpret the words *sakvarîṇâm tu pûrvam* (Sûtra 3) quite in the same way. Thus the introductory benediction for the recital of the Sakvarî verses would consist, firstly of the verses stated in Sûtra 4, then of the formula adabdhāmanah, &c.; those verses would have to be repeated again after the Sakvarî verses (end of Sûtra 4). The recitation of the Mahâvratâ (Sûtras 1, 2) and of the Upanishads (Sûtra 5) is preceded by adabdhāmanah, &c., and then by the four verses stated in Sûtra 2. The interpretation which Nârâyana gives of this Sûtra is not quite the same as that which I have here proposed; see p. 163 of the German edition.

2. One (verse), 'You both the gladdening one' (Rig-veda X, 131, 4), and the three (verses), 'Blessing to us on the paths' (Rig-veda X, 63, 15-17) (are to be repeated before the recitation) of the Mahâvrata (chapter).

3. But (at that) of the Sakvarî (verses) before (the formula mentioned in the first Sûtra):

4. The three *Trikas*, 'To him, the thirsty one' (Rig-veda VI, 42, 1-3), 'The wealthiest (Soma), O wealthy one' (VI, 44, 1-3), 'Him who does no harm to you' (VI, 44, 4-6), (the verse), 'To him, to him the sap of the herb' (VI, 42, 4), (and the verse), 'Verily thou art a hero' (VIII, 81, 28)—thus for the Sakvarî (verses) before and afterwards.

5. Now for the Upanishad (texts)—

6. The same (recitation) as for the Mahâvrata.

7. For the *Samhitâs*, however, before (the text given in the first Sûtra the formula has to be recited), 'I shall speak right, I shall speak truth (&c.)'—this is the difference (in the case of the *Samhitâs*).

8. Now for the Mantha the two verses (have to be recited) before (the formula given in the first Sûtra), 'This we entreat of Savitar,' 'That glorious (splendour) of Savitar' (Rig-veda V, 82, 1; III, 62, 10).

4. According to the reading of some MSS. we should have to translate, or (the verse), 'Verily,' &c.

7. On the *Samhitâs* (Kaush. Âr. VII, VIII) see Max Müller, Rig-veda Prâtisâkhya, pp. 4 seq.; Ait. Âranyaka III (pp. 305 seqq., ed. Bibl. Ind.; Sacred Books of the East, I, pp. 247 seq.).

8. Regarding the description of the Mantha sacrifice (Kaush. Âr. IX) which has to be performed by one who wishes to attain greatness, comp. Satap. Brâhmana XIV, 9, 2; Kând. Up. V, 2, 4; Sacred Books of the East, I, p. 75.

9. With (the formula), 'Unerring mind' (see Sûtra 1), then follow the expiatory formulas that belong to the (different) sections.

10. (All) this on one day.

KHANDA 5.

Khanda 4, 11. Now if the time for rising has come, they drive away (all) evil,

12. Perform the standing expiation,

13. And look at the sun with (the words), 'From here I take out the brightness(?).'

Khanda 5, 1. - 'That (I place) within myself'—with (these words they turn their thoughts to the universal) Self that is placed (within themselves?)—three times repeated(?).

2. With (the formula), 'May happiness rejoice in me and glory; may happiness rejoice with me and glory;—

3. 'Together with Indra, with the hosts, with power, with glory, with strength I will rise'—he rises up.

11, 12. Nârâyana has the following note: 'The evil which is attached to their body, such as dirt, they drive away, i.e. they remove it by means of their reciting (of the sacred texts), and then they perform the standing expiation which has been declared above, which begins with the syllable Om and with the Mahâ-vyâhrtis' (see chap. 3, 12).

5, 1. Nârâyana says that *dadhe* is supplied to this Mantra from the preceding Sûtra, and so indeed the Mantra is given in the Aitareya recension. The translation of *abhinihitam* *trir hitam* is merely tentative; see Nârâyana's note, p. 165, of the German edition. Perhaps *abhinihitam* should be taken in its grammatical value, and the Sûtra should be translated, "That (I place) into myself (*âtmani*)"—with these words (they look) at themselves, pronouncing (the word *âtmani*) with *Abhinidhâna*, three times repeated(?).' On *abhinidhâna*, comp. Professor Max Müller's edition of the *Rig-veda Prâtisâkhya*, pp. cxvii seqq.

4. 'May happiness rise to me ; may glory rise to me'—when he has risen.

5. 'Hereby I shake off the hater, the rival, the evil one, and the bringer of misfortune'—with (this formula) having shaken the end of the garment,—

6. The hymn, 'Away those to the east' (Rig-veda X, 131), the two (verses), 'And may Indra have mercy upon us' (II, 41, 11. 12), the one (verse), 'Of what we are in fear, O Indra' (VIII, 50, 13)—(when these texts have been murmured), they look with (the verse), 'A ruler indeed, great art thou' (X, 152, 1) to the east ; with (the verse), 'The giver of bliss' (X, 152, 2) to the south, turned to the right ; with (the verse), 'Away the Rakshas' (X, 152, 3) to the west ; with (the verse), 'Destroy, O Indra, our' (X, 152, 4) to the north, turned to the left ; with (the verse), 'Away, O Indra' (X, 152, 5) to the sky, turned to the right.

KHANDA 6.

1. Having worshipped the Sun with (the verses), 'Savitri from the west,' 'This eye' (Rig-veda X, 36, 14 ; VII, 66, 16),

2. They turn away, come back, sit down.

3. With (the words), 'As the water is appeased'—they draw water out of the vessel used for the expiation,

4. Pour it out on the ground,

5. Spread (some) of that (water over the ground) with (the words), 'As the earth (is appeased),'—

6, 2. Nârâyana explains vyâvartamânâh by parâvartamânadharmayuktâh.

5. Perhaps we should read asyâm (scil. prithivyâm) abhi-

6. He (then) smears it on his right shoulder with (the words), 'Thus may peace dwell in me.'

7. In the same way a second time.

8. In the same way a third time.

9. 'Piece by piece thou art produced; piece by piece thou risest up; bring welfare to us, O house!'—with (this text they) take pieces of Dûrvâ stalks (out of the vessel of water), put them on their heads,

10. (And make water-offerings with the formulas), 'May Agni satiate himself; may Vâyû satiate himself; may Sûrya satiate himself; may Vishnu satiate himself; may Pragâpati satiate himself; may Virûpâksha satiate himself; may Sahasrâksha satiate himself; may all beings satiate themselves.'

11. (Then) Sumantu, Gaimini, Vaisampâya, Paila, and the other teachers (receive their offerings).

12. (Then) every one (worships in the same way) his fathers.

13. With (the text), 'To the sea you' (Sraut. IV, 11, 11) they pour out the water,

14. Murmur the Vâmadevya,

15. And separate according to their pleasure.

16. (The final benedictory formula runs thus), 'Through the power of wisdom, of Sruti and Smṛiti, as handed down by tradition, through (that power) which has its measure in (the Vedic texts) that have been gone through(?), and which is possessed of

karshanti, and translate, 'they draw (lines of that water) on this (earth).'

6. Nârâyana says that all the students are to do so.

10. Comp. above, IV, 9. On the way in which this Tarpana is to be performed, Nârâyana refers to the Sûtra II, 7, 5.

11. Comp. above, IV, 10.

12. Comp. above, IV, 10, 4-6.

undisputed firmness, may peace be with us in welfare. Adoration be to gods, *Rishis*, Manes, and men ! May they whom we have adored, make happy life, beauty, health, peace, incolumity, imperishableness, vigour, splendour, glory, power, holy lustre, renown, age, offspring, cattle, adoration, increase. From wrongly spoken, wrongly used (prayer), from everything that is deficient or excessive, for the good of gods and *Rishis*, may the Brahman and Truth protect me ; may the Brahman and Truth protect me !'

End of the Sixth Adhyâya.

End of the Sâṅkhâyana - Grîhya.

ÂSVALÂYANA-GRÎHYA-
SÛTRA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ÂSVALÂYANA-GRÎHYA-SÛTRA.

MOST of the questions referring to the *Grîhya-sûtra* of Âsvalâyana will be treated of more conveniently in connection with the different subjects which we shall have to discuss in our General Introduction to the *Grîhya-sûtras*. Here I wish only to call attention to a well-known passage of *Shadgurusishya*, in which that commentator gives some statements on the works composed by Âsvalâyana and by his teacher Saunaka. As an important point in that passage has, as far as I can see, been misunderstood by several eminent scholars, I may perhaps be allowed here to try and correct that misunderstanding, though the point stands in a less direct connection with the *Grîhya-sûtra* than with another side of the literary activity of Âsvalâyana.

*Shadgurusishya*¹, before speaking of Âsvalâyana, makes the following statements with regard to Âsvalâyana's teacher, Saunaka. 'There was,' he says, 'the *Sâkala Samhitâ* (of the *Rig-veda*), and the *Bâshkala Samhitâ*; following these two *Samhitâs* and the twenty-one *Brâhmanas*, adopting principally the *Aitareyaka* and supplementing it by the other texts, he who was revered by the whole number of great *Rishis* composed the first *Kalpa-sûtra*.' He then goes on to speak of Âsvalâyana — 'Saunaka's pupil was the venerable Âsvalâyana. He who knew everything he had learnt from that teacher, composed a *Sûtra* and announced (to Saunaka that he had done so)².' Saunaka then destroyed his own *Sûtra*, and

¹ See Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 230 seqq.; *Indische Studien*, I, 102.

² This seems to me to be the meaning of *sûtram kṛtvâ nyavedayat*;

determined that Āsvalāyana's Sūtra should be adopted by the students of that Vedic Sākhā. Thus, says Shadguru-shya, there were twelve works of Saunaka by which a correct knowledge of the Rig-veda was preserved, and three works of Āsvalāyana. Saunaka's *dasa granthās* were, the five Anukramāṇīs, the two Vidhānas, the Bārhaddaivata, the Prātisākhya, and a Smārta work¹. Āsvalāyana, on the other hand, composed the Srauta-sūtra in twelve Adhyāyas, the Grihya in four Adhyāyas, and the fourth Āraṇyaka : this is Āsvalāyana's great Sūtra composition².

Here we have an interesting and important statement by which the authorship of a part of the Aitareyāraṇyaka, which would thus be separated from the rest of that text, is ascribed, not to Mahidāsa Aitareya, but to an author of what may be called the historical period of Vedic antiquity, to Āsvalāyana.

But what is the fourth Āraṇyaka to which this passage refers? Is it the text which is now set down, for instance, in Dr. Rāgendralāla Mitra's edition, as the fourth Āraṇyaka of the Aitareyinas?

Before we give an answer to this question, attention must be called to other passages referring, as it could seem, to another part, namely, the fifth part of the Āraṇyaka.

Sāyana, in his great commentary on the Rig-veda, very frequently quotes the *pañkamāraṇyaka* as belonging to Saunaka. Thus in vol. i, p. 112, ed. Max Müller, he says : *pañkamāraṇyaka aushnihatrikāsītir iti khande Saunakena sūtritām surūpakṛitnum ūtaya iti trīṇy endra sānasim rayim iti dve iti*. There is indeed in the fifth Āraṇyaka a chapter beginning with the words *aushnihî trikâsītî*, in which the words quoted by Sāyana occur³. Similar quotations, in

the case is similar to that where a pupil goes on his rounds for alms and announces (*nivedayati*) to his teacher what he has received. Prof. Max Müller translates these words differently; according to him they mean that Āsvalāyana 'made a Sūtra and taught it.'

¹ Comp. Prof. Bühler's article in the Journal As. Soc. of Bengal, 1866, pp. 149 seqq.

² *Dvādarādhyāyakam sūtram katushkam grihyam eva ka katurthāraṇyakam kēti* by Āsvalāyanasūtrakam.

³ See p. 448 of Dr. Rāgendralāla Mitra's edition in the Bibliotheca Indica.

which the fifth *Āraṇyaka* is assigned to Saunaka, are found in Sāyana's commentary on the *Āraṇyaka* itself; see, for instance, p. 97, line 19, p. 116, line 3.

Thus it seems that the authorship of both the fourth and the fifth *Āraṇyaka* was ascribed to teachers belonging to the Sūtra period of Vedic literature, viz. to Saunaka and to Āsvalāyana respectively. And so we find the case stated by both Professor Weber, in his 'Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte¹', and Dr. Rāgendralāla Mitra, in the Introduction to his edition of the Aitareya *Āraṇyaka*².

But we must ask ourselves: Are the two books of the *Āraṇyaka* collection, ascribed to those two authors, really two different books? It is a surprising fact that Shadgurusishya, while speaking of Āsvalāyana's authorship of the fourth book, and while at the same time intending, as he evidently does, to give a complete list of Saunaka's compositions, does not mention the fifth *Āraṇyaka* among the works of that author. In order to account for this omission the conjecture seems to suggest itself that Shadgurusishya, when speaking of the fourth *Āraṇyaka* as belonging to Āsvalāyana, means the same work which Sāyana sets down as the fifth, and which he ascribes to Saunaka. At first sight this conjecture may seem perhaps rather hazardous or unnatural; however I believe that, if we compare the two texts themselves which are concerned, we shall find it very probable and even evident. What do those two *Āraṇyaka* books contain? The fourth is very short: it does not fill more than one page in the printed edition. Its contents consist exclusively of the text of the Mahānāmni or Sakvari verses, which seem to belong to a not less remote

¹ 2nd edition, p. 53: Obwohl wir für das vierte Buch des letztern (i.e. of the Aitareya *Āraṇyaka*) sogar die directe Nachricht haben, dass es dem Āsvalāyana, dem Schüler eines Saunaka angehört, so wie auch ferner für das fünfte Buch desselben dieser Saunaka selbst als Urheber gegolten zu haben scheint, nach dem was Colebrooke Misc. Ess. I, 47 n. darüber berichtet.

² P. 11: If this assumption be admitted, the proper conclusion to be arrived at would also be that the whole of the fifth Book belongs to Saunaka, and the whole of the fourth Book to Āsvalāyana. P. 12: The writings of both Āsvalāyana and Saunaka which occur in the *Āraṇyaka*, etc.

antiquity than the average of the Rig-veda hymns. They can indeed be considered as forming part of the Rig-veda Samhitā, and it is only on account of the peculiar mystical holiness ascribed to these verses, that they were not studied in the village but in the forest¹, and were consequently received not into the body of the Samhitā itself, but into the Āraṇyaka. They are referred to in all Brāhmaṇa texts, and perhaps we can even go so far as to pronounce our opinion that some passages of the Rig-veda hymns themselves allude to the Sakvarī verses :

yak kḷakvarīṣhu bṛihatā ravenendre sushmam adadhātā Vasishṭhāḥ (Rig-veda VII, 33, 4).

rikām tvah posham āste pupushvān gāyatram tvo gāyati sakvarīṣhu (Rig-veda X, 71, 11).

So much for the fourth Āraṇyaka. The fifth contains a description of the Mahāvratā ceremony. To the same subject also the first book is devoted, with the difference that the first book is composed in the Brāhmaṇa style, the fifth in the Sūtra style².

Now which of these two books can it be that Shadgurusishya reckons as belonging to the 'Āsvalāyanasūtraka?' It is impossible that it should be the fourth, for the Mahānāmni verses never were considered by Indian theologians as the work of a human author; they shared in the apauruṣheyatva of the Veda, and to say that they have been composed by Āsvalāyana, would be inconsistent with the most firmly established principles of the literary history of the Veda both as conceived by the Indians and by ourselves. And even if we were to admit that the Mahānāmni verses can have been assigned, by an author like Shadgurusishya, to Āsvalāyana,—and we cannot admit

¹ See Sāṅkhāyana-Grīhya II, 12, 13.

² Thus Sāyana, in his note on V, 1, 1, says : Nanu prathamāraṇyakeṣu atha mahāvratam Indro vai Vratam hatvetyādinā mahāvrataprayogoḥ bhihitāḥ, pañcakameṣu tasyaivābhidhāne punaruktiḥ syāt. nāyam doshaḥ, sūtrabrāhmaṇa-rūpeṇa tayor vibhedāt. pañkamāraṇyakam rīshiproktam sūtram, prathamāraṇyakan tv apauruṣheyam brāhmaṇam. ata eva tatārthavādaprapañkena sahitaḥ vidhayaḥ śrūyante, pañkame tu na ko py arthavādoḥ sti . . . aranya evaitad adhyeyam ity abhipretyādhyetāra āraṇyakāndeṇtarbhāvādyādhiyate.

this,—there is no possibility whatever that he can have used the expression ‘Āsvalāyanasūtrakam’ with regard to the Mahānāmni; to apply the designation of a Sūtra to the Mahānāmni hymn would be no less absurd than to apply it to any Sūkta whatever of the *Rik-Samhitā*. On the other hand, the fifth book of the *Āraṇyaka* is a Sūtra; it is the only part of the whole body of the *Āraṇyaka* collection which is composed in the Sūtra style. And it treats of a special part of the Rig-veda ritual the rest of which is embodied in its entirety, with the omission only of that very part, in the two great Sūtras of *Āsvalāyana*. There seems to me, therefore, to be little doubt as to the fifth *Āraṇyaka* really being the text referred to by *Shadgurusishya*, though I do not know how to explain his setting down this book as the fourth. And I may add that there is a passage, hitherto, as far as I know, unnoticed, in *Sāyana*’s *Sāma-veda* commentary, in which that author directly assigns the fifth *Āraṇyaka* not, as in the Rig-veda commentary, to *Saunaka*, but to *Āsvalāyana*. *Sāyana* there says¹: yathā bahvrikām adhyāpakā mahāvrataprayogapratipādakam Āsvalāyananirmitam kalpa-sūtram aranye dhīyamānāḥ pañkamam āraṇyakam iti vedatvena vyavaharanti.

Instead of asserting, therefore, that of the two last *Āraṇyakas* of the *Aitareyinas* the one is ascribed to *Saunaka*, the other to *Āsvalāyana*, we must state the case otherwise: not two *Āraṇyakas* were, according to *Sāyana* and *Shadgurusishya*, composed by those Sūtrakāras, but one, viz. the fifth, which forms a sort of supplement to the great body of the Sūtras of that *Karana*, and which is ascribed either to *Saunaka* or to *Āsvalāyana*. Perhaps further research will enable us to decide whether that Sūtra portion of the *Āraṇyaka*, or we may say quite as well, that *Āraṇyaka* portion of the Sūtra, belongs to the author of the *Srauta-sūtra*, or should be considered as a remnant of a more ancient composition, of which the portion studied in the forest has survived, while the portion

¹ *Sāma-veda* (Bibl. Indica), vol. i, p. 19.

which was taught in the village was superseded by the more recent Āsvalāyana-sūtra.

There would be still many questions with which an Introduction to Āsvalāyana would have to deal; thus the relation between Āsvalāyana and Saunaka, which we had intended to treat of here with reference to a special point, would have to be further discussed with regard to several other of its bearings, and the results which follow therefrom as to the position of Āsvalāyana in the history of Vedic literature would have to be stated. But we prefer to reserve the discussion of these questions for the General Introduction to the Grīhya-sūtras.

ÂSVALÂYANA-GRÎHYA-SÛTRA.

ADHYÂYA I, KANDIKÂ 1.

1. The (rites) based on the spreading (of the three sacred fires) have been declared ; we shall declare the *Grîhya* (rites).

2. There are three (kinds of) *Pâkayagñas*, the *hutas*, (i. e. the sacrifices) offered over the fire ; over something that is not the fire, the *prahutas* ; and at the feeding of *Brâhmanas*, those offered in the *Brahman*.

3. And they quote also *Rikas*, 'He who with a piece of wood or with an oblation, or with knowledge ("veda").'

1, 1. The spreading (*vitâna* or, as it is also called, *vihâra* or *vistâra*) of the sacred fires is the taking of two of the three sacrificial fires, the *Âhavanîya* fire and the *Dakshinâgni*, out of the *Gârhapatya* fire (see, for instance, Weber's *Indische Studien*, IX, 216 seq.). The rites based on, or connected with the *vitâna*, are the rites forming the subject of the *Srauta* ritual, which are to be performed with the three fires.

2. Comp. *Sânkhâyana-Grîhya* I, 5, 1 ; I, 10, 7. The division here is somewhat different from that given by *Sânkhâyana* ; what *Sânkhâyana* calls a *huta*, is here *prahuta* ('sacrificed up') ; the *prahutas* of *Sânkhâyana* form here no special category ; the *prâsitas* of *Sânkhâyana* are the *brahmaṇi hutâs* of *Âsvalâyana*. Thus *Âsvalâyana* has three categories, while *Sânkhâyana* (and quite in the same way *Pâraskara* I, 4, 1) gives four. *Nârâyana* mentions as an example of *prahuta* sacrifices the *baliharana* prescribed below, I, 2, 3.

3. *Rig-veda* VIII, 19, 5, 'The mortal who with a piece of wood, or with an oblation, or with knowledge worships Agni, who with adoration (worships him) offering rich sacrifices,' &c.

4. Even he who only puts a piece of wood (on the fire) full of belief, should think, 'Here I offer a sacrifice; adoration to that (deity)!'

(The *Rik* quoted above then says), 'He who with an oblation'—and, 'He who with knowledge;' even by learning only satisfaction is produced (in the gods).

Seeing this the *Rishi* has said, 'To him who does not keep away from himself the cows, to him who longs for cows, who dwells in the sky, speak a wonderful word, sweeter than ghee and honey.' Thereby he means, 'This my word, sweeter than ghee and honey, is satisfaction (to the god); may it be sweeter.'

(And another *Rishi* says), 'To thee, O Agni, by this *Rik* we offer an oblation prepared by our heart; may these be oxen, bulls, and cows.' (Thereby he means), 'They are my oxen, bulls, and cows (which I offer to the god), they who study this text, reciting it for themselves (as their Svâdhyâya).'

(And further on the *Rik* quoted above says), 'He who (worships Agni) with adoration, offering rich sacrifices.' 'Verily also by the performing of adoration (the gods may be worshipped); for the gods are not beyond the performing of adoration; adoration verily is sacrifice'—thus runs a *Brâhmaṇa*.

4. The words of the *Rik*, 'with an oblation,' are here repeated, the Vedic instrumental âhutî being replaced and explained by the regular form âhutyâ.

The following *Rik* is taken from the eighth *Mandala*, 24, 20. The god compared there with a rutting bull is Indra.

The following verse is *Rig-veda* VI, 16, 47; we may doubt as to the correctness of the explanation given in our text, by which te te is referred to the persons studying the hymns of the *Rishi*. All these quotations of course are meant to show that the knowledge of the Veda and the performing of *namas* (adoration) is equivalent to a real sacrifice.

KANDIKÂ 2.

1. Now he should make oblations in the evening and in the morning of prepared sacrificial food,

2. To the deities of the Agnihotra, to Soma Vanaspati, to Agni and Soma, to Indra and Agni, to Heaven and Earth, to Dhanvantari, to Indra, to the Visve devâs, to Brahman.

3. He says Svâhâ, and then he offers the Balis—

4. To those same deities, to the waters, to the herbs and trees, to the house, to the domestic deities, to the deities of the ground (on which the house stands),

5. To Indra and Indra's men, to Yama and Yama's men, to Varuṇa and Varuṇa's men, to Soma and Soma's men—these (oblations he makes) to the different quarters (of the horizon, of which those are the presiding deities).

6. To Brahman and Brahman's men in the middle,

2, 1. This is the Vaisvadeva sacrifice; comp. Sâṅkhâya-Gr̥hya II, 14, &c.

2. The deities of the Agnihotra are Sûrya, Agni, and Pragâpati.

On Soma Vanaspati see the quotations given in Böhlingk-Roth's Dictionary s. v. vanaspati, 2.

3. I think the division of the Sûtras should be altered, so that svâheti would belong to Sûtra 2, and the third Sûtra would consist only of the words atha baliharanam. In this case we should have to translate,

(1) Now he should make oblations, &c.

(2) With the words, 'To the deities of the Agnihotra (i. e. to Agni, to Sûrya, to Pragâpati), to Soma Vanaspati, &c., svâhâ!'

(3) Then (follows) the offering of the Balis.

Comp. Sâṅkh.-Gr̥hya II, 14, 4. 5, which passage seems to confirm the view expressed here.

5. Manu III, 87.

7. To the Visve devās, to all day-walking beings—thus by day;
8. To the night-walking (beings)—thus at night.
9. To the Rakshas—thus to the north.
10. 'Svadhâ to the fathers (i. e. Manes)'—with these words he should pour out the remnants to the south, with the sacrificial cord suspended over the right shoulder.

KANDIKÂ 3.

1. Now wherever he intends to perform a sacrifice, let him besmear (with cowdung) a surface of the dimension at least of an arrow on each side; let him draw six lines thereon, one turned to the north, to the west (of the spot on which the fire is to be placed); two (lines) turned to the east, at the two different ends (of the line mentioned first); three (lines) in the middle (of those two); let him sprinkle that (place with water), establish the (sacred) fire (thereon), put (two or three pieces of fuel) on it, wipe (the ground) round (the fire), strew (grass) round (it), to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north, ending (each time) in the north. Then (follows) silently the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire).

2. With two (Kusa blades used as) strainers the purifying of the Âgya (is done).

3. Having taken two Kusa blades with unbroken tops, which do not bear a young shoot in them, of the measure of a span, at their two ends with his

3, 1. Comp. Sâṅkh.-Gr̥hya I, 7, 6 seq., where the statements regarding the lines to be drawn are somewhat different, and the note there.

3. Comp. the description of this act of purifying the Âgya, which is in some points more detailed, in Sâṅkh.-Gr̥hya I, 8, 14-21.

thumbs and fourth fingers, with his hands turned with the inside upwards, he purifies (the Āgya, from the west) to the east, with (the words), 'By the impulse of Savitrī I purify thee with this uninjured purifier, with the rays of the good sun'—once with this formula, twice silently.

4. The strewing (of grass) round (the fire) may be done or not done in the Āgya offerings.

5. So also the two Āgya portions (may optionally be sacrificed) in the Pākayagñas.

6. And the (assistance of a) Brahman (is optional), except at the sacrifice to Dhanvantari and at the sacrifice of the spit-ox (offered to Rudra).

7. Let him sacrifice with (the words), 'To such and such a deity svâhâ!'

8. If there is no rule (as to the deities to whom the sacrifice belongs, they are) Agni, Indra, Pragâpati, the Visve devâs, Brahman.

9. (Different Pākayagñas, when) offered at the same time, should have the same Barhis (sacrificial grass), the same fuel, the same Āgya, and the same (oblation to Agni) Svishṭakṛt.

10. With reference thereto the following sacrificial stanza is sung:

'He who has to perform (different) Pākayagñas, should offer them with the same Āgya, the same

4. Comp. Sâṅkh.-Grîhya I, 8, 12.

5. On the two Āgyabhâgas offered to Agni and Soma comp. below, chap. 10, 13; Sâṅkh.-Grîhya I, 9, 5 seq.

6. Comp. on these exceptions the Sûtras below, I, 12, 7; IV, 8, 15.

7. Comp. Sâṅkh.-Grîhya I, 9, 18.

9. On the oblation to Agni Svishṭakṛt, see Indische Studien, IX, 217.

Barhis, and the same Svishṭakṛit, even if the deity (of those sacrifices) is not the same.'

. KANDIKÂ 4.

1. During the northern course of the sun, in the time of the increasing moon, under an auspicious Nakshatra the tonsure (of the child's head), the initiation (of a Brahmaṅgîrin), the cutting of the beard, and marriage (should be celebrated).

2. According to some (teachers), marriage (may be celebrated) at any time.

3. Before those (ceremonies) let him sacrifice four Âgya oblations—

4. With the three (verses), 'Agni, thou purifiest life' (Rig-veda IX, 66, 10 seq.), and with (the one verse), 'Pragâpati, no other one than thou' (Rig-veda X, 121, 10).

5. Or with the Vyâhr̥tis.

6. According to some (teachers), the one and the other.

7. No such (oblations), according to some (teachers).

8. At the marriage the fourth oblation with the verse, 'Thou (O Agni) art Aryaman towards the girls' (Rig-veda V, 3, 2).

KANDIKÂ 5.

1. Let him first examine the family (of the intended bride or bridegroom), as it has been said above,

4, 1. Sâṅkh.-Gr̥hya I, 5, 2-5.

5. With the words, bhûḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, and with the three words together.

6. Thus eight oblations are offered, four with the four *Rikas* quoted in the fourth Sûtra, and four with the Vyâhr̥tis.

7. Neither the oblations with the *Rikas* nor those with the Vyâhr̥tis.

5, 1. Srauta-sûtra IX, 3, 20, 'Who on their mother's as well as

‘Those who on the mother’s and on the father’s side.’

2. Let him give the girl to a (young man) endowed with intelligence.

3. Let him marry a girl that shows the characteristics of intelligence, beauty, and moral conduct, and who is free from disease.

4. As the characteristics (mentioned in the preceding Sûtra) are difficult to discern, let him make eight lumps (of earth), recite over the lumps the following formula, ‘Right has been born first, in the beginning; on the right truth is founded. For what (destiny) this girl is born, that may she attain here. What is true may that be seen,’ and let him say to the girl, ‘Take one of these.’

5. If she chooses the (lump of earth taken) from a field that yields two crops (in one year), he may know, ‘Her offspring will be rich in food.’ If from a cow-stable, rich in cattle. If from the earth of a Vedi (altar), rich in holy lustre. If from a pool which does not dry up, rich in everything. If from a gambling-place, addicted to gambling. If from a place where four roads meet, wandering to different directions. If from a barren spot, poor. If from a burial-ground, (she will) bring death to her husband.

on their father’s side through ten generations are endowed with knowledge, austerity, and meritorious works,’ &c.

4. I prefer the reading of the Bibliotheca Indica edition, countenanced by Nârâyana’s commentary, *durvigñeyâni lakṣhaṇâṇi*, &c. The lumps are to be taken from the eight places mentioned in Sûtra 5.

5. No doubt the correct reading is not that given by Nârâyana and accepted by Professor Stenzler, *dvipravrâginî*, but *vipravrâginî*, as four of Professor Stenzler’s MSS. read (see his *Variae Lectiones*, p. 48, and the Petersburg Dictionary s.v. *vipravrâgin*).

KANDIKĀ 6.

1. (The father) may give away the girl, having decked her with ornaments, pouring out a libation of water: this is the wedding (called) Brāhma. A son born by her (after a wedding of this kind) brings purification to twelve descendants and to twelve ancestors on both (the husband's and the wife's) sides.

2. He may give her, having decked her with ornaments, to an officiating priest, whilst a sacrifice with the three (Srauta) fires is going on: this (is the wedding called) Daiva. (A son) brings purification to ten descendants and to ten ancestors on both sides.

3. They fulfil the law together: this (is the wedding called) Prâgâpatya. (A son) brings purification to eight descendants and to eight ancestors on both sides.

4. He may marry her after having given a bull and a cow (to the girl's father): this (is the wedding called) Ârsha. (A son) brings purification to seven descendants and to seven ancestors on both sides.

5. He may marry her, after a mutual agreement has been made (between the lover and the damsel): this (is the wedding called) Gândharva.

6. He may marry her after gladdening (her father) by money: this (is the wedding called) Âsura.

6, 1. Comp. Vasishṭha I, 30; Âpastamba II, 11, 17; Baudhâyana I, 20, 2.

2. Vasishṭha I, 31; Âpastamba II, 11, 19; Baudhâyana I, 20, 5.

3. Baudhâyana I, 20, 3.

4. Vasishṭha I, 32; Âpastamba II, 11, 18; Baudhâyana I, 20, 4.

5. Vasishṭha I, 33; Âpastamba II, 11, 20; Baudhâyana I, 20, 6.

6. Vasishṭha I, 35 (where this rite is designated as Mânusha); Âpastamba II, 12, 1; Baudhâyana I, 20, 7.

7. He may carry her off while (her relatives) sleep or pay no attention: this (is the wedding called) Paisāka.

8. He may carry her off, killing (her relatives) and cleaving (their) heads, while she weeps and they weep: this (is the wedding called) Rākshasa.

KANDIKĀ 7.

1. Now various indeed are the customs of the (different) countries and the customs of the (different) villages: those one should observe at the wedding.

2. What, however, is commonly accepted, that we shall state.

3. Having placed to the west of the fire a mill-stone, to the north-east (of the fire) a water-pot, he should sacrifice, while she takes hold of him. Standing, with his face turned to the west, while she is sitting and turns her face to the east, he should with (the formula), 'I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness' seize her thumb if he desires that only male children may be born to him;

4. Her other fingers, (if he is) desirous of female (children);

5. The hand on the hair-side together with the

7. Baudhāyana I, 20, 9.

8. Vasishṭha I, 34 (where this rite is called Kshātra); Āpastamba II, 21, 2; Baudhāyana I, 20, 8. The text of this Sūtra seems to be based on a hemistich *hatvā bhittvā ka śīrshāni rudadbhyo rudatīm haret*; comp. Manu III, 33.

7, 3. Professor Stenzler is evidently right in taking *asmānam* as in apposition to *drīshadam*. Nārāyaṇa says, *drīshat prasiddhā armā tatputrakaḥ. tatrobhayoḥ pratishṭhāpanam siddham*.

The sacrifice is that prescribed in Sāṅkh.-Grīhya I, 12, 11. 12. Regarding the rite that follows, comp. Sāṅkh.-Grīhya I, 13, 2.

thumb, (if) desirous of both (male and female children).

6. Leading her three times round the fire and the water-pot, so that their right sides are turned towards (the fire, &c.), he murmurs, 'This am I, that art thou; that art thou, this am I; the heaven I, the earth thou; the Sâman I, the *Rik* thou. Come! Let us here marry. Let us beget offspring. Loving, bright, with genial mind may we live a hundred autumns.'

7. Each time after he has lead her (so) round, he makes her tread on the stone with (the words), 'Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm. Overcome the enemies; tread the foes down.'

8. Having 'spread under' (i.e. having first poured Âgya over her hands), her brother or a person acting in her brother's place pours fried grain twice over the wife's joined hands.

9. Three times for descendants of Gamadagni.

10. He pours again (Âgya) over (what has been left of) the sacrificial food,

11. And over what has been cut off.

12. This is the rule about the portions to be cut off.

13. 'To god Aryaman the girls have made sacrifice,

6. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya I, 13, 4. 9. 13.

7. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya I, 13, 12.

8. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya I, 13, 15. 16.

9. The two portions of fried grain poured over the bride's hands, together with the first (upastarana) and the second (pratyabhigârana) pouring out of Âgya, constitute the four Avattas, or portions cut off from the Havis. The descendants of Gamadagni were pañkâvattinas, i.e. they used to cut off five such portions (see Kâtyâyana I, 9, 3; Weber, Indische Studien, X, 95); so they had to pour out the fried grain three times.

13. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya I, 18, 3; 13, 17; 14, 1.

to Agni ; may he, god Aryaman, loosen her from this, and not from that place, Svâhâ !

‘ To god Varuṇa the girls have made sacrifice, to Agni ; may he, god Varuṇa, &c.

‘ To god Pûshan the girls have made sacrifice, to Agni ; may he, god Pûshan, &c.’—with (these verses recited by the bridegroom) she should sacrifice (the fried grain) without opening her joined hands, as if (she did so) with the (spoon called) *Sruḥ*.

14. Without that leading round (the fire, she sacrifices grain) with the neb of a basket towards herself silently a fourth time.

15. Some lead the bride round each time after the fried grain has been poured out : thus the two last oblations do not follow immediately on each other.

16. He then loosens her two locks of hair, if they are made, (i. e. if) two tufts of wool are bound round her hair on the two sides,—

17. With (the *Rik*), ‘ I release thee from the band of Varuṇa’ (*Rig-veda* X, 85, 24).

18. The left one with the following (*Rik*).

19. He then causes her to step forward in a north-eastern direction seven steps with (the words), ‘ For sap with one step, for juice with two steps, for thriving of wealth with three steps, for comfort with four steps, for offspring with five steps, for the seasons

14, 15. According to those teachers whose opinion is related in *Sûtras* 6–14, the leading round the fire, the treading on the stone, and the offering of fried grain (with the three parts of the Mantra, *Sûtra* 13) are repeated thrice ; then follows the offering prescribed in *Sûtra* 14, so that the last two offerings follow immediately on each other. This is not the case, if in the first three instances the order of the different rites is inverted, as stated in *Sûtra* 15.

In *Sûtra* 14 *Nârâyana* explains *sûrpapuṣa* by *kona*.

19. *Sāṅkhâyaṇa-Grihya* I, 14, 5. 6 ; 13, 2 ; *Pâraskara* I, 8, 1.

with six steps. Be friend with seven steps. So be thou devoted to me. Let us acquire many sons who may reach old age !'

20. Joining together their two heads, (the bridegroom? the Ākârya?) sprinkles them (with water) from the water-pot.

21. And she should dwell that night in the house of an old Brâhmana woman whose husband is alive and whose children are alive.

22. When she sees the polar-star, the star Arundhatti, and the seven Rishis (ursa major), let her break the silence (and say), 'May my husband live and I get offspring.'

KANDIKÂ 8.

1. If (the newly-married couple) have to make a journey (to their new home), let him cause her to mount the chariot with the (verse), 'May Pûshan lead thee from here holding thy hand' (Rig-veda X, 85, 26).

2. With the hemistich, 'Carrying stones (the river) streams; hold fast each other' (Rig-veda X, 53, 8) let him cause her to ascend a ship.

3. With the following (hemistich) let him make her descend (from it).

4. (He pronounces the verse), 'The living one they bewail' (Rig-veda X, 40, 10), if she weeps.

5. They constantly carry the nuptial fire in front.

20. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya I, 14, 9; Pâraskara I, 8, 5.

22. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya I, 17, 2 seq.; Pâraskara I, 8, 19.

8, 1. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya I, 15, 13.

2. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya I, 15, 17. 18.

4. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya I, 15, 2.

6. At lovely places, trees, and cross-ways let him murmur (the verse), 'May no waylayers meet us' (Rig-veda X, 85, 32).

7. At every dwelling-place (on their way) let him look at the lookers on, with (the verse), 'Good luck brings this woman' (Rig-veda X, 85, 33).

8. With (the verse), 'Here may delight fulfil itself to thee through offspring' (Rig-veda X, 85, 27) he should make her enter the house.

9. Having given its place to the nuptial fire, and having spread to the west of it a bull's hide with the neck to the east, with the hair outside, he makes oblations, while she is sitting on that (hide) and takes hold of him, with the four (verses), 'May Pragâpati create offspring to us' (Rig-veda X, 85, 43 seq.), verse by verse, and with (the verse), 'May all the gods unite' (Rig-veda X, 85, 47), he partakes of curds and gives (thereof) to her, or he besmears their two hearts with the rest of the Âgya (of which he has sacrificed).

10. From that time they should eat no saline food, they should be chaste, wear ornaments, sleep on the ground three nights or twelve nights;

11. Or one year, (according to) some (teachers); thus, they say, a *Rîshi* will be born (as their son).

12. When he has fulfilled (this) observance (and has had intercourse with his wife), he should give the bride's shift to (the Brâhmana) who knows the *Sûryâ* hymn (Rig-veda X, 85);

13. Food to the Brâhmanas;

6. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya I, 15, 14.

8. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya I, 15, 22; 16, 12.

9. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya I, 16, 1. 2.

12. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya I, 14, 12.

14. Then he should cause them to pronounce auspicious words.

KANDIKĀ 9.

1. Beginning from the seizing of (the bride's) hand (i. e. from the wedding), he should worship the domestic (fire) himself, or his wife, or also his son, or his daughter, or a pupil.

2. (The fire) should be kept constantly.

3. When it goes out, however, the wife should fast: thus (say) some (teachers).

4. The time for setting it in a blaze and for sacrificing in it has been explained by (the rules given with regard to) the Agnihotra,

5. And the sacrificial food, except meat.

6. But if he likes he may (perform the sacrifice) with rice, barley, or sesamum.

7. He should sacrifice in the evening with (the formula), 'To Agni svâhâ!' in the morning with (the formula), 'To Sûrya svâhâ!' Silently the second (oblations) both times.

KANDIKĀ 10.

1. Now the oblations of cooked food on the (two) Parvan (i. e. the new and full moon) days.

2. The fasting (which takes place) thereat has been declared by (the corresponding rules regarding) the Darsapûrnamâsa sacrifices.

9, 1. Comp. Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya II, 17, 3.

4. Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya I, 1, 12; Āsvalâya-Srauta II, 2.

5. Āsvalâya-Srauta II, 3, 1 seq. Nârâyana: By the prohibition of meat which is expressed in the words 'Except meat,' it is to be understood that the food to be sacrificed, as stated in other Sâstras, may likewise be chosen.

3. And (so has been declared) the binding together of the fuel and of the Barhis,

4. And the deities (to whom those oblations belong), with the exception of the Upâmsuyâga (offerings at which the formulas are repeated with low voice), and of Indra and Mahendra.

5. Other deities (may be worshipped) according to the wishes (which the sacrificer connects with his offerings).

6. For each single deity he pours out four handsful (of rice, barley, &c.), placing two purifiers (i. e. Kusa blades, on the vessel), with (the formula), 'Agreeable to such and such (a deity) I pour thee out.'

7. He then sprinkles them (those four portions of Havis with water) in the same way as he had poured them out, with (the formula), 'Agreeable to such and such (a deity) I sprinkle thee.'

8. When (the rice or barley grains) have been husked and cleansed from the husks three times, let him cook (the four portions) separately,

9. Or throwing (them) together.

10. If he cooks them separately, let him touch the grains, after he has separated them, (and say,) 'This to this god; this to this god.'

11. But if he (cooks the portions) throwing (them) together, he should (touch and) sacrifice them, after he has put (the single portions) into different vessels.

12. The portions of sacrificial food, when they

10, 3. See Ârvalâyana-Srauta I, 3, 28 Scholion; Kâty.-Srauta II, 7, 22.

4. See Hillebrandt, Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 111; my note on Sâṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya I, 3, 3.

12. In the Mantra we have a similar play upon words (iddha,

have been cooked, he sprinkles (with Âgya), takes them from the fire towards the north, places them on the Barhis, and sprinkles the fuel with Âgya with the formula, 'This fuel is thy self, Gâtavedas; thereby burn thou and increase, and, O burning One, make us increase and through offspring, cattle, holy lustre, and nourishment make us prosper. Svâhâ!'

13. Having silently poured out the two Âghâras (or Âgya oblations poured out with the Sruva, the one from north-west to south-east, the other from south-west to north-east), he should sacrifice the two Âgya portions with (the formulas), 'To Agni svâhâ! To Soma svâhâ!'

14. The northern one belonging to Agni, the southern one to Soma.

15. It is understood (in the Sruti), 'The two eyes indeed of the sacrifice are the Âgya portions,

16. 'Therefore of a man who is sitting with his face to the west the southern (i. e. right) eye is northern, the northern (i. e. left) eye is southern.'

17. In the middle (of the two Âgya portions he

lit, or burning, and samedhaya, make us prosper) as in Sâṅkh.-Grîhya II, 10, 4.

13. Pâraskara I, 5, 3; Sâṅkh.-Grîhya I, 9, 5 seq.

14. Sâṅkh.-Grîhya I, 9, 7.

15. Professor Stenzler here very pertinently refers to Satapatha Brâhmaṇa I, 6, 3, 38.

16. It is doubtful whether this paragraph should be considered as forming part of the quotation from the Sruti. The object of this passage is, in my opinion, to explain why the southern Âgyabhâga belongs to Soma, who is the presiding deity of the north, and the northern Âgyabhâga to Agni, the presiding deity of the south-east. Professor Stenzler's opinion about this paragraph is somewhat different.

17. Sâṅkh.-Grîhya I, 9, 8.

sacrifices the other) Havis, or more to the west, finishing (the oblations) in the east or in the north.

18. To the north-east the oblation to (Agni) *Svishṭakṛit*.

19. He cuts off (the Avadâna portions) from the Havis from the middle and from the eastern part ;

20. From the middle, the eastern part and the western part (the portions have to be cut off) by those who make five Avadânas ;

21. From the northern side the portion for *Svishṭakṛit*.

22. Here he omits the second pouring (of *Âgya*) over (what is left of) the sacrificial food.

23. 'What I have done too much in this ceremony, or what I have done here too little, all that may Agni *Svishṭakṛit*, he who knows it, make well sacrificed and well offered for me. To Agni *Svishṭakṛit*, to him who offers the oblations for general expiation, so that they are well offered, to him who makes us succeed in what we desire ! Make us in all that we desire successful ! *Svâhâ !*'

24. He pours out the full vessel on the *Barhis*.

25. This is the *Avabhṛitha*.

19, 20. See above, the note on I, 7, 9 about the Avadâna portions and the peculiar custom of the descendants of *Gamadagni* with regard to them.

22. Comp. above, I, 7, 10. 'Here' means, at the *Svishṭakṛit* oblation.

23. Comp. *Pâraskara* I, 2, 11 ; *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* XIV, 9, 4, 24. On the oblations for general expiation (*sarvaprâyasakittâhuti*) comp. *Sâṅkh.-Grîhya* I, 9, 12, and the note.

24. 'A full vessel which has been put down before, he should now pour out on the *Barhis*.' *Nârâyana*.

25. This pouring out of the vessel holds here the place of the *Avabhṛitha* bath at the end of the *Soma* sacrifice. See Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 393 seq.

26. This is the standard form of the Pākayagñas.
 27. What has been left of the Havis is the fee for the sacrifice.

KANDIKÂ 11.

1. Now (follows) the ritual of the animal sacrifice.
2. Having prepared to the north of the fire the place for the Sâmitra fire, having given drink (to the animal which he is going to sacrifice), having washed the animal, having placed it to the east (of the fire) with its face to the west, having made oblations with the two *Rikas*, 'Agni as our messenger' (Rig-veda I, 12, 1 seq.), let him touch (the animal) from behind with a fresh branch on which there are leaves, with (the formula), 'Agreeable to such and such (a deity) I touch thee.'
3. He sprinkles it from before with water in which rice and barley are, with (the formula), 'Agreeable to such and such (a deity) I sprinkle thee.'
4. Having given (to the animal) to drink of that (water), he should pour out the rest (of it) along its right fore-foot.
5. Having carried fire round (it), performing that act only (without repeating a corresponding Mantra), they lead it to the north.
6. In front of it they carry a fire-brand.

11, 2. The Sâmitra fire (literally, the fire of the Samitrî; who prepares the flesh of the immolated animal) is the one mentioned below in Sûtras 7 and 10. Comp. Indische Studien, X, 345. 'I touch thee' is upâkaromi; comp. Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra VI, 3, 19. 26.

6. It seems that this fire-brand is the same which had been carried round the animal, according to Sûtra 5. Comp. Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra VI, 5, 2-5.

7. This is the *Sâmitra* (fire).
8. With the two *Vapâsrapantî* ladles the 'performer' touches the animal.
9. The sacrificer (touches) the performer.
10. To the west of the *Sâmitra* (fire) he (the *Samitrî*) kills (the animal), the head of which is turned to the east or to the west, the feet to the north; and having placed a grass-blade on his side of the (animal's) navel, (the 'performer') draws out the omentum, cuts off the omentum, seizes it with the two *Agnisrapants*, sprinkles it with water, warms it at the *Sâmitra* (fire), takes it before that fire, roasts it, being seated to the south, goes round (the two fires), and sacrifices it.
11. At the same fire they cook a mess of food.
12. Having cut off the eleven *Avadânas* (or portions which have to be cut off) from the animal, from all its limbs, having boiled them at the *Sâmitra* (fire),

7. Comp. *Sûtra* 2.
8. On the two *Vapâsrapants*, comp. *Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra* VI, 5, 7; *Indische Studien*, X, 345. The act which is here attributed to the *kartri* ('performer'), belongs in the *Srauta* ritual to the incumbencies of the *Pratiprasthâtî*.
10. On the way in which animals had to be killed at sacrifices, see Weber's *Indische Studien*, IX, 222 seq.
- On the position of the head and the feet of the victim, comp. *Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra* VI, 5, 16. 17.
- According to *Kâtyâyana* VI, 6, 8 seq. a grass-blade is placed on the dead animal's body before the navel (*agrena nâbhim*); through that grass-blade he cuts into the body and draws out the omentum.
- 'That fire' is, according to *Nârâyana*, not the *Sâmitra* but the *Aupâsana* fire. In the same way in the *Srauta* ritual the warming of the omentum is performed at the *Sâmitra*, the boiling at the *Âhavanîya* fire. *Kâtyâyana* VI, 6, 13. 16.
11. The *Aupâsana* fire is referred to.
12. The eleven portions are indicated by *Kâtyâyana*, *Srauta-sûtra* VI, 7, 6.

and having warmed the heart on a spit, let him sacrifice first from the mess of cooked food (mentioned in Sūtra 11);

13. Or together with the Avadāna portions.

14. From each of the (eleven) Avadānas he cuts off two portions.

15. They perform the rites only (without corresponding Mantras) with the heart's spit (i.e. the spit on which the heart had been; see Sūtra 12).

KANDIKĀ 12.

1. At a *Kaitya* sacrifice he should before the *Svishtakrit* (offering) offer a *Bali* to the *Kaitya*.

2. If, however, (the *Kaitya*) is distant, (he should send his *Bali*) through a leaf-messenger.

14. 'A *Pañkāvattin* cuts off three portions. Having performed the *Upastarana* and the *Pratyabhighârana* (the first and second pouring out of *Âgya*) he sacrifices (the cut-off portions).' *Nârâyana*.

15. On the rites regarding the spit, see *Kâtyâyana* VI, 10, 1 seq.; *Indische Studien*, X, 346.

12, 1. There seems to be no doubt that Professor Stenzler is right in giving to *kaitya* in this chapter its ordinary meaning of religious shrine ('Denkmal'). The text shows that the *Kaitya* sacrifice was not offered like other sacrifices at the sacrificer's home, but that in some cases the offering would have to be sent, at least symbolically, to distant places. This confirms Professor Stenzler's translation of *kaitya*. *Nârâyana* explains *kaitya* by *kitte bhava*, and says, 'If he makes a vow to a certain deity, saying, "If I obtain such and such a desire, I shall offer to thee an *Âgya* sacrifice, or a *Sthâlpâka*, or an animal"—and if he then obtains what he had wished for and performs that sacrifice to that deity: this is a *kaitya* sacrifice.' I do not know anything that supports this statement as to the meaning of *kaitya*.

2. 'He should make of a leaf a messenger and a carrying-pole.' *Nârâyana*.

It is not clear whether besides this image of a messenger there was also a real messenger who had to carry the *Bali* to the *Kaitya*,

3. With the *Rik*, 'Where thou knowest, O tree' (Rig-veda V, 5, 10), let him make two lumps (of food), put them on a carrying-pole, hand them over to the messenger, and say to him, 'Carry this Bali to that (*Kaitya*).'

4. (He gives him the lump) which is destined for the messenger, with (the words), 'This to thee.'

5. If there is anything dangerous between (them and the *Kaitya*), (he gives him) some weapon also.

6. If a navigable river is between (them and the *Kaitya*, he gives him) also something like a raft with (the words), 'Hereby thou shalt cross.'

7. At the *Dhanvantari* sacrifice let him offer first a Bali to the *Purohita*, between the Brahman and the fire.

KANDIKÂ 13.

1. The *Upanishad* (treats of) the *Garbhalambhana*, the *Pumsavana*, and the *Anavalobhana* (i. e. the ceremonies for securing the conception of a child, the male gender of the child, and for preventing disturbances which could endanger the embryo).

2. If he does not study (that *Upanishad*), he

or whether the whole rite was purely symbolical, and based on the principle: *In sacris ficta pro veris accipiuntur*.

3. *Comp.* *Pâraskara* III, 11, 10.

6. *Pâraskara* III, 11, 11,

7. *Comp.* above, chap. 3, 6.

13, 1. *Nârâyana* evidently did not know the *Upanishad* here referred to; he states that it belongs to another *Sâkhâ*. *Comp.* Professor Max Müller's note on *Bṛihad Âranyaka* VI, 4, 24 (S. B. E., vol. xv, p. 222).

2. 'He should give her the two beans as a symbol of the testicles, and the barley grain as a symbol of the penis.' *Nârâyana*.

should in the third month of her pregnancy, under (the Nakshatra) Tishya, give to eat (to the wife), after she has fasted, in curds from a cow which has a calf of the same colour (with herself), two beans and one barley grain for each handful of curds.

3. To his question, 'What dost thou drink? What dost thou drink?' she should thrice reply, 'Generation of a male child! Generation of a male child!'

4. Thus three handfuls (of curds).

5. He then inserts into her right nostril, in the shadow of a round apartment, (the sap of) an herb which is not faded,

6. According to some (teachers) with the Pragâvat and Gîvapura hymns.

7. Having sacrificed of a mess of cooked food sacred to Pragâpati, he should touch the place of her heart with the (verse,) 'What is hidden, O thou whose hair is well parted, in thy heart, in Pragâpati, that I know; such is my belief. May I not fall into distress that comes from sons.'

5. Nârâyana (comp. also the Prayogaratna, folio 40; Âsvalâyana-Grîhya-Parisishṭa I, 25; MS. Chambers 667) separates this rite from the ceremony described in Sûtras 2-4. He says that Sûtras 2-4—as indeed is evidently the case—refer to the Pumsavana, and in Sûtra 5 begins the Anavalobhana (comp. garbhara-kshana, Sâṅkh. I, 21). To me it seems more probable that the text describes one continuous ceremony. There is no difficulty in supposing that of the Anavalobhana, though it is mentioned in Sûtra 1, no description is given in the following Sûtras, the same being the case undoubtedly with regard to the Garbhalambhana, of which a description is found in the Âsv.-Parisishṭa I, 25.

6. Two texts commencing â te garbho yonim etu and Agnir etu prathamah. See Stenzler's Various Readings, p. 48, and the Bibliotheca Indica edition, p. 61.

KANDIKÂ 14.

1. In the fourth month of pregnancy the Sîmantonnayana (or parting of the hair, is performed).

2. In the fortnight of the increasing moon, when the moon stands in conjunction with a Nakshatra (that has a name) of masculine gender—

3. Then he gives its place to the fire, and having spread to the west of it a bull's hide with the neck to the east, with the hair outside, (he makes oblations,) while (his wife) is sitting on that (hide) and takes hold of him, with the two (verses), 'May Dhâtri give to his worshipper,' with the two verses, 'I invoke Râkâ' (Rig-veda II, 32, 4 seq.), and with (the texts), 'Negamesha,' and, 'Pragâpati, no other one than thou' (Rig-veda X, 121, 10).

4. He then three times parts her hair upwards (i.e. beginning from the front) with a bunch containing an even number of unripe fruits, and with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, and with three bunches of Kusa grass, with (the words), 'Bhûr, bhuvaḥ, svar, om!'

5. Or four times.

6. He gives orders to two lute-players, 'Sing king Soma.'

7. (They sing,) 'May Soma our king bless the human race. Settled is the wheel of N.N.'—(here they name) the river near which they dwell.

14, 3. Comp. above, chap. 8, 9. Regarding the two verses Dhâtâ dadâtu dâsushe, see Sâṅkh.-Grihya I, 22, 7. The Negamesha hymn is Rig-veda Khailika sūkta, vol. vi, p. 31, ed. Max Müller.

7. Comp. Pâraskara I, 15, 8. The Gâthâ there is somewhat different. I cannot see why in the Âsvalâyana redaction of it nivish/aḥakrâsau should not be explained, conformably to the

8. And whatever aged Brâhmaṇa woman, whose husbands and children are alive, tell them, that let them do.

9. A bull is the fee for the sacrifice.

KANDIKÂ 15.

1. When a son has been born, (the father) should, before other people touch him, give him to eat from gold (i. e. from a golden vessel or with a golden spoon) butter and honey with which he has ground gold(-dust), with (the verse), 'I administer to thee the wisdom ('veda') of honey, of ghee, raised by Savitri the bountiful. Long-living, protected by the gods, live a hundred autumns in this world!'

2. Approaching (his mouth) to (the child's) two ears he murmurs the 'production of intelligence:' 'Intelligence may give to thee god Savitri, intelligence may goddess Sarasvati, intelligence may give to thee the two divine Asvins, wreathed with lotus.'

3. He touches (the child's) two shoulders with (the verse), 'Be a stone, be an axe, be insuperable gold. Thou indeed art the Veda, called son; so live a hundred autumns'—and with (the verses), 'Indra, give the best treasures' (Rig-veda II, 21, 6), 'Bestow on us, O bountiful one, O speedy one' (Rig-veda III, 36, 10).

4. And let them give him a name beginning with

regular Sandhi laws, as *nivish/akakrâ asau*. The wheel of course means the dominion.

15, 1. Comp. *Âsv.-Grîhya-Parisishṭa* I, 26. I follow Professor Stenzler, who corrects *maghonâm* into *maghonâ*; comp. *Sânkh.-Grîhya* I, 24, 4.

3. *Vedo* may as well be the nominative of *veda* as that of *vedas* ('property').

a sonant, with a semivowel in it, with the Visarga at its end, consisting of two syllables,

5. Or of four syllables ;

6. Of two syllables, if he is desirous of firm position ; of four syllables, if he is desirous of holy lustre ;

7. But in every case with an even number (of syllables) for men, an uneven for women.

8. And let him also find out (for the child) a name to be used at respectful salutations (such as that due to the Âkârya at the ceremony of the initiation) ; that his mother and his father (alone) should know till his initiation.

9. When he returns from a journey, he embraces his son's head and murmurs, 'From limb by limb thou art produced ; out of the heart thou art born. Thou indeed art the self called son ; so live a hundred autumns !'—(thus) he kisses him three times on his head.

10. The rite only (without the Mantra is performed) for a girl.

KANDIKÂ 16.

1. In the sixth month the Annaprâsana (i.e. the first feeding with solid food).

2. Goat's flesh, if he is desirous of nourishment,

3. Flesh of partridge, if desirous of holy lustre,

4. Boiled rice with ghee, if desirous of splendour :

5. (Such) food, mixed with curds, honey and ghee he should give (to the child) to eat with (the verse), 'Lord of food, give us food painless and strong ;

16, 1 seq. Comp. Sâṅkh.-Gr̥hya I, 27, 1 seq. The two texts are nearly word for word identical.

bring forward the giver ; bestow power on us, on men and animals.'

6. The rite only (without the Mantra) for a girl.

KANDIKÂ 17.

1. In the third year the *Kaula* (i.e. the tonsure of the child's head), or according to the custom of the family.

2. To the north of the fire he places vessels which are filled respectively, with rice, barley, beans, and sesamum seeds ;

3. To the west (the boy) for whom the ceremony shall be performed, in his mother's lap, bull-dung in a new vessel, and *Samī* leaves are placed.

4. To the south of the mother the father (is seated) holding twenty-one bunches of *Kusa* grass.

5. Or the Brahman should hold them.

6. To the west of (the boy) for whom the ceremony is to be performed, (the father) stations himself and pours cold and warm water together with (the words), 'With warm water, O *Vāyu*, come hither !'

7. Taking of that (water), (and) fresh butter, or (some) drops of curds, he three times moistens (the boy's) head, from the left to the right, with (the formula), 'May *Aditi* cut thy hair ; may the waters moisten thee for vigour !'

8. Into the right part (of the hair) he puts each

4. He cuts off the hair four times on the right side (*Sûtras* 10-14), three times on the left side (*Sûtra* 15) ; each time three *Kusa* bunches are required. This is the reason why twenty-one bunches are prescribed.

8. Each of the four times and of the three times respectively that he cuts off the hair ; see the preceding note.

time three Kusa bunches, with the points towards (the boy) himself, with (the words), 'Herb! protect him!'

9. (With the words,) 'Axe! do no harm to him!' he presses a copper razor (on the Kusa blades),

10. And cuts (the hair) with (the verse), 'The razor with which in the beginning Savitri the knowing one has shaved (the beard) of king Soma and of Varuṇa, with that, ye Brâhmaṇas, shave now his (hair), that he may be blessed with long life, with old age.'

11. Each time that he has cut, he gives (the hairs) with their points to the east, together with Samī leaves, to the mother. She puts them down on the bull-dung.

12. 'With what Dhâtṛi has shaven (the head) of Brîhaspati, Agni and Indra, for the sake of long life, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, of glory, and of welfare'—thus a second time.

13. 'By what he may at night further see the sun, and see it long, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, of glory, and of welfare'—thus a third time.

14. With all (the indicated) Mantras a fourth time.

15. Thus three times on the left side (of the head).

16. Let him wipe off the edge of the razor with (the words), 'If thou shavest, as a shaver, his hair with the razor, the wounding, the well-shaped, purify his head, but do not take away his life.'

13. Instead of yena bhûyas ka râtryâm, Pâraskara (II, 1, 16) has, yena bhûris karâ divam.

16. Comp. Pâraskara II, 1, 19; Atharva-veda VIII, 2, 17.

17. Let him give orders to the barber, 'With lukewarm water doing what has to be done with water, without doing harm to him, arrange (his hair) well.'

18. Let him have the arrangement of the hair made according to the custom of his family.

19. The rite only (without the Mantras) for a girl.

KANDIKÂ 18.

1. Thereby the Godânakarman (i.e. the ceremony of shaving the beard, is declared).

2. In the sixteenth year.

3. Instead of the word 'hair' he should (each time that it occurs in the Mantras) put the word 'beard.'

4. Here they moisten the beard.

5. (The Mantra is), 'Purify his head and his face, but do not take away his life.'

6. He gives orders (to the barber with the words), 'Arrange his hair, his beard, the hair of his body, and his nails, ending in the north.'

7. Having bathed and silently stood during the rest of the day, let him break his silence in the presence of his teacher, (saying to him,) 'I give an optional gift (to thee).'

8. An ox and a cow is the sacrificial fee.

18. On these family customs, see *Grīhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa* II, 40; Roth, *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda*, p. 120; Max Müller, *History of A. S. L.*, p. 54 seq.; Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 95.

18, 4. See above, chap. 17, 7.

5. See chap. 17, 16.

6. According to Nârâyana, he says to the barber (chap. 17, 17), 'With lukewarm water doing what has to be done with water, without doing harm to him, arrange his hair, his beard, the hair of his body, and his nails, ending in the north.'

7, 8. On restrictions like that contained in the eighth Sûtra as to the object in which the vara (optional gift) had to consist, see Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 343.

9. Let (the teacher) impose (on the youth the observances declared below) for one year.

KANDIKĀ 19.

1. In the eighth year let him initiate a Brāhmaṇa,
2. Or in the eighth year after the conception ;
3. In the eleventh a Kshatriya ;
4. In the twelfth a Vaisya.
5. Until the sixteenth (year) the time has not passed for a Brāhmaṇa ;
6. Until the twenty-second for a Kshatriya ;
7. Until the twenty-fourth for a Vaisya.
8. After that (time has passed), they become patitasāvitṛka (i.e. they have lost their right of learning the Sāvitrī).
9. No one should initiate such men, nor teach them, nor perform sacrifices for them, nor have intercourse with them.
10. (Let him initiate) the youth who is adorned and whose (hair on the) head is arranged, who wears a (new) garment that has not yet been washed, or an antelope-skin, if he is a Brāhmaṇa, the skin of a spotted deer, if a Kshatriya, a goat's skin, if a Vaisya.
11. If they put on garments, they should put on dyed (garments) : the Brāhmaṇa a reddish yellow one, the Kshatriya a light red one, the Vaisya a yellow one.
12. Their girdles are : that of a Brāhmaṇa made of Muñga grass, that of a Kshatriya a bow-string, that of a Vaisya woollen.

9. See below, chap. 22, 22.

19, 10. By the 'arranging of the hair' the cutting of the hair is implied, as is seen from chap. 22, 22.

13. Their staffs are : that of a Brāhmaṇa of Palāsa wood, that of a Kshatriya of Udumbara wood, that of a Vaisya of Bilva wood.

KANDIKĀ 20.

1. Or all (sorts of staffs are to be used) by (men of) all (castes).

2. While (the student) takes hold of him, the teacher sacrifices and then stations himself to the north of the fire, with his face turned to the east.

3. To the east (of the fire) with his face to the west the other one.

4. (The teacher then) fills the two hollows of (his own and the student's) joined hands with water, and with the verse, 'That we choose of Savitri' (Rig-veda V, 82, 1) he makes with the full (hollow of his own hands the water) flow down on the full (hollow of) his, (i.e. the student's hands.) Having (thus) poured (the water over his hands) he should with his (own) hand seize his (i.e. the student's) hand together with the thumb, with (the formula), 'By the impulse of the god Savitri, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pūshan's hands I seize thy hand, N.N.!'

5. With (the words), 'Savitri has seized thy hand, N.N.!' a second time.

6. With (the words), 'Agni is thy teacher, N.N.!' a third time.

7. He should cause him to look at the sun while the teacher says, 'God Savitri, this is thy Brahma-kārin; protect him; may he not die.'

20, 2. He offers the oblations prescribed above, chap. 1, 4, 3 seq.

8. (And further the teacher says), 'Whose Brahma^kârin art thou? The breath's Brahma^kârin art thou. Who does initiate thee, and whom (does he initiate)? To whom shall I give thee in charge?'

9. With the half verse, 'A youth, well attired, dressed came hither' (Rig-veda III, 8, 4) he should cause him to turn round from the left to the right.

10. Reaching with his two hands over his (i.e. the student's) shoulders (the teacher) should touch the place of his heart with the following (half verse).

11. Having wiped the ground round the fire, the student should put on a piece of wood silently. 'Silence indeed is what belongs to Pragâpati. The student becomes belonging to Pragâpati'—this is understood (in the *Śruti*).

KANDIKÂ 21.

1. Some (do this) with a Mantra: 'To Agni I have brought a piece of wood, to the great Gâta-vedas. Through that piece of wood increase thou, O Agni; through the Brahman (may) we (increase). Svâhâ!'

2. Having put the fuel (on the fire) and having

11. On the wiping of the ground round the fire, comp. above, chap. 3, 1; *Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gṛhya* I, 7, 11. *Nârâyana* here has the following remarks, which I can scarcely believe to express the real meaning of this *Sûtra*: 'Here the wiping of the ground round the fire is out of place, because the *Samskâras* for the fire have already been performed. As to that, it should be observed that the wiping is mentioned here in order that, when fuel is put on the fire in the evening and in the morning, the sprinkling of water and the wiping may be performed. But on this occasion (at the *Upanayana*) the student does not perform the wiping, &c., and silently puts a piece of wood on that fire.'

touched the fire, he three times wipes off his face with (the words), 'With splendour I anoint myself.'

3. 'For with splendour does he anoint himself'—this is understood (in the *Sruti*).

4. 'On me may Agni bestow insight, on me offspring, on me splendour.

'On me may Indra bestow insight, on me offspring, on me strength (*indriya*).

'On me may Sûrya bestow insight, on me offspring, on me radiance.

'What thy splendour is, Agni, may I thereby become resplendent.

'What thy vigour is, Agni, may I thereby become vigorous.

'What thy consuming power is, Agni, may I thereby obtain consuming power'—with (these formulas) he should approach the fire, bend his knee, embrace (the teacher's feet), and say to him, 'Recite, sir! The *Sâvitri*, sir, recite!'

5. Seizing with his (i.e. the student's) garment and with (his own) hands (the student's) hands (the teacher) recites the *Sâvitri*, (firstly) *Pâda* by *Pâda*, (then) hemistich by hemistich, (and finally) the whole (verse).

6. He should make him recite (the *Sâvitri*) as far as he is able.

7. On the place of his (i.e. the student's) heart (the teacher) lays his hand with the fingers upwards, with (the formula), 'Into my will I take thy heart; after my mind shall thy mind follow; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy will; may *Bṛhaspati* join thee to me.'

KANDIKÂ 22.

1. Having tied the girdle round him and given him the staff, he should impose the (observances of the) *Brahmaçarya* on him—

2. (With the words), ‘A *Brahmaçarin* thou art. Eat water. Do the service. Do not sleep in the day-time. Devoted to the teacher study the Veda.’

3. Twelve years lasts the *Brahmaçarya* for (each) Veda, or until he has learnt it.

4. Let him beg (food) in the evening and in the morning.

5. Let him put fuel on (the fire) in the evening and in the morning.

6. Let him beg first of a man who will not refuse,

7. Or of a woman who will not refuse.

8. (In begging he should use the words), ‘Sir, give food!’

9. Or, ‘(Sir, give) *Anupravaçantiya* (food).’

10. That (which he has received) he should announce to his teacher.

11. He should stand the rest of the day.

12. After sunset (the student) should cook the *Brâhmaudana* (or boiled rice with which the *Brâhmanas* are to be fed) for the *Anupravaçantiya* sacrifice (the sacrifice to be performed after a part of the Veda has been studied), and should announce to the teacher (that it is ready).

22, 9. Food for the *Anupravaçantiya* offering; see Sûtra 12.

10. *Sâṅkhâya-Gr̥hya* II, 6, 7; *Pâraskara* II, 5, 8.

12. ‘The student should, according to the rules for the *Pâkayagñas*, cook the *Anupravaçantiya* food and announce it to the teacher in the words, “The food is cooked.”’ *Nârâyana*.

13. The teacher should sacrifice, while the student takes hold of him, with the verse, 'The wonderful lord of the abode' (Rig-veda I, 18, 6).

14. A second time with the *Sâvitri*—

15. And whatever else has been studied afterwards.

16. A third time to the *Rishis*.

17. A fourth time (the oblation) to (Agni) *Svi-
shṭakṛit*.

18. Having given food to the *Brâhmaṇas* he should cause them to pronounce the end of the Veda (study).

19. From that time (the student) should eat no saline food; he should observe chastity, and should sleep on the ground through three nights, or twelve nights, or one year.

20. When he has fulfilled those observances, (the teacher) performs (for him) the 'production of intelligence,' (in the following way):

21. While (the student) towards an unobjectionable direction (of the horizon) sprinkles thrice (water) from the left to the right with a water-pot round a

15. *Nârâyana* mentions as such texts especially those belonging to the *Âraṇyaka*, viz. the *Mahânâmnyas*, the *Mahâvrata*, and the *Upanishad*. But there is no reason why we should not think quite as well of the *Rig-veda Samhitâ* itself.

18. 'He should say, "Sirs! Pronounce the end of the Veda (study)." And they should reply, "May an end of the Veda (study) be made."' *Nârâyana*.

20. Comp. above, chap. 15, 2.

21. 'The objectionable directions are three, the south, the south-east, the south-west.' *Nârâyana*.

Susṛavas, which I have translated by 'glorious,' at the same time means, 'endowed with good hearing,' i.e. successful in study. The student therefore by the same word prays for glory and for success in Vedic learning.

Palâsa (tree) with one root, or round a Kusa bunch, if there is no Palâsa, (the teacher) causes him to say, 'O glorious one, thou art glorious. As thou, O glorious one, art glorious, thus, O glorious one, lead me to glory. As thou art the preserver of the treasure of sacrifice for the gods, thus may I become the preserver of the treasure of the Veda for men.'

22. Thereby, beginning with his having the hair cut, and ending with the giving in charge, the imposing of observances has been declared.

23. Thus for one who has not been initiated before.

24. Now as regards one who has been initiated before :

25. The cutting of the hair is optional,

26. And the 'production of intelligence.'

27. On the giving in charge there are no express rules (in this case);

28. And on the time.

29. (He should recite to him) as the Sâvitṛī (the *Rik*), 'That we choose of god Savitṛī' (Rig-veda V, 82, 1).

KANDIKÂ 23.

1. He chooses priests (for officiating at a sacrifice) with neither deficient nor superfluous limbs, 'who on

22. The rules stated above for the Upanayana, beginning with the prescription regarding the cutting of the hair (given chap. 19, 10 in the words, 'whose [hair on the] head is arranged; ' see the note there), and ending with the ceremony prescribed chap. 20, 8, are to be extended also to other cases of the imposing of a vow, such, for instance, as that mentioned chap. 18, 9.

25. See chap. 19, 10.

26. See above, Sûtra 20.

27. See chap. 20, 8.

28. See chap. 4, 1.

29. Instead of the ordinary Sâvitṛī, Rig-veda III, 62, 10.

23, 1. Comp. Srauta-sûtra IX, 3, 20; Grîhya-sûtra I, 5, 1.

the mother's and on the father's side (&c.),' as it has been said above.

2. Let him choose young men as officiating priests : thus (declare) some (teachers).

3. He chooses first the Brahman, then the Hotri, then the Adhvaryu, then the Udgâtri.

4. Or all who officiate at the Ahîna sacrifices and at those lasting one day.

5. The Kaushtakinas prescribe the Sadasya as the seventeenth, saying, 'He is the looker-on at the performances.'

6. This has been said in the two *Rikas*, 'He whom the officiating priests, performing (the sacrifice) in many ways' (Rig-veda VIII, 58, 1. 2).

7. He chooses the Hotri first.

8. With (the formula), 'Agni is my Hotri; he is my Hotri; I choose thee N.N. as my Hotri' (he chooses) the Hotri.

4. The Ahîna sacrifices are those which last more than one day, but not more than twelve days. (Indische Studien, IX, 373; X, 355.) The priests officiating at such sacrifices are the sixteen stated in the Srauta-sûtra IV, 1, 6. 7. Those besides the sixteen, though they are chosen (*saty api varane*) for taking part in the sacred performances, have not the rank of *ritvijas* (officiating priests); such are the Sadasya, the Samitri, and the Kamasâdhvaryavañ (schol. Srautas. loc. cit.). See Max Müller's History of A. S. L., pp. 450, 469 seq. As to the Sadasya, however, there was some difference of opinion (see the next Sûtra).

5. On the office of the Sadasya, see Indische Studien, X, 136, 144.

6. The two *Rikas* quoted here belong to the tenth among the Vâlakhilya hymns, a hymn omitted in many of the Rig-veda MSS. They give no special confirmation to the rules stated in our text, but contain only a general allusion to the unity of the sacrifice, which the various priests perform in many various ways.

7. 'If the four (chief) priests have to be chosen, the choosing of the Brâhmana stands first in order (see above, Sûtra 3); if all (the sixteen), then the choosing of the Hotri stands first in order.' Nârâyana.

9. With (the formula), '*Kandramas* (the moon) is my Brahman; he is my Brahman; I choose thee N. N. as my Brahman' (he chooses) the Brahman,

10. With (the formula), '*Âditya* (the sun) is my Adhvaryu; (he is my Adhvaryu, &c.)'—the Adhvaryu.

11. With (the formula), '*Parganya* is my Udgâtri; (he is my Udgâtri, &c.)'—the Udgâtri.

12. With (the formula), 'The waters are my reciters of what belongs to the Hotrakas'—the Hotrakas.

13. With (the formula), 'The rays are my *Kamasâdhvaryus*'—the *Kamasâdhvaryus*.

14. With (the formula), 'The ether is my Sadasya'—the Sadasya.

15. He whom he has chosen should murmur, 'A great thing thou hast told me; splendour thou hast told me; fortune thou hast told me; glory thou hast told me; praise thou hast told me; success thou hast told me; enjoyment thou hast told me; satiating thou hast told me; everything thou hast told me.'

16. Having murmured (this formula), the Hotri declares his assent (in the words), 'Agni is thy Hotri; he is thy Hotri; thy human Hotri am I.'

17. '*Kandramas* (the moon) is thy Brahman; he is thy Brahman (&c.)'—thus the Brahman.

18. In the same way the others according to the prescriptions (given above).

19. And if (the priest who accepts the invitation)

12. The twelve priests of the sixteen (see § 4 note) who do not stand at the head of one of the four categories. Those at the head are enumerated in the Sûtras 8-11.

13, 14. See above, § 4 note.

19. Priests who only perform the Agnyâdheya for a person, are, according to Nârâyana's note on this Sûtra, not considered as

is going to perform the sacrifice (for the inviting person, he should add), 'May that bless me; may that enter upon me; may I thereby enjoy (bliss).'

20. The functions of an officiating priest are not to be exercised, if abandoned (by another priest), or at an Ahîna sacrifice with small sacrificial fee, or for a person that is sick, or suffering, or affected with consumption, or decried among the people in his village, or of despised extraction: for such persons (the functions of a *Ritvig* should not be exercised).

21. He (who is chosen as a *Ritvig*) should ask the Somapravâka, 'What sacrifice is it? Who are

performing a sacrifice for him; consequently the formula given here is only to be used by priests who are elected for a Soma sacrifice. Stenzler translates, 'So spricht er, wenn er das Opfer durch sie vollziehen lassen will.' But this would be *yakshya-mânah*, not *yâgayishyan*.

20. The tradition takes *nîkadakshinasya* as in apposition to *ahînasya*, and I have translated accordingly. But I cannot help thinking that the two words should be separated, so that we should have to translate, 'or at an Ahîna, or for a person that gives small sacrificial fee.' Thus the *Brâhmaṇa* quoted by Âpastamba (see the commentary on the *Pañikavimsa Brâhmaṇa*, vol. i, p. 6, ed. Bibl. Indica) gives the following questions which the *Ritvig* to be chosen should ask, 'Is it no Ahîna sacrifice? Is the *Ritvig* office not abandoned by others? Is the sacrificial fee plentiful?' It is a very singular fact, that on the one hand the assistance of a number of *Ritvigs* was unanimously declared necessary for the performance of an Ahîna sacrifice, while on the other hand it was considered objectionable, at least among some of the Vedic schools, to officiate at such a sacrifice. See Weber's *Indische Studien*, X, 150, 151.

On a *nudesyabhisasta Nârâyana* says, *sadesinâbhisastasyaivam eke. anye tu srâddhe pratishiddhasyety âhuḥ*. It seems to me that *anudesya* (or rather *ânudesya*?) in *Sânkhâyana-Sraut. V, 1, 10* (*Indische Studien*, X, 147) means the same, though the commentary on that *Sûtra* ascribes a different meaning to that word.

21. The Somapravâka is the messenger who invites the priests on behalf of the sacrificer to officiate at his intended Soma sacrifice. *Comp. Indische Studien*, IX, 308.

the priests officiating? What is the fee for the sacrifice?’

22. If (all the conditions) are favourable, he should accept.

23. Let (the officiating priests) eat no flesh nor have intercourse with a wife until the completion of the sacrifice.

24. ‘By this prayer, O Agni, increase’ (Rig-veda I, 31, 18)—with (this verse) let him offer (at the end of the sacrifice) an oblation of Âgya in (his own) Dakshinâgni, and go away where he likes;

25. In the same way one who has not set up the (Srauta) fires, in his (sacred) domestic fire with this *Rik*, ‘Forgive us, O Agni, this sin’ (Rig-veda I, 31, 16).

KANDIKÂ 24.

1. When he has chosen the *Ritvijas*, he should offer the Madhuparka (i. e. honey-mixture) to them (in the way described in Sûtras 5 and following);

2. To a Snâtaka, when he comes to his house;

3. And to a king;

4. And for a teacher, the father-in-law, a paternal uncle, and a maternal uncle.

5. He pours honey into curds,

6. Or butter, if he can get no honey.

7. A seat, the water for washing the feet, the Arghya water (i. e. perfumed water into which flowers have been thrown), the water for sipping, the honey-

24, 1 seqq. Comp. Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya II, 15. The second Sûtra is paraphrased by Nârâyana thus, ‘To a person that has performed the Samâvartana (see below, III, 8), when he comes on that day to his house with the intention of forming a matrimonial alliance.’

mixture, a cow : every one of these things they announce three times (to the guest).

8. With (the verse), 'I am the highest one among my people, as the sun among the thunderbolts. Here I tread on him whosoever infests me'—he should sit down on the seat (made of) northward-pointed (grass).

9. Or (he should do so) after he has trodden on it.

10. He should make (his host) wash his feet.

11. The right foot he should stretch out first to a Brâhmaṇa,

12. The left to a Sûdra.

13. When his feet have been washed, he receives the Arghya water in the hollow of his joined hands and then sips the water destined thereto, with (the formula), 'Thou art the first layer for Ambrosia.'

14. He looks at the Madhuparka when it is brought to him, with (the formula), 'I look at thee with Mitra's eye.'

15. He accepts it with his joined hands with (the formula), 'By the impulse of the god Savitrî, with the arms of the two Asvins, with the hands of Pûshan I accept thee.' He then takes it into his left hand, looks at it with the three verses, 'Honey the winds to the righteous one' (Rig-veda I, 90, 6 seqq.), stirs it about three times from left to right with the fourth finger and the thumb, and wipes (his fingers) with (the formula), 'May the Vasus eat thee with the Gâyatrî metre'—to the east ;

16. With (the formula), 'May the Rudras eat thee with the Trishubh metre'—to the south ;

17. With (the formula), 'May the Âdityas eat thee with the Gâgatî metre'—to the west ;

18. With (the formula), 'May the Visve devâs eat thee with the Anushṭubh metre'—to the north.

19. With (the formula), 'To the beings thee'—he three times takes (some of the Madhuparka substance) out of the middle of it.

20. With (the formula), 'The milk of Virâḡ art thou'—he should partake thereof the first time,

21. With, 'The milk of Virâḡ may I obtain'—the second time,

22. With, 'In me (may) the milk of Padyâ Virâḡ (dwell)'—the third time.

23. (He should) not (eat) the whole (Madhuparka).

24. He should not satiate himself.

25. To a Brâhmana, to the north, he should give the remainder.

26. If that cannot be done, (he should throw it) into water.

27. Or (he may eat) the whole (Madhuparka).

28. He then makes a rinsing of his mouth follow (on the eating of the Madhuparka) with the water destined thereto, with (the formula), 'Thou art the covering of Ambrosia.'

29. With (the formula), 'Truth! Glory! Fortune! May fortune rest on me!'—a second time.

30. When he has sipped water, they announce to him the cow.

31. Having murmured, 'Destroyed is my sin; my sin is destroyed,' (he says,) 'Om, do it,' if he chooses to have her killed.

32. Having murmured, 'The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus' (Rig-veda VIII,

22. On Padyâ Virâḡ, see the note on Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya III, 7, 5.

28. Comp. above, Sûtra 13.

101, 15), (he says,) 'Om, let her loose,' if he chooses to let her loose.

33. Let the Madhuparka not be without flesh, without flesh.

End of the First Adhyâya.

33. Comp. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya II, 15, 2.

ADHYĀYA II, KANDIKĀ 1.

1. On the full moon day of the *Srāvāna* month the *Srāvāna* ceremony (is performed).

2. Having filled a new jug with flour of fried barley, he lays (this jug) and a spoon for offering the *Balis* on new strings of a carrying pole (and thus suspends them).

3. Having prepared fried barley grains, he smears half of them with butter.

4. After sunset he prepares a mess of cooked food and a cake in one dish and sacrifices (the cooked food) with the four verses, 'Agni, lead us on a good path to wealth' (*Rig-veda* I, 189, 1 seqq.), verse by verse, and with his hand the (cake) in one dish with (the formula), 'To the steady One, the earth-demon, *svâhâ*!'

5. (The cake) should be (entirely) immersed (into the butter), or its back should be visible.

6. With (the verse), 'Agni, do not deliver us to evil' (*Rig-veda* I, 189, 5) he sacrifices over it (the butter) in which it had lain.

7. With (the verse), 'May the steeds at our invocation be for a blessing to us' (*Rig-veda* VII, 38, 7) (he sacrifices) the besmeared grains with his joined hands.

8. The other (grains) he should give to his people.

9. Out of the jug he fills the spoon with flour,

1, 1. *Nârâyana*'s observation that the *Srāvāna* full moon can fall also under certain other *Nakshatras* than *Srāvāna* itself, furnishes no reason why we should think here of solar months, as Prof. Stenzler proposes.

7, 8. See above, *Sûtra* 3.

9. See above, *Sûtra* 1.

goes out (of the house) to the east, pours water on the ground on a clean spot, sacrifices with (the formula), 'To the divine hosts of the serpents svâhâ!' and does reverence to them with (the formula), 'The serpents which are terrestrial, which are aerial, which are celestial, which dwell in the directions (of the horizon)—to them I have brought this Bali; to them I give over this Bali.'

10. Having gone round (the Bali) from left to right, he sits down to the west of the Bali with (the words), 'The serpent art thou; the lord of the creeping serpents art thou; by food thou protectest men, by cake the serpents, by sacrifice the gods. To me, being in thee, the serpents being in thee should do no harm. I give over the firm one (i.e. the spoon) to thee.'

11. 'Firm one, (I give) N. N. (in charge) to thee! Firm one, (I give) N. N. (in charge) to thee!'—with (these words he gives) his people, man by man, (in charge to the serpent god);

12. 'Firm one, I give myself in charge to thee!'—with these words himself at the end.

13. Let no one step between it (i.e. the Bali, and the sacrificer), until the giving in charge has been performed.

14. With (the formula), 'To the divine hosts of the serpents svâhâ!'—let him offer the Bali in the evening and in the morning, till the Pratyavarohana (i.e. the ceremony of the 'redescent').

15. Some count (the days till the Pratyavarohana)

14. On the Pratyavarohana, see the third chapter of this Adhyâya.

15. I.e. two Bali offerings for each day, one for the morning and one for the evening.

and offer the corresponding number of Balis already on that day (on which the *Sravanâ* ceremony is performed).

KANDIKÂ 2.

1. On the full moon day of *Âsvayuga* the *Âsvayugi* ceremony (is performed).

2. Having adorned the house, having bathed and put on clean garments, they should pour out a mess of cooked food for *Pasupati*, and should sacrifice it with (the formula), 'To *Pasupati*, to *Siva*, to *Samkara*, to *Prishâtaka svâhâ*!'

3. He should sacrifice with his joined hands a mixture of curds and butter (*prishâtaka*) with (the formula), 'May what is deficient be made full to me; may what is full not decay to me. To *Prishâtaka svâhâ*!'

4. 'United with the seasons, united with the manners, united with *Indra* and *Agni*, *svâhâ*!

'United with the seasons, united with the manners, united with the *Visve devâs*, *svâhâ*!

'United with the seasons, united with the manners, united with *Heaven* and *Earth*, *svâhâ*!'—with (these formulas) a mess of cooked food is offered at the

2, 2. 'The plural "They should sacrifice it" means, that while the sacrifice is performed by the householder, his sons and the other persons belonging to the house should touch him.' *Nârâyana*.

4. The *Âgrayana* sacrifice, which is offered when the sacrificer is going to partake of the first-fruits of the harvest, is treated of, with relation to a sacrificer who keeps the *Srauta* fires, in the *Srauta-sûtra* II, 9. This *Sûtra* in my opinion should be understood as a supplementary addition to that chapter. *Nârâyana* refers the rule here given to the case of any incident or danger (*âpad*) which prevents the sacrificer from performing the ceremony in its fuller form, as prescribed in the *Srauta-sûtra*.

Âgrayana sacrifice by one who has set up the (sacred Srauta) fires.

5. Also by one who has not set up the (Srauta) fires (the same offering is performed) in the (sacred) domestic fire.

KANDIKÂ 3.

1. On the full moon of Mârgaśr̥sha the 'redescent' (is performed)—on the fourteenth (Tithi),

2. Or on (the Tithi of) the full moon (itself).

3. Having again renovated the house by (giving a new) coating (to the walls), by spreading out (a new roof), and by levelling (the floor), they should sacrifice after sunset (oblations) of milk-rice with (the texts), 'Beat away, O white one, with thy foot, with the fore-foot and with the hind-foot, these seven daughters of Varuṇa and all that belong to the king's tribe. Svâhâ!

'Within the dominion of the white one no serpent has killed anything. To the white one, the son of Vidârva, adoration! Svâhâ!'

4. Here no oblation to (Agni) Svishtakṛit (is made).

5. 'May we be secure from Pragâpati's sons'—thus he murmurs while looking at the fire.

3, 1. On the ceremony of 'redescent,' comp. Sâṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya IV, 17; Pâraskara III, 2. The fourteenth Tithi of the bright fortnight, preceding the full moon, is referred to.

3. 'Again' refers to chap. 2, 2. As to the words 'they should sacrifice,' comp. the note on the same Sûtra. The first Mantra reoccurs in Sâṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya IV, 18, 1. The text of the second should be, na vai svetasyâdhyâkâre, &c.; comp. Pâraskara II, 14, 5.

5. The serpents are the children of Kasyapa (i.e. Pragâpati) and Kadrû; see Mahâbhârata I, 1074 seqq.

6. (Saying), 'Be happy and friendly to us'—he should think in his mind of the winter.

7. To the west of the fire is a well-spread layer (of straw); on that he should sit down, murmur (the verse), 'Be soft, O earth' (Rig-veda I, 22, 15), and lie down (on that layer) with his people, with the head to the east and the face to the north.

8. The others, as there is room.

9. Or following on each other from the eldest to the youngest.

10. Those who know the Mantras, should murmur the Mantras.

11. Arising (they should) three times (murmur the verse), 'From that place may the gods bless us' (Rig-veda I, 22, 16).

12. The same (verse) a fourth time with their faces to the south, to the west, and to the north.

13. Having arisen, having murmured the hymns sacred to the Sun and the auspicious hymns, having prepared food and given to the Brâhmanas to eat, he should cause (them) to pronounce auspicious words.

KANDIKÂ 4.

1. On the eighth days of the four dark fortnights of (the two seasons of) winter and Śisira the Aṣṭakâs (are celebrated).

10. 'The Mantras beginning from "Be soft, O earth" (Sûtra 7) down to the auspicious hymns (Sûtra 13).' Nârâyana.

11. It follows from Sûtra 12 that they are to turn here their faces to the east.

12. They mutter one Pâda of that verse, which is in the Gâyatri metre, turned towards each of the three directions.

4, 1. Comp. Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya III, 12 seqq. The four

2. Or on one (of these days).
3. The day before, he should offer to the Fathers (i. e. Manes)—
4. Boiled rice, boiled rice with sesamum seeds, rice-milk—
5. Or cakes made of four Sarâvas (of ground grain)—
6. Sacrificing with the eight (verses), 'May the lower (Fathers) and the higher arise' (Rig-veda X, 15, 1 seqq.), or with as many (verses) as he likes.
7. Then on the next day the Ash/takâs (are celebrated) with an animal (sacrifice) and with a mess of cooked food.
8. He may also give grass to an ox,
9. Or he may burn down brushwood with fire—
10. With (the words), 'This is my Ash/takâ.'
11. But he should not omit celebrating the Ash-takâ.
12. This (Ash/takâ) some state to be sacred to the Visve devâs, some to Agni, some to the Sun, some to Pragâpati, some state that the Night is its deity, some that the Nakshatras are, some that the Seasons are, some that the Fathers are, some that cattle is.
13. Having killed the animal according to the

months of Hemanta and Sisira are Mârgasirsha, Pausha, Mâgha, and Phâlguna.

2. The statement of the Prayogaratna that in case the sacrificer should celebrate only one Ash/takâ festival, the Ash/takâ of the Mâgha month is to be selected, well agrees with the designation of this Ash/takâ as 'the one Ash/takâ' (ekâsh/takâ); see Weber, *Naxatra* II, 341 seq.; *Indische Studien*, XV, 145.

7 seqq. Comp. the nearly identical passage in *Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya* III, 14, 3 seqq. and the note there. Âsvalâyana evidently gives these rules not as regarding one special Ash/takâ but all of them.

13. Comp. above, I, 11, 1. 2. 10. As to the Mantra, comp. *Sâṅkhâyana* III, 13, 3.

ritual of the animal sacrifice, omitting the sprinkling (with water) and the touching of the animal with a fresh branch, he should draw out the omentum and sacrifice it with (the verse), 'Carry the omentum, Gâtavedas, to the Fathers, where thou knowest them resting afar. May streams of fat flow to them ; may all these wishes be fulfilled. Svâhâ !'

14. Then (follow oblations) of the Avadâna portions and the cooked food, two with (the two verses), 'Agni, lead us on a good path to wealth' (Rig-veda I, 189, 1 seq.), (and other oblations with the texts), 'May summer, winter, the seasons be happy to us, happy the rainy season, safe to us the autumn. The year be our lord who gives breath to us ; may days and nights produce long life. Svâhâ !

'Peaceful be the earth, happy the air, may the goddess Heaven give us safety. Happy be the quarters (of the horizon), the intermediate quarters, the upper quarters ; may the waters, the lightnings protect us from all sides. Svâhâ !

'May the waters, the rays carry our prayers (to the gods) ; may the creator, may the ocean turn away evil ; may the past and the future, (may) all be safe to me. Protected by Brahman may I pour forth songs. Svâhâ !

'May all the Âdityas and the divine Vasus, the Rudras, the protectors, the Maruts sit down (here). May Pragâpati, the abounding one, the highest ruler, bestow vigour, offspring, immortality on me. Svâhâ !

'Pragâpati, no other one than Thou (Rig-veda X, 121, 10).'

14. I read, as Prof. Stenzler and the Petersburg Dictionary do, svârâ ksharâni. Comp. Pâraskara III, 3, 6.

15. The eighth (oblation) is that to (Agni) *Svi-shṭakṛit*.

16. He should give to the *Brâhmanas* to eat: this has been said.

KANDIKÂ 5.

1. On the following day the *Anvashṭakya* (i. e. the ceremony following the *Ashṭakâ*, is performed).

2. Having prepared (a portion) of that same meat, having established the fire on a surface inclined towards the south, having fenced it in, and made a door on the north side of the enclosure, having strewn round (the fire) three times sacrificial grass with its roots, without tossing it, turning the left side towards the fire, he should put down the things to be offered, boiled rice, boiled rice with sesamum seeds, rice-milk, meal-pap with curds, and meal-pap with honey.

3. (The ceremony should be performed) according to the ritual of the *Pindapitṛiyagña*.

4. Having sacrificed (of those sorts of food) with the exception of the meal-pap with honey, let him give (lumps of those substances) to the Fathers.

5. And to (their) wives, with the addition of rum and the scum of boiled rice.

6. Some (place the lumps to be offered) into pits, into two or into six.

16. See above, chap. 3, 13.

5, 2. The meat is that of the animal killed on the *Ashṭakâ* day; see chap. 4, 13.

3. This ritual is given in the *Srauta-sûtra* II, 6 seq.

4. He sacrifices the two oblations prescribed in the *Srauta-sûtra* II, 6, 12, to *Soma pitṛimat* and to *Agni kavyavâhana*.

7. In those situated to the east he should give (the offerings) to the Fathers.

8. In those to the west, to the wives.

9. Thereby the ceremony celebrated in the rainy season on the Mâgha day, in the dark fortnight after the full moon of Praushṭāpada (has been declared).

10. And thus he should offer (a celebration like the Anvashtakya) to the Fathers every month, observing uneven numbers (i. e. selecting a day with an uneven number, inviting an uneven number of Brâhmanas, &c.).

11. He should give food at least to nine (Brâhmanas),

12. Or to an uneven number ;

13. To an even number on auspicious occasions or on the performance of meritorious deeds (such as the consecration of ponds, &c.) ;

14. To an uneven number on other (occasions).

15. The rite is performed from left to right. Barley is to be used instead of sesamum.

KANDIKÂ 6.

1. When going to mount a chariot he should touch the wheels with his two hands separately with (the words), 'I touch thy two fore-feet. Thy two wheels are the Brîhat and the Rathantara (Sâmans).'

9. Comp. the note on Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya III, 13, 1.

10. Comp. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya IV, 1, 1.

13. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya IV, 4, 4.

15. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya IV, 4, 6. 9.

6, 1. 'He should touch at the same time the right wheel with his right hand, the left wheel with his left hand.' Nârâyana.

2. 'Thy axle is the Vâmadevya'—with (these words he touches) the two (naves) in which the axle rests.

3. He should mount (the chariot) with the right foot first, with (the words), 'With Vâyu's strength I mount thee, with Indra's power and sovereignty.'

4. He should touch the reins, or if the horses have no reins, (he should touch) the horses with a staff, with (the words), 'With Brahman's splendour I seize you. With truth I seize you.'

5. When (the horses) put themselves in motion, he should murmur, 'Go forward to thousandfold successful vigour, divine chariot, carry us forward!'—(and the verse), 'Free, strong be thy limbs!' (Rig-veda VI, 47, 26.)

6. With this (verse he should touch also) other articles of wood.

7. 'May the two oxen be strong, the axle firm' (Rig-veda III, 53, 17)—with (this verse) he should touch (each) part of the chariot (alluded to in that verse).

8. With (the verse), 'The earth, the good protectress, the unattained heaven' (Rig-veda X, 63, 10) (he should ascend) a ship.

9. With a new chariot he should drive round a widely known tree or round a pool that does not dry up, with his right side turned towards it, and then should fetch branches which bear fruits,

2. On the Vedic form of the chariot and of the wheels, comp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 247.

6. According to Nârâyana this Sûtra would refer only to other vehicles of wood, which he is directed to touch with that *Rik* when going to mount them. Perhaps the commentator is right; the wording of the *Rik* is well in keeping with his explanation.

10. Or something else that belongs to the household.

11. (He then) should drive (in that chariot) to an assembly.

12. Having murmured, while looking at the sun, (the verse), 'Make our renown highest' (Rig-veda IV, 31, 15), he should descend.

13. 'To the bull among my equals' (Rig-veda X, 166, 1)—(this verse he should murmur) while approaching (that assembly?).

14. 'May we be called to-day Indra's best friends' (Rig-veda I, 167, 10)—when the sun is setting.

15. 'Thus I address you, O daughters of heaven, while you arise' (Rig-veda IV, 51, 11)—when day appears.

KANDIKÂ 7.

1. Now the examination of the ground (where he intends to build a house).

2. (It must be) non-salinous soil of undisputed property,

3. With herbs and trees,

4. On which much Kusa and Virana grass grows.

5. Plants with thorns and with milky juice he should dig out with their roots and remove them—

6. And in the same way the following (sorts of plants), viz. Apâmârga, potherbs, Tilvaka, Parivyâdha.

7. A spot where the waters, flowing together from all sides to the centre of it, flow round the resting-place, having it on their right side, and then flow off to the east without noise—that possesses all auspicious qualities.

8. Where the waters flow off, he should have the provision-room built.

9. Thus it becomes rich in food.
10. On a spot which is inclined towards the south, he should have the assembly-room constructed ; thus there will be no gambling in it.
11. (But others say that) in such (an assembly-room) the young people become gamblers, quarrelsome, and die early.
12. Where the waters flow together from all directions, that assembly-room (situated on such a spot) brings luck and is free from gambling.

KANDIKÂ 8.

1. Now he should examine the ground in the following ways.
2. He should dig a pit knee-deep and fill it again with the same earth (which he has taken out of it).
3. If (the earth) reaches out (of the pit, the ground is) excellent ; if it is level, (it is) of middle quality ; if it does not fill (the pit, it is) to be rejected.
4. After sunset he should fill (the pit) with water and leave it so through the night.
5. If (in the morning) there is water in it, (the ground is) excellent ; if it is moist, (it is) of middle quality ; if it is dry, (it is) to be rejected.
6. White (ground), of sweet taste, with sand on the surface, (should be elected) by a Brâhmaṇa.
7. Red (ground) for a Kshatriya.
8. Yellow (ground) for a Vaisya.
9. He should draw a thousand furrows on it and should have it measured off as quadrangular, with equal sides to each (of the four) directions ;
10. Or as an oblong quadrangle.

11. With a Samī branch or an Udumbara branch he sprinkles it (with water), going thrice round it, so that his right side is turned towards it, reciting the Santātiya hymn.

12. And (so he does again three times) pouring out water without interruption, with the three verses, 'O waters, ye are wholesome' (Rig-veda X, 9, 1 seqq.).

13. In the interstices between the bamboo staffs he should have the (single) rooms constructed.

14. Into the pits in which the posts are to stand, he should have an Avakā, i. e. (the water-plant called) Sipāla put down; then fire will not befall him: thus it is understood (in the Śruti).

15. Having put (that plant) into the pit in which the middle-post is to stand, he should spread (on it) eastward-pointed and northward-pointed Kusa grass and should sprinkle (on that grass) water into which rice and barley have been thrown, with (the words), 'To the steady one, the earth-demon, svāhā!'

16. He then should, when (the middle-post) is being erected, recite over it (the two verses),

'Stand here, fixed in the ground, prosperous, long-

8, 11. The hymn of which all verses (except a few) commence with, and frequently contain, the word sam (Rig-veda VII, 35).

13. The bamboo staffs (*vaṃsa*) rest on the chief posts (*sthûnâ*); see chap. 9, 1. 2.

15. Comp. chap. 1, 4.

16. Comp. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya III, 3, 1 and the note there. How *stâmirâvatîm* should be corrected and translated is quite uncertain. Instead of *poshasva* Prof. Stenzler proposes to read *poshasya*, as Sâṅkhâyaṇa has; I have adopted this correction.—In the second verse *gâyâtām saha* seems to be corrupt; comp. my note on Sâṅkhâyaṇa III, 2, 9. Instead of *parisritāḥ* we should read, as Sâṅkhâyaṇa, Pâraskara, and the Atharva-veda (III, 12, 7) have, *parisrutaḥ*.

lasting (?), standing amid prosperity. May the malevolent ones not attain thee!

‘To thee (may) the young child (come), to thee the calf. . . ; to thee (may) the cup of Parisrut (come); (to thee) may they come with pots of curds.’

KANDIKÂ 9.

1. (Over) the bamboo staff, when it is put on (the middle-post, he recites the hemistich),

2. ‘Rightly ascend the post, O staff, bestowing on us long life henceforward.’

3. On four stones, on which Dûrvâ grass has been spread, he should establish the water-barrel with (the words), ‘Arise on the earth’—

4. Or with (the verse), ‘The Araṅgara sounds, three times bound with the strap. It praises the welfare; may it drive away ill.’

5. He then should pour water into it with (the verse), ‘Hither may king Varuṇa come with the plentiful (waters); at this place may he stay contented; bringing welfare, dropping ghee may they lie down together with Mitra.’

6. He then ‘appeases’ it (in the following way).

7. He puts gold into water into which rice and barley have been thrown, and (with that water) he sprinkles it three times, going round it with his right side turned towards it, with the Santâtîya hymn.

8. And (so he does again three times) pouring out

9, 4. The meaning of Araṅgara is unknown to me; it seems to be a musical instrument. Comp. Atharva-veda XX, 135, 13.

6. The ground on which the house is to be built.

7. On the Santâtîya hymn, see above, chap. 8, 11.

8. This Sûtra is identical with chap. 8, 12.

water without interruption, with the three verses, 'O waters, ye are wholesome' (Rig-veda X, 9, 1 seqq.).

9. In the middle of the house he should cook a mess of food, sacrifice (therefrom) with the four verses, 'Vāstoshpati, accept us' (Rig-veda VII, 54, 1 seqq.), verse by verse, should prepare food, should give to the Brāhmanas to eat, and should cause them to say, 'Lucky is the ground! Lucky is the ground!'

KANDIKĀ 10.

1. It has been declared how he should enter the house (when returning from a journey).

2. The house, when he enters it, should be provided with seed-corn.

3. He should have his field ploughed under the Nakshatras Uttarâḥ Proshṭhapadâs, (Uttarâḥ) Phālgunyas, or Rohinī.

4. In order that the wind may blow to him from the field, he should offer oblations with the hymn, 'Through the lord of the field' (Rig-veda IV, 57), verse by verse, or he should murmur (that hymn).

5. He should speak over the cows when they go away, the two verses, 'May refreshing wind blow over the cows' (Rig-veda X, 169, 1 seq.).

6. When they come back, (he should recite the following verses,)

'May they whose udder with its four holes is full

9. Comp. above, chap. 3, 13.

10, 1. See Śrauta-sūtra II, 5, 17 seqq. It is there expressly stated that these rules refer also to an Anāhitāgni.

3. Śāṅkhāyana IV, 13, 1.

5. Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhya III, 9.

6. Śāṅkhāyana, loc. cit.—Should the reading upa maitu be corrected into upa maita?

of honey and ghee, be milk-givers to us ; (may they be) many in our stable, rich in ghee.

‘Come hither to me, giving refreshment, bringing vigour and strength. Giving inexhaustible milk, rest in my stable that I may become the highest one’—

And, ‘They who have raised their body up to the gods’—the rest of the hymn (Rig-veda X, 169, 3. 4).

7. Some recite (instead of the texts stated in Sûtra 6) the Âgâviya hymn.

8. He should approach their herds, if the cows do not belong to his Guru, with (the words), ‘Prospering are ye; excellent are ye, beautiful, dear. May I become dear to you. May you see bliss in me.’

End of the Second Adhyâya.

7. The hymn commencing â gâvo agman (hither came the cows) is Rig-veda VI, 28.

8. Perhaps the last words (which are repeated twice in order to mark the end of the Adhyâya) should be written *sam mayi gâñîdhvam*, ‘live with me in harmony together.’

ADHYÂYA III, KANDIKÂ 1.

1. Now (follow) the five sacrifices :
2. The sacrifice to the Gods, the sacrifice to the Beings, the sacrifice to the Fathers, the sacrifice to Brahman, the sacrifice to men.
3. Here now, if he makes oblations over the (sacred) fire, this is the sacrifice to the Gods.
If he makes Bali offerings, this is the sacrifice to the Beings.
If he gives (*Pinda* offerings) to the Fathers, this is the sacrifice to the Fathers.
If he studies (Vedic) texts, this is the sacrifice to Brahman.
If he gives to men, this is the sacrifice to men.
4. These (five kinds of) sacrifices he should perform every day.

KANDIKÂ 2.

1. Now the rules how one should recite (the Vedic texts) for one's self.
2. He should go out of the village to the east or to the north, bathe in water, sip water on a clean spot, clad with the sacrificial cord; he should spread out, his garment being not wet, a great quantity of Darbha grass, the tufts of which are directed towards the east, and should sit down thereon with his face turned to the east, making a lap, putting together his hands in which he holds purifiers (i. e. Kusa blades), so that the right hand lies uppermost.

Looking at the point where heaven and earth touch each other, or shutting his eyes, or in whatever way he may deem himself apt (for reciting the Veda), thus adapting himself he should recite (the sacred texts) for himself.

4. He (then) repeats the Sâvitri (Rig-veda III, 62, 10), (firstly) Pâda by Pâda, (then) hemistich by hemistich, thirdly the whole.

1. He then should recite for himself (the following texts, viz.) the *Rikas*, the *Yagus*, the *Sâmans*, the *Atharvan* and *Angiras* hymns, the *Brâhmanas*, the *Kalpa* (*Sûtras*), the *Gâthâs*, the (texts in honour of kings and heroes, called) *Nârâsamsis*, the *Itihâsas* and *Purânas*.

3, 1. On this and the following paragraphs comp. chiefly *Satapatha Brâhmana* XI, 5, 6. Other enumerations, contained in the *Veda* itself, of the texts that were considered as forming the *Veda* or as attached to the body of the *Veda*, are found in the *Satapatha Brâhmana* XIV, 5, 4, 10 (*Sacred Books*, XV, 111), and in the *Khândogya Upanishad* VII, 1 (*Sacred Books*, I, 109).

3. In that he recites the *Rikas*, rivers of milk flow, as a funeral oblation, to his Fathers. In that (he recites) the *Yagus*, rivers of ghee—the *Sâmans*, rivers of honey—the *Atharvan* and *Aṅgiras* hymns, rivers of Soma—the *Brâhmanas*, *Kalpas*, *Gâthâs*, *Nârâmsîs*, *Itihâsas* and *Purânas*, rivers of ambrosia.

4. After he has recited (those texts) as far as he thinks fit, he should finish with the following (verse),

‘Adoration to Brahman! Adoration be to Agni! Adoration to the Earth! Adoration to the Herbs! Adoration to the Voice! Adoration to the Lord of the Voice! Adoration I bring to great Vishnu!’

KANDIKĀ 4.

1. He satiates the deities: ‘Pragâpati, Brahman, the Vedas, the gods, the *Rîshis*, all metres, the word Om, the word *Vasha*, the *Vyâhrîtis*, the *Sâvitrit*, the sacrifices, Heaven and Earth, the air, days and nights, the numbers, the *Siddhas*, the oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the fields, herbs, trees, *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras*, the snakes, the birds, the cows, the *Sâdhyas*, the *Vipras*, the *Yakshas*, the *Rakshas*, the beings that have these (*Rakshas*, &c.) at their end.’

2. Then the *Rîshis*: ‘The (*Rîshis*) of the hundred (*Rikas*), the (*Rîshis*) of the middle (*Mandalas*), *Grit-*

4, 1. Comp. *Sâṅkhâyana-Grihya* IV, 9. *Nârâyana*: ‘Having finished (the *Svâdhyâya*) he satiates with water oblations these deities.’

Pragâpati and the following words stand in the nominative; the verb to be supplied is *tripyatu* (*tripyantu*), ‘may he (they) satiate himself (themselves).’

2. *Sâṅkhâyana-Grihya* IV, 10. *Sâṅkhâyana* has *pâvamânâh*, ‘the (*Rîshis*) of the *Pavamâna* hymns,’ but *pragâthâh* as *Âsvalâyana* has, and not as we should expect, *prâgâthâh*.

samada, Visvâmitra, Vâmadeva, Atri, Bharadvâga, Vasishtha, the Pragâthas, the Pavamâna hymns, the (*Rishis*) of the short hymns, and of the long hymns.'

3. (Then) with the sacrificial cord suspended over the right shoulder :

4. 'Sumantu, Gaimini, Vaisampâyana, Paila, the Sûtras, the Bhâshyas, the Bhârata, the Mahâbhârata, the teachers of law, Gânanti, Bâhavi, Gârgya, Gautama, Sâkalya, Bâbhravya, Mândavya, Mândûkeya, Gârgi Vâtaknavi, Vadavâ Prâtitheyi, Sulabhâ Maitreyi, Kahola Kaushitaka, Mahâkaushitaka, Paingya, Mahâpaingya, Suyagña Sâṅkhâyana, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, the Sâkala (text), the Bâshkala (text), Sugâtavakra, Audavâhi, Mahaudavâhi, Saugâmi, Saunaka, Âsvalâyana—and whatsoever other teachers there are, may they all satiate themselves.'

5. After he has satiated the Fathers man by man, and has returned to his house, what he gives (then), that is the sacrificial fee.

6. And it is also understood (in the *Sruti*), 'May he be standing, walking, sitting, or lying, (the texts belonging to) whatsoever sacrifice he repeats, that sacrifice indeed he has offered.'

7. It is understood (in the *Sruti*), 'Regarding this (*Svâdhyâya*) there are two cases in which the study (of the sacred texts) is forbidden: when he is impure himself, and when the place is.'

4. The names from Kahola Kaushitaki down to Âsvalâyana stand in the accusative; *tarpayâmi*, 'I satiate N. N.' is to be supplied.

5. *Nârâyana*: 'He satiates his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and goes to his house. What he then gives, for instance, food offered to guests, or given as alms (to religious beggars), is considered as the sacrificial fee for the *Brahmayagña*.'

6. Comp. *Satapatha Brâhmana* XI, 5, 7, 3. 4.

KANDIKĀ 5.

1. Now (follows) the *Adhyâyopâkarana* (i. e. the ceremony by which the annual course of study is opened);

2. When the herbs appear, (when the moon stands in conjunction) with *Sravana*, in the *Srâvana* month,

3. Or on the fifth (Tithi of that month), under (the Nakshatra) *Hasta*.

4. Having sacrificed the two *Āgya* portions, he should offer *Āgya* oblations (to the following deities, viz.) *Sâvitṛi*, *Brahman*, *Belief*, *Insight*, *Wisdom*, *Memory*, *Sadasaspati*, *Anumati*, the metres, and the *Rishis*.

5. He then sacrifices grains with curds (with the following texts):

6. 'I praise *Agni* the *Purohita*'—this one verse (*Rig-veda* I, 1, 1),

7. 'The *Kushumbhaka* (mongoose?) has said it'—
'If thou criest, O bird, announce luck to us'—'Sung by *Gamadagni*'—'In thy abode the whole world rests'

5, 2, 3. Perhaps the division of these *Sûtras* should be altered, so that *srâvanasya* would belong to *Sûtra* 2. In this case we should have to translate, '2. When the herbs appear, (on a day on which the moon stands in conjunction) with *Sravana*. 3. Or on the fifth (Tithi) of the *Srâvana* month, under (the Nakshatra) *Hasta*.' Comp. *srâvanasya pañcamîm*, *Pâr.* II, 10, 2. If we count the month beginning with the bright fortnight, and assume that the full moon day of *Srâvana* falls, as the name of the month implies, on *Sravana*, the fifth Tithi of that month will fall indeed on *Hasta*. Comp. on the dates of the *Upâkarana*, Prof. Weber's remarks, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra* II, 322, and on the special symbolical signification of the Nakshatra *Sravana* in this connection, my note on *Sânkhâyana* IV, 5, 2.

4. On the two *Āgya* portions, comp. above, I, 3, 5; 10, 13 seqq.

7. Comp. *Sânkhâyana* IV, 5, 8. The verses with which the oblations are performed, are the first and last verses of each *Mandala*.

—‘ Come to our sacrifice, O you that are worthy of sacrifice, with care ’—‘ Whosoever, be he ours, be he alien ’—‘ Look on, look about ’—‘ Come here, Agni, the Maruts’ friend ’—‘ The oblation, O king, cooked for thee ’—each time two verses ;

8. ‘ United is your will ’ (Rig-veda X, 191, 4)—this one verse ;

9. ‘ That blessing and bliss we choose ’—this one verse.

10. When he intends to study (the Veda together with pupils), he should, while the pupils take hold of him, sacrifice to those deities, and sacrifice to (Agni) *Svishtakṛit*, and partake of the grains with curds ; then (follows) the ‘ cleaning.’

11. Sitting down to the west of the fire on Darbha grass, the tufts of which are directed towards the east, he should put Darbha blades into a water-pot, and making a *Brahmâṅgali* (i. e. joining his hands as a sign of veneration for the Brahman), he should murmur (the following texts):

12. The *Vyâhṛitis* preceded by (the syllable) *Om* (stand first) ; (these) and the *Sâvitṛi* he should repeat three times and then recite the beginning of the Veda.

9. This is the last verse of the *Rik-Samhitâ* in the *Bâshkala Sâkhâ*. See my note on *Sânkhâyana* IV, 5, 9.

10. The expression, ‘ Those deities ’ would, according to *Nârâyana*, refer not only to the deities stated in *Sûtra* 4, but also to the deities of the first and last verses of the *Mandalas* (*Sûtras* 6 seqq.). On the grains with curds, comp. *Sûtra* 5. The technical sense of the ‘ cleaning ’ is explained in the *Srauta-sûtra* I, 8, 2 ; comp. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, p. 130, note 1. The sacrificer covers his joined hands with the *Kusa* grass spread out round the fire, and has water sprinkled on them.

11. On the term *brahmâṅgali*, comp. *Manu* II, 71.

13. In the same way at the Utsarga (i. e. at the ceremony performed at the end of the term of Vedic study).

14. He should study six months.

15. One who has performed the Samâvartana (should live during that time) according to the regulations for Brahma \hat{c} ârins.

16. The others according to the rules.

17. Some say that he should have intercourse with his wife.

18. That (is a practice) sacred to Pragâpati.

19. This (Upâkarana) they call vârshika (i. e. belonging to the rainy season).

20. On the middle Ash \hat{t} akâ they offer food to those deities, and descend into water.

21. They satiate those same deities (with water oblations),

22. (And besides) the Â \hat{c} âryas, the Rishis, and the Fathers.

23. This is the Utsargana.

KANDIKÂ 6.

1. Instead of the Kâmya ceremonies (i. e. the ceremonies, prescribed in the Srauta-sûtra, by which

15. On the Samâvartana, see below, chap. 8 seq. The restrictions referred to consist in the interdiction of eating honey and meat, of having sexual intercourse, of sleeping in a bedstead and in the day-time, &c. Nârâyana.

16. I. e. the Brahma \hat{c} ârins.

17. I. e. one who has performed the Samâvartana.

20. After the six months (Sûtra 14) have elapsed, on the Ash \hat{t} akâ of Mâgha.

23. Or Utsarga, see Sûtra 13.

6, 1. Nârâyana divides this Sûtra into two: 1. atha kâmyânâ \hat{m} sthâne kâmyâ \hat{h} ; 2. karava \hat{h} .

special wishes are attained, oblations of) boiled (rice) grains, for the attainment of those wishes, (should be made by the *Grîhya* sacrificer).

2. He attains (thereby) those same wishes.

3. For a person that is sick, or suffering, or affected with consumption, a mess of boiled (rice) grains in six oblations (should he offered)—

4. With this (hymn), 'I loosen thee by sacrificial food, that thou mayst live' (*Rig-veda* X, 161).

5. If he has seen a bad dream, he should worship the sun with the two verses, 'To-day, god *Savitri*' (*Rig-veda* V, 82, 4, 5), and with the five verses, 'What bad dreams there are among the cows' (*Rig-veda* VIII, 47, 14 seqq.),

6. Or with (the verse), 'Whosoever, O king, be it a companion or a friend' (*Rig-veda* II, 28, 10).

7. When he has sneezed, yawned, seen a disagreeable sight, smelt a bad smell, when his eye palpitates, and when he hears noises in his ears, he should murmur, 'Well-eyed may I become with my eyes, well-vigoured with my face, well-hearing with my ears. May will and insight dwell in me!'

8. If he has gone to a wife to whom he ought not to go, or if he has performed a sacrifice for a person for whom he ought not to do so, or has eaten forbidden food, or accepted what he ought not to accept, or pushed against a piled-up (fire altar) or

8. *Nârâyana* is evidently wrong in explaining *ḷaityam yûpañ ḷa* by *agniḷayanastham yûpam* (which is not, as Prof. Stenzler takes it, der Opferpfahl auf einem Bestattungsplatze). Comp. Gobhila III, 3, 34; *Grîhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa* II, 4.

I have translated the second verse in *Sûtra* 8, as if the text had *kalpantâm*. The MSS. give *kalpatâm*. *Atharva-veda* VII, 67 has *kalpayantâm*.

against a sacrificial post, he should sacrifice two Āgya oblations with (the verses),

‘May my faculties return into me, may life return, may prosperity return; may my goods return to me; may the divine power return into me. Svâhâ!

‘These fires that are stationed on the (altars called) Dhishṇyâs, may they be here in good order, each on its right place. (Agni) Vaisvânara, grown strong, the standard of immortality, may he govern my mind in my heart. Svâhâ!’

9. Or (he may sacrifice) two pieces of wood,

10. Or murmur (the same two verses without any oblation).

KANDIKÂ 7.

1. If the sun sets while he is sleeping without being sick, he should spend the rest of the night keeping silence, without sitting down, and should worship the sun (when it rises) with the five (verses), ‘The light, O sun, by which thou destroyest darkness’ (Rig-veda X, 37, 4 seq.).

2. If (the sun) rises (while he is sleeping without being sick), being fatigued without having done any work, or having done work that is not becoming, he should keep silence, &c., as before, and perform his worship (to the sun) with the following four (verses, Rig-veda X, 37, 9 seq.).

3. Invested with the sacrificial cord, constantly fulfilling the prescribed duties regarding the use of

7, 2. Perhaps we should correct the text, *akarmasrântam anabhirûpena karmasrântâ vâ vâgyata iti*, &c.

3 seq. See *Sâṅkhâyana-Gṛihya* II, 9. There the same word *anvash/amadesa* occurs.

water, he should perform the Sandhyâ (or twilight devotion), observing silence.

4. In the evening he should, turning his face to the north-west, to the region between the chief (west) point and the intermediate (north-western) point (of the horizon), murmur the Sâvitṛī, (beginning) when the sun is half set, until the stars appear.

5. In the same way in the morning—

6. Standing, with his face turned to the east, until the disk (of the sun) appears.

7. If a dove flies against his house or towards it, he should sacrifice with (the hymn), 'O gods, the dove' (Rig-veda X, 165), verse by verse, or should murmur (that hymn).

8. 'We have thee, O Lord of the path' (Rig-veda VI, 53)—if he is going out for doing some business.

9. 'Bring us together, Pûshan, with a knowing one' (Rig-veda VI, 54)—if he wishes to find something lost, or if he has strayed.

10. 'Journey over the ways, Pûshan' (Rig-veda I, 42)—if he is going out on a long or dangerous way.

KANDIKÂ 8.

1. Now when returning (home from his teacher) he should get the following things, viz. a jewel (to be tied round the neck), two ear-rings, a pair of garments, a parasol, a pair of shoes, a staff, a wreath, (pounded seed of the Karañga fruit) for rubbing with, ointment, eye salve, a turban; (all that) for himself and for the teacher.

9. Mûḥa may either mean, 'having lost his way,' or 'bewildered in his mind.' Nârâyana prefers the latter explanation ('pragñâ-hinaḥ').

2. If he cannot get it for both, only for the teacher.
3. He then should get a piece of wood of a tree which is sacrificially pure, in a north-eastern direction—
4. Sappy (wood) if he wishes for the enjoyment of food, or for prosperity, or for splendour ; dry (wood), if for holy lustre,
5. (Wood) which is both (sappy and dry, in its different parts), if (he wishes) for both.
6. Having put the piece of wood on high, and having given a cow and food to the Brāhmanas, he should perform the ceremony of shaving the beard.
7. He should alter the texts so that they refer to himself.
8. With Ekaklītaka (he should perform the rubbing).
9. Having washed himself with lukewarm water, and having put on two (new) garments which have not yet been washed, with (the verse), ‘Garments with fat splendour you put on, (Mitra and Varuṇa)’ (Rig-veda I, 152, 1), he should anoint his eyes with (the words), ‘The sharpness of the stone art thou ; protect my eye.’
10. With (the words), ‘The sharpness of the stone

8, 6. ‘On high’ means ‘not on the ground’ (Nārāyaṇa). On the gaudānikam karma (the shaving of the beard), comp. above, Adhyāya I, Kandikā 18. The word ‘ceremony’ would mean here, according to Nārāyaṇa, that he should perform the rite alone, without observing such prescriptions as stated above, I, 18, 7.

7. Thus, instead of ‘Herb ! protect him!’ (I, 17, 8) he is to say, ‘Herb ! protect me!’ and so on.

8. Ekaklītaka is, according to Nārāyaṇa and the Prayogaratna, the seed of such a Karañga fruit (Pongamia Glabra, Vent.) which contains only one grain of seed. Such grains are pounded before he rubs himself therewith.

art thou ; protect my ear '—he should tie on the two ear-rings.

11. After having **salved** his two hands with ointment, a Brâhmana should salve his head first,

12. A Râganya his two arms,

13. A Vaisya the belly,

14. A woman her secret parts,

15. Persons who gain their livelihood by running, their thighs.

16. With (the formula), 'Free from pain art thou, free from pain may I become'—he should put on the wreath.

17. Not (such a wreath) which is called mâlâ.

18. If they call it mâlâ, he should cause them to call it srag.

19. With (the formula), 'The standing-places of the gods are you ; protect me from all sides'—he steps into the shoes, and with (the formula), 'The heaven's covering art thou'—he takes the parasol.

20. With (the formula), 'Reed thou art ; from the tree thou descendest ; protect me from all sides'—(he takes) a staff of reed.

21. Having with the hymn 'Giving life' tied the jewel to his neck and arranged the turban (on his head), he should standing put the piece of wood (on the fire).

21. On the hymn beginning with the words 'Giving life,' see Prof. Stenzler's note on this Sûtra. Its first verse is identical with Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ XXXIV, 50 (comp. also Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya III, 1, 7), and so are most of its verses found in that Samhitâ or in the Atharva-veda ; the whole of it occurs among the Rig-veda Khilas (vol. vi, p. 25, 2-12).

KANDIKĀ 9.

1. (He says), 'Memory and reproach and knowledge, faith, and wisdom as the fifth, what is sacrificed, and what is given, and what is studied, and what is done, truth, learning, vow—

'The vow which belongs to Agni together with Indra, with Pragâpati, with the *Rîshis*, with the royal ones among the *Rîshis*, with the Fathers, with the royal ones among the Fathers, with the human beings, with the royal ones among the human beings, with shine, over-shine, after-shine, counter-shine, with gods and men, with Gandharvas and Apsaras, with wild animals and domestic animals,—the vow, belonging to my own self, dwelling in my own self, that is my universal vow. Hereby, O Agni, I become addicted to the universal vow. Svâhâ!'

2. With (the hymn), 'Mine, Agni, be vigour' (Rig-veda X, 128, 1), verse by verse, he should put pieces of wood (on the fire).

3. He should pass that night at a place where they will do honour to him.

9, 1. "My memory and my non-memory, that is my double vow"—in this way the twelve (parts of which the first section of the Mantra consists) should be recited.' *Nârâyana*. I think the commentator is wrong here, and that section should rather be recited as it is given in the text without any alteration; it forms a regular Sloka. *Agne* instead of *Agne* is a conjecture of Prof. Stenzler, which I have adopted.

2. According to *Nârâyana* the hymn should be recited including the Khila, so that ten pieces of wood are offered. Now the hymn consists of nine verses; there can be, consequently, only one Khailika verse, which is, I suppose, the first verse of the Khila quoted above, p. 228.

3. By a Madhuparka (*Nârâyana*). Compare *Sânkhâyana-Grihya* III, 1, 14.

4. When, after having finished his (task of) learning, he has offered something to the teacher, or has received his permission, he should take a bath (which signifies the end of his studentship).

5. He (i.e. the Snâtaka) has to keep the following observances :

6. He shall not bathe in the night-time ; he shall not bathe naked ; he shall not lie down naked ; he shall not look at a naked woman, except during sexual intercourse ; he shall not run during rain ; he shall not climb up a tree ; he shall not descend into a well ; he shall not swim with his arms across a river ; he shall not expose himself to danger. 'A great being indeed is a Snâtaka'—thus it is understood (in the *Śruti*).

KANDIKÂ 10.

1. If (a student) wishes to be dismissed (by his teacher), he should pronounce before the teacher his (i.e. the teacher's ?) name—

2. (And should say), 'Here we will dwell, sir!'

4. Nârâyana : He makes an offer to the teacher in the words, 'What is it that I can do for you?'—and what the teacher tells him, that he does.

10, 1. Nârâyana refers this rule to a student who has performed the Samâvartana and wishes to go away. But a comparison of Sâṅkhâya-grîhya II, 18 seems to make it probable that the ceremony described here has nothing to do with the Samâvartana. I take this chapter rather for a description of the way in which a student has to take leave of his teacher when setting out on a journey. 'His name' is the teacher's name, according to Nârâyana.

2. Sâṅkhâya-grîhya II, 18, 1. Sâṅkh. has aham vatsyâmi ; Âsvalâyana, idaṃ vatsyâmaḥ. The commentator says that instead of idaṃ the Âśrama is to be named which the student chooses to enter upon, for instance, 'Devadatta, we will dwell in the state of a householder, sir!'

3. With a loud voice (the words) following after the name.

4. 'Of inhalation and exhalation'—(this he says) with a low voice,

5. And (the verse), 'Come hither, Indra, with thy lovely-sounding, fallow-coloured (horses)' (Rig-veda III, 45, 1).

6. The aged one then murmurs, 'To inhalation and exhalation I, the wide-extended one, resort with thee. To the god Savitri I give thee in charge'—and the verse.

7. When he has finished (that verse), and has muttered, 'Om! Forwards! Blessing!' and recited (over the student the hymn), 'The great bliss of the three' (Rig-veda X, 185)—(he should dismiss him).

8. On one who has been thus dismissed, danger comes from no side—thus it is understood (in the *Sruti*).

9. If he hears (on his way) disagreeable voices of birds, he should murmur the two hymns, 'Shrieking, manifesting his being' (Rig-veda II, 42, 43), and (the verse), 'The divine voice have the gods created' (Rig-veda VIII, 100, 11).

10. 'Praise the renowned youth who sits on the war-chariot' (Rig-veda II, 33, 11)—if (he hears disagreeable voices) of deer.

11. From the direction, or from the (being) from which he expects danger, towards that direction he should throw a fire-brand, burning on both sides, or having twirled about a churning-stick from the right to the left, with (the words), 'Safety be to me, Mitra

6. I have translated, as Prof. Stenzler has also done, according to *Sāṅkhāyana's* reading, *prânâpânâ . . . tvayâ*. The 'aged one' is the teacher, the verse that which is quoted in *Sûtra* 5.

and Varuṇa; encounter the foes and burn them up with your flame. May they find none who knows them and no support; divided by discord may they go to death'—

12. He turns the churning-stick downwards with (the verse), 'The combined wealth of both, heaped together' (Rig-veda X, 84, 7).

KANDIKÂ 11.

1. If unknown danger from all sides (menaces him), he should sacrifice eight Âgya oblations with (the formulas),

'Prithivî (the earth) is covered; she is covered by Agni. By her, the covered one, the covering one, I ward off the danger of which I am in fear. Svâhâ!

'Antariksha (the air) is covered; it is covered by Vâyu. By it, the covered, the covering, I ward off the danger of which I am in fear. Svâhâ!

'Dyaus (the heaven) is covered; she is covered by Âditya (the sun). By her, &c.

'The quarters (of the horizon) are covered; they are covered by Kāndramas (the moon). By them, &c.

'The waters are covered; they are covered by Varuṇa. By them, &c.

'The creatures are covered; they are covered by Prâṇa (the breath). By them, &c.

'The Vedas are covered; they are covered by the metres. By them, &c.

'All is covered; it is covered by Brahman. By it, &c. Svâhâ!'

11, 1. 'Covered' is *vṛita*; 'I ward off' is the causative of the same verb, *vâraye*.

2. Then, stationing himself towards the north-east, he murmurs the Svasti-Âtreya and, 'Of what we are in fear, Indra' (Rig-veda VIII, 61, 13 seqq.), down to the end of the hymn.

KANDIKÂ 12.

1. When a battle is beginning, (the royal Purohita) should cause the king to put on his armour (in the following way).

2. (The Purohita) stations himself to the west of (the king's) chariot with (the hymn ?), 'I have brought thee hither; be here' (Rig-veda X, 173).

3. With (the verse), 'Like a thunder-cloud is his countenance' (Rig-veda VI, 75, 1), he should tender the coat of mail to him.

4. With the following (verse) the bow.

5. The following (verse) he should cause him to repeat.

6. He should murmur himself the fourth.

7. With the fifth he should tender the quiver to him.

8. When (the king) starts, the sixth.

9. The seventh (he recites) over the horses.

10. The eighth he should cause (the king) to repeat while looking at the arrows;

2. The Svasti-Âtreya is the part of the hymn V, 51, which very frequently contains the word svasti (vv. 11-15). There is a Khila appended to that hymn (Rig-veda, vol. iii, p. 30), which, according to Nârâyana, is also to be murmured on this occasion.

12, 2. According to Nârâyana the Pratîka here signifies not the verse, but the whole hymn, though a whole Pâda is given (comp. Srauta-sûtra I, 1, 17).

11. (The verse), 'Like a serpent it encircles the arm with its windings' (Rig-veda VI, 75, 14), when he ties to his arm the leather (by which the arm is protected against the bow-string).

12. He then mounts up to (the king on his chariot), while he is driving, and causes him to repeat the Abhîvarta hymn (Rig-veda X, 174) and the two verses, 'He who, Mitra and Varuna' (Rig-veda VIII, 101, 3 seq.).

13. He then should look at him with the Apratiratha, Sâsa, and Sauparna hymns.

14. The Sauparna is (the hymn), 'May the streams of honey and ghee flow forwards.'

15. (The king) should drive (in his chariot successively) to all quarters (of the horizon).

16. He should commence the battle in the line of battle invented by Âditya or by Uśanas.

17. He should touch the drum with the three verses, 'Fill earth and heaven with thy roar' (Rig-veda VI, 47, 29 seqq.).

18. With (the verse), 'Shot off fall down' (Rig-veda VI, 75, 16), he should shoot off the arrows.

12. The Abhîvarta hymn begins with the word abhîvartena, and is ascribed to Abhîvarta Âṅgîrasa.

13. The Apratiratha hymn is Rig-veda X, 103 (ascribed to Apratiratha Aindra); the Sâsa, X, 152 (ascribed to Sâsa Bhâradvâga). On the Sauparna, see the next Sûtra.

14. This hymn is not found in any Vedic Samhitâ, as far as I know, nor does it occur in the Suparnâdhyâya. I have followed Prof. Stenzler's conjecture pra dhârâ yantu instead of pradhârayantu, which is confirmed by Sâyana's note on Aitareya Brâhmaṇa VI, 25, 7; VIII, 10, 4 (pp. 365, 399, ed. Aufrecht).

17, 18. According to Nârâyana the subject is the king.

19. 'Where the arrows fly' (l. l. v. 17)—this (verse) he should murmur while they are fighting.

20. Or he should teach (the king the texts mentioned). Or he should teach (the king).

End of the Third Adhyâya.

19. Here the subject is the Purohita.

ADHYÂYA IV, KANDIKÂ 1.

1. If disease befalls one who has set up the (sacred Srauta) fires, he should leave his home (and go away) to the eastern, or northern, or north-eastern direction.

2. 'The sacred fires are fond of the village'—thus it is said.

3. Longing for it, desirous of returning to the village they might restore him to health—thus it is understood (in the Sṛuti).

4. Being restored to health, he should offer a Soma sacrifice, or an animal sacrifice, or an ordinary sacrifice, and take his dwelling (again in the village).

5. Or without such a sacrifice.

6. If he dies, one should have a piece of ground dug up to the south-east or to the south-west—

7. At a place which is inclined towards the south or towards the south-east.

8. According to some (teachers), inclined towards south-west.

9. (The piece of ground dug up should be) of the length of a man with upraised arms,

10. Of the breadth of one Vyâma (fathom),

1, 1. Comp. Srauta-sûtra VI, 9, 1. The funeral rites according to the Grîhya-sûtras have been treated of by Prof. Max Müller, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. ix.

3. I.e. longing for the village. I here differ from Prof. Stenzler's translation, 'Indem sie, um nach dem Dorfe zu kommen, ihm Gutes wünschen.' Prof. Stenzler here follows Nârâyana, who has the following note, grâmam âgantam iṅṅhanto-gnaya enam âhitâgnim âsamante, ayam agado bhaved iti.

4. Comp. Srauta-sûtra VI, 9, 7.

5. Srauta-sûtra VI, 10, 1.

11. Of the depth of one Vitasti (span).
12. The cemetery should be free from all sides.
13. It should be fertile in herbs.
14. But plants with thorns and with milky juice, &c., as stated above.
15. From which the waters flow off to all sides : this is a characteristic required for the cemetery (smaśâna) where the body is to be burned.
16. 'They cut off (from the dead body) the hair, the beard, the hairs of the body, and the nails'—this has been stated above.
17. (They should provide) plenty of sacrificial grass and of butter.
18. They here pour clarified butter into curds.
19. This is the 'sprinkled butter' used for the Fathers (i. e. Manes).

KANDIKÂ 2.

1. (The relations of the dead person) now carry (his sacred) fires and (his) sacrificial vessels in that direction.

12. Nârâyana: By the word smaśâna (cemetery) two different smaśânas are designated here, because below (Sûtra 15) a distinction is added (to the word smaśâna), in the words, 'This is a characteristic required for the smaśâna where the body is to be burned.' Thus the place where the body is burned, and the place where the gathered bones are deposited, both are called smaśâna.

14. See above, II, 7, 5.
15. See the note on Sûtra 12.
16. See the *Srauta-sûtra* VI, 10, 2.
17. Dvigulphaṃ barhir âgyañ ka. Nârâyana explains dvigulpha by prabhûta. Comp. bahulatrina, Kâtâyâna XXV, 7, 15.
18. 'Here' means, at a ceremony directed to the Manes. Nârâyana.

- 2, 1. In the direction stated above, chap. 1, 6.

2. After them aged persons forming an odd number, men and women not going together, (carry) the dead body.

3. Some (say) that (the dead body should be carried) in a cart with a seat, drawn by cows.

4. (Some prescribe) a she-animal for covering (the dead body with its limbs):

5. A cow,

6. Or a she-goat of one colour.

7. Some (take) a black one.

8. They tie (a rope) to its left fore-foot and lead it behind (the dead body).

9. Then follow the relations (of the dead person), wearing their sacrificial cords below (round their body), with the hair-locks untied, the older ones first, the younger ones last.

10. When they have thus arrived at the place, the performer (of the rites) walks three times round the spot with his left side turned towards it, and with a Sami branch sprinkles water on it, with (the verse), 'Go away, withdraw, and depart from here' (Rig-veda X, 14, 9).

11. To the south-east, on an elevated corner (of that place), he places the Âhavanîya fire,

12. To the north-west the Gârhapatyâ fire,

13. To the south-west the Dakshinâ fire.

14. After that a person that knows (how to do it), piles up between the fires a pile of fuel.

4. See chap. 3, 20-25.

10. Kartodakena (i. e. kartâ udakena) is evidently the right reading, not gartodakena.

12, 13. The words, 'on an elevated corner' (Sûtra 11) have to be supplied.

14. As to the pronoun enam, which refers, with an irregular

15. After sacrificial grass and a black antelope's skin with the hair outside has been spread out there, they place the dead body thereon, which they have carried so as to pass by the Gârhapatya fire on its north-side, turning its head towards the Âhavanīya.

16. To the north (of the body they place) the wife (of the deceased),

17. And a bow for a Kshatriya.

18. Her brother-in-law, being a representative of her husband, or a pupil (of her husband), or an aged servant, should cause her to rise (from that place) with (the verse), 'Arise, O wife, to the world of life' (Rig-veda X, 18, 8).

19. The performer (of the rites) should murmur (that verse), if a Sûdra (makes her rise from the pile).

20. With (the verse), 'Taking the bow out of the hand of the deceased' (Rig-veda X, 18, 9), (he takes away) the bow.

21. It has been stated (what is to be done) in case a Sûdra (should perform this act).

22. Having bent the bow, he should, before the piling up (of the things mentioned below, which are put on the dead body) is done, break it to pieces, and throw it (on the pile).

construction, to the dead person, comp. Satapatha Brâhmana XII, 5, 2, 7.

16. The wife is made to lie down on the pile.

18. Possibly the words *devaraḥ* and *patisthânīyaḥ* refer to two different persons, so that we should have to translate, 'Her brother-in-law, (or some other) representative of her husband, &c.'

19. This refers to the case of the aged servant. The word for which we have put *Sûdra* here and in *Sûtra* 21, is *vr̥ishala*.

22. See *Sûtra* 19.

KANDIKÂ 3.

1. He should then put the following (sacrificial) implements (on the dead body).

2. Into the right hand the (spoon called) *Guhû*.

3. Into the left the (other spoon called) *Upabhrit*.

4. On his right side the (wooden sacrificial sword called) *Sphya*, on his left (side) the *Agnihotrahavanti* (i. e. the ladle with which the Agnihotra oblations are sacrificed).

5. On his chest the (big sacrificial ladle called) *Dhruvâ*. On his head the dishes. On his teeth the pressing-stones.

6. On the two sides of his nose the two (smaller sacrificial ladles called) *Sruvas*.

7. Or, if there is only one (*Sruva*), breaking it (in two pieces).

8. On his two ears the two *Prâsitraharanas* (i. e. the vessels into which the portion of the sacrificial food belonging to the Brahman is put).

9. Or, if there is only one (*Prâsitraharana*), breaking it (in two pieces).

10. On his belly the (vessel called) *Pâttri*,

11. And the cup into which the cut-off portions (of the sacrificial food) are put.

12. On his secret parts the (staff called) *Samyâ*.

13. On his thighs the two kindling woods.

3, 1. On the different implements mentioned in the following Sûtras, comp. Prof. Max Müller's paper in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. ix, pp. vii seqq.; lxxviii seqq.

8. On the *Prâsitra* and the *Prâsitraharanas*, comp. Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, pp. 119 (with note 6), 120, 131.

14. On his legs the mortar and the pestle.
15. On his feet the two baskets.
16. Or, if there is only one (basket), tearing it (in two pieces).
17. Those (of the implements) which have a hollow (into which liquids can be poured), are filled with sprinkled butter.
18. The son (of the deceased person) should take the under and the upper mill-stone for himself.
19. And the implements made of copper, iron, and earthenware.
20. Taking out the omentum of the she-animal he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the dead person) with the verse, 'Put on the armour (which will protect thee) against Agni, by (that which comes from) the cows' (Rig-veda X, 16, 7).
21. Taking out the kidneys (of the animal) he should lay them into the hands (of the dead body) with the verse, 'Escape the two hounds, the sons of Saramâ' (Rig-veda X, 14, 10), the right (kidney) into the right (hand), the left into the left.
22. The heart (of the animal he puts) on the heart (of the deceased).
23. And two lumps (of flour or rice), according to some (teachers).

17. Nârâyana explains âsekanavanti by bilavanti. On *prîshadâgya* ('sprinkled butter') comp. the two last Sûtras of the first chapter.

19. The statement in *Satapatha Brâhmana* XII, 5, 2, 14 is somewhat different.

20. *Anustaranyâ vapâm*. See chap. 2, 4.

23. Nârâyana states that these lumps are not put, as one would be inclined to believe, on the heart, but into the hands of the deceased. Sûtra 24 shows that this interpretation is correct.

24. (Only) if there are no kidneys, according to some (teachers).

25. Having distributed the whole (animal), limb by limb (placing its different limbs on the corresponding limbs of the deceased), and having covered it with its hide, he recites, when the *Pravîta* water is carried forward, (the verse), 'Agni, do not overturn this cup' (Rig-veda X, 16, 8).

26. Bending his left knee he should sacrifice Âgya oblations into the *Dakshina* fire with (the formulas), 'To Agni svâhâ! To Kâma svâhâ! To the world svâhâ! To Anumati svâhâ!'

27. A fifth (oblation) on the chest of the deceased with (the formula), 'From this one verily thou hast been born. May he now be born out of thee, N. N.! To the heaven-world svâhâ!'

KANDIKÂ 4.

1. He gives order, 'Light the fires together.'

2. If the Âhavaniya fire reaches (the body) first, he should know, 'It has reached him in the heaven-world. He will live there in prosperity, and so will this one, i. e. his son, in this world.'

3. If the Gârhapatya fire reaches (the body) first, he should know, 'It has reached him in the air-world. He will live there in prosperity, and so will this one, i. e. his son, in this world.'

24. I. e. if there is no *Anustaranî* animal, which is considered as optional (see chap. 2, 4).

25. Comp. Kâtyâyana XXV, 7, 35.

27. He who is born out of the deceased, is Agni. See *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* II, 3, 3, 5; and also XII, 5, 2, 15.

4, 2. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* XII, 5, 2, 10.

3. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* I. I. § 9.

4. If the Dakshina fire reaches (the body) first, he should know, 'It has reached him in the world of men. He will live there in prosperity, and so will this one, i. e. his son, in this world.'

5. If (the three fires) reach (the body) in the same moment, they say that this signifies the highest luck.

6. While (the body) is burning, he recites over it the same texts, 'Go on, go on, on the ancient paths' (Rig-veda X, 14, 7).

7. Being burnt by a person who knows this, he goes to the heaven-world together with the smoke (of the funeral pile)—thus it is understood (in the Sruti).

8. To the north-east of the Âhavaniya fire he should have a knee-deep pit dug and should have an Avakâ, i. e. (the water-plant called) Śīpāla put down into it. From that (pit) he (i. e. the deceased) goes out and together with the smoke he goes up to the heaven-world—thus it is understood (in the Sruti).

9. After he has recited (the verse), 'These living ones have separated from the dead' (Rig-veda X, 18, 3), they turn round from right to left and go away without looking back.

10. When they have come to a place where standing water is, having once (plunged into it and) emerged

4. Satapatha Brâhmana I. I. § 11.

5. Satapatha Brâhmana I. I. § 12.

6. 'The same texts' means that the texts indicated in the Srauta-sûtra VI, 10, 19 (twenty-four verses taken from the hymns X, 14, 16, 17, 18, 154) have to be recited.

8. Comp. above, II, 8, 14.

10. 'All the Samânodaka relations (see Manu V, 60), men and women, should pour out one handful of water each. Pronouncing

from it, they pour out one handful (of water), pronounce the Gotra name and the proper name (of the deceased), go out (of the water), put on other garments, wring out (the old garments) once, lay them away with their skirts to the north, and sit down until the stars appear.

11. Or they may enter (their houses), when still (a part) of the sun-disk is seen,

12. The younger ones first, the older ones last.

13. When they have come to the houses, they touch a stone, the fire, cow's dung, fried barley, sesamum seeds, and water.

14. Let them not cook food during that night.

15. Let them subsist on bought or ready-made food.

16. Let them eat no saline food for three nights.

17. Let them optionally for twelve nights avoid the distribution of gifts and the study (of Vedic texts), if one of the chief Gurus (has died).

18. Ten days after (the death of) *Sapindas*,

the Gotra name and the proper name of the deceased, saying, for instance, "Devadatta, belonging to the Gotra of the Kâryapas, this water is for thee!"—they sprinkle it out, with southward-turned faces.' *Nârâyana*.

12. Possibly *praviseyuḥ* (they should enter) belongs to this Sûtra. In Prof. Stenzler's edition and in the commentary of *Nârâyana* it is taken as belonging to Sûtra 11.

15. *Vasishṭha* IV, 15. *Nârâyana* here observes, 'Some authorities omit this Sûtra.'

17. 'Father and mother and the teacher who, after having performed the Upanayana for him, has taught him the whole Veda, are the chief Gurus. When these have died, they should avoid giving gifts and studying the Veda either for twelve nights, or for ten nights, this rule standing in correlation with the following one.' *Nârâyana*.

18. The *Sapinda* relationship is generally defined as the relationship within six degrees, though the statements in the different

19. And of a Guru who is no *Sapinda*,
20. And of unmarried female relations.
21. Three nights after (the death of) other teachers,
22. And of a relation who is no *Sapinda*,
23. And of married female relations,
24. Of a child that has no teeth,
25. And of a dead-born child.
26. One day, after (the death of) a fellow-pupil,
27. And of a Srotriya of the same village.

KANDIKÂ 5.

1. The gathering (of the bones is performed) after the tenth (Tithi from the death), (on a Tithi) with an odd number, of the dark fortnight, under a single Nakshatra.

2. A man into a male urn without special marks, a woman into a female one without special marks.

3. Aged persons of an odd number, not men and women together (gather the bones).

4. The performer of the ceremony walks three times round the spot with his left side turned towards

texts do not exactly agree. See Âpastamba II, 15, 2 ; Manu V, 60 ; Gautama XIV, 13 (with Prof. Bühler's note, Sacred Books, vol. ii, p. 247, &c.).

21. Comp. Sûtras 17, 19.

5, 1. Nârâyana (comp. the Âsvalâyana-Gr̥hya-Parisishṭa III, 7) understands this Sûtra in a different way. 'After the tenth Tithi of the dark fortnight, on a Tithi with an odd number, i. e. on the eleventh, thirteenth, or fifteenth.' The single Nakshatras are those the name of which does not denote two Nakshatras (as, for instance, the two *Ashâdhâs*). Comp. Kâty.-Sraut. XXV, 8, 1 ; Manu V, 59.

2. Urns, with or without protuberances like female breasts, are considered as female or male accordingly.

3. See chap. 2, 2.

4. Comp. chap. 2, 10.

it, and sprinkles on it with a Samî branch milk mixed with water, with the verse, 'O cool one, O thou that art full of coolness' (Rig-veda X, 16, 14).

5. With the thumb and the fourth finger they should put each single bone (into the urn) without making a noise,

6. The feet first, the head last.

7. Having well gathered them and purified them with a winnowing basket, they should put (the urn) into a pit, at a place where the waters from the different sides do not flow together, except rain water, with (the verse), 'Go to thy mother Earth there' (Rig-veda X, 18, 10).

8. With the following (verse) he should throw earth (into the pit).

9. After he has done so, (he should repeat) the following (verse).

10. Having covered (the urn) with a lid with (the verse), 'I fasten to thee' (Rig-veda X, 18, 13), they then should go away without looking back, should bathe in water, and perform a *Srâddha* for the deceased.

KANDIKÂ 6.

1. They who have lost a Guru by death, or are afflicted by other misfortune, should perform on the new-moon day an expiatory ceremony.

2. Before sunrise they should carry their fire

7. Nârâyana explains pavana by sûrpa. He says that the 'performer' (*kartri*) repeats this and the following texts.

10. 'They should give a *Srâddha* to the deceased exclusively, according to the *Ekoddishṭa* rite.' Nârâyana.

6, 2. According to Nârâyana the fire means here not the sacred domestic fire, but a common kitchen fire. I doubt whether the

together with its ashes and with its receptacle to the south with the half-verse, 'I send far away the flesh-devouring Agni' (Rig-veda X, 16, 9).

3. Having thrown that (fire) down at a place where four roads meet or somewhere else, they walk round it three times, turning their left sides towards it, beating their left thighs with their left hands.

4. They then should return home without looking back, bathe in water, have their hair, their beards the hair of their bodies, and their nails cut, and furnish themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, wreathed with garlands of Sami flowers, with fuel of Sami wood, with two pieces of Sami wood for kindling fire, and with branches to be laid round the fire, with bull's dung and a bull's hide, fresh butter, a stone, and as many bunches of Kusa grass as there are young women (in the house).

5. At the time of the Agni(-hotra) he should kindle fire with the hemistich, 'Here may this other Gâtavedas' (Rig-veda X, 16, 9).

commentator is right. The ceremonies described in the following Sûtras seem to point rather to a renewal of the sacred *Grihya* fire, the old one having proved unlucky to the sacrificer. In the same way, in the *Srauta* ritual, a sacrificer who, after having performed the *Âdhâna*, has bad luck, performs the *Punarâdheya*.

3. Comp. *Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra* V, 10, 15.

5. The text has *agnivelâyâm*, which *Nârâyana* explains by *agnihotraviharanakâle aparâhne*. He states that the fire should be produced by attrition of two new kindling woods (*arazi*), mentioned in Sûtra 4. The fire thus kindled is to be used, he says, as a kitchen-fire. Herein he seems to me to have misunderstood the meaning of the ceremony; see the note on Sûtra 2. The hemistich quoted in this Sûtra (which is the second half of the same verse of which the first half is prescribed in Sûtra 2) clearly points to the sacred quality of the fire in question; it runs thus, 'Here may this other Gâtavedas carry the offerings to the gods, the knowing one.'

6. Keeping that (fire) burning, they sit till the silence of the night, repeating the tales of the aged, and getting stories of auspicious contents, Itihâsas and Purâṇas, told to them.

7. When all sounds have ceased, or when (the others) have gone to the house or the resting-place, (the performer of the ceremony) should pour out an uninterrupted stream of water, beginning at the south side of the door, with (the verse), 'Spinning the thread follow the light of the aerial space' (Rig-veda X, 53, 6), (going round the house), ending at the north side of the door.

8. Having then given its place to the fire, and having spread to the west of it a bull's hide with the neck to the east, with the hair outside, he should cause the people belonging to the house to step on that (hide) with (the verse), 'Arise to long life, choosing old age' (Rig-veda X, 18, 6).

9. With (the verse), 'This I lay round the living' (Rig-veda X, 18, 4), he should lay branches round (the fire).

10. After having with (the words), 'A mountain (i. e. a stone) they shall place between themselves and death,' placed a stone to the north of the fire, and having sacrificed with the four (verses), 'Go hence, O death, on another way' (Rig-veda X, 18,

7. The person who pours out the water is, as Nârâyana says, the *kartr̥i*, i. e. the performer of the whole ceremony. The word cannot be translated, as Prof. Stenzler does, *der Bestatter*, no funeral ceremonies being here treated of.

8. See above, I, 8, 9. Here Nârâyana sees that the fire is the sacred one. He says, *athasabdo'smin kâle.gnyantaram aupâsanam upasamâdadhyâd iti gñâpanârtham*.

10. The words, 'A mountain,' &c., stand at the end of the verse quoted in Sûtra 9.

1-4), verse by verse, he should look at his people with (the verse), 'As the days follow each other' (ibid. 5).

11. The young women (belonging to the house) should, with each hand separately, with their thumbs and fourth fingers, with young Darbha blades, salve their eyes with fresh butter, and throw (the Darbha blades) away, turning their faces away.

12. (The performer of the ceremony) should look at them, while they are salving themselves, with (the verse), 'These women, being no widows, having noble husbands' (Rig-veda X, 18, 7).

13. With (the verse), 'Carrying stones, (the river) streams forward; take hold of each other' (Rig-veda X, 53, 8)—the performer (of the ceremony) first should touch the stone.

14. After that, stationing himself to the north-east, while (the others) go round with the fire, with bull's dung, and with an uninterrupted stream of water, repeating the three verses, 'O waters, ye are wholesome' (Rig-veda X, 9, 1 seqq.), he should murmur the verse, 'These have led round the cow' (Rig-veda X, 155, 5).

15. A tawny-coloured bull should he lead round—thus they say.

16. They then sit down at a place where they intend to tarry, having put on garments that have not yet been washed.

17. (There) they sit, avoiding to sleep, till sunrise.

18. After sunrise, having murmured the hymns sacred to the sun and the auspicious hymns, having

18. See above, II, 3, 13.

prepared food, having made oblations with (the hymn), 'May he drive evil away from us with his shine' (Rig-veda I, 97), verse by verse, having given to the Brāhmaṇas to eat, he should cause (them) to pronounce auspicious words.

19. A cow, a cup of metal, and a garment that has not yet been washed, constitute the sacrificial fee.

KANDIKĀ 7.

1. Now at a Srāddha ceremony, at that which is celebrated on the Parvan day, or for the attainment of special wishes, or at the Ābhyudayika Srāddha (i. e. the Srāddha celebrated when some good luck has happened), or at the Ekoddishṭa Srāddha (the Srāddha directed to a single dead person)—

2. He causes Brāhmaṇas who are endowed with learning, moral character, and correct conduct, or with one of these (characteristics), who have been invited in time, who have taken a bath, washed their feet, and sipped water, to sit down, as representatives of the Fathers, with their faces turned to the north, one for each one of the Fathers, or two for each, or three for each.

3. The larger their number is, the greater is the reward (which the sacrificer is entitled to expect).

4. But in no case one (Brāhmaṇa) for all (the fathers).

7, 1. Comp. on the Srāddha ceremonies in general the note on Sāṅkhāyana-Grīhya IV, 1, 1, and the quotations given there. The Pārvaṇa Srāddha, which is celebrated on the new-moon day, is treated of by Sāṅkhāyana IV, 1, the Ābhyudayika Srāddha, IV, 4, the Ekoddishṭa Srāddha, IV, 2.

5. Optionally (he may invite only one Brâhmana) except at the first (Sṛâddha).

6. By (the exposition of) the *Pinda* sacrifice (the corresponding rules) have been declared (for the Sṛâddha ceremonies also).

7. Having given water (to the Brâhmanas),

8. Having given to them double-folded Darbha blades, and a seat,

9. Having (again) given water (to them),

10. Having poured water into three vessels of metal, of stone, and of earthen-ware, or (into three vessels) made of the same substance, over which he has put Darbha grass,

11. And having recited over (that water the verse), 'For luck and help the divine waters' (Rig-veda X, 9, 4), he pours sesamum seeds into it with (the formula), 'Sesamum art thou; Soma is thy deity; at the Gosava sacrifice thou hast been created by

5. Anâdye. Of the different interpretations of this word which Nârâyana gives, it may suffice here to quote two. The first Sṛâddha may either mean the Pârvana Sṛâddha, because this stands first among the different kinds of Sṛâddha ceremonies enumerated in Sûtra 1; or it may mean the Sapindâkaraṇa (see Sâṅkhâya IV, 3), for this is the first occasion on which a dead person receives Sṛâddha oblations together with two others of the Fathers.

6. The sacrifice to the Manes, as forming part of the Srauta ritual, is explained in the Srauta-sûtra II, 6 seq.

8. Yâgñavalkya I, 229.

9. Yâgñavalkya I, 230. The reading of several words of the Mantra is doubtful, and the parallel texts, as Prof. Stenzler has not failed to observe, differ; especially the words *pratnavadbhiḥ prattaḥ* seem to me to be corrupt. The word *pratnavat* is only known to the Petersburg Dictionary as having the meaning, 'containing the word *pratna*,' which will not do here. Thus, I think that the reading *pratnam adbhiḥ priktâḥ* should be adopted; the translation would be, 'Anciently thou hast been mixed with water.'

the gods. By the ancients thou hast been offered. Through the funeral oblation render the Fathers and these worlds propitious to us. Svadhâ! Adoration!'

12. (The different rites are performed) from the right to the left.

13. With (the part) of the other (i. e. left) hand between the thumb (and the fore-finger), because he wears the sacrificial cord over his left shoulder, or with the right hand which he seizes with the left (he offers the Arghya water to the Fathers with the words), 'Father, this is thy Arghya. Grandfather, this is thy Arghya. Great-grandfather, this is thy Arghya'—having first offered (ordinary) water (to the Fathers).

14. When he is going to hand over that (Arghya water to the Brâhmanas who represent the Fathers, he says once each time), 'Svadhâ! The Arghya water!'

15. Over (the Arghya water) which has been

12. Comp. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya IV, 4, 6.

13. The part of the hand above the thumb is called the 'Tîrtha belonging to the Manes;' see, for instance, Baudhâyaṇa's Dharma-sûtra I, 8, 16. The sacrificer is here understood to wear his sacrificial cord suspended over the left shoulder (he is 'yâgñopavîtin'). But as the oblation here treated of is directed to the Manes, it is required that he should be prâkînâvîtin. Now he is considered as prâkînâvîtin, according to Nârâyana, not only if the cord is suspended over his right shoulder (which is the ordinary meaning of prâkînâvîtin), but also if the hand with which he performs the rites, and the shoulder over which he wears the sacred cord, are either both right or both left. Thus here, acting with the left-hand and wearing the cord over the left shoulder, he becomes prâkînâvîtin.

The last word (appûrvam) is separated by Nârâyana from the rest, so that it forms a separate Sûtra.

15. The sacrificer gives the water to the Brâhmanas, and these

poured out, he should recite the verse, 'The celestial waters which have been produced on the earth, the aerial waters and the waters which are terrestrial, the gold-coloured ones, apt for sacrifice, may these waters bring us luck and be kind to us.' Pouring together what has been left (in the three Arghya vessels) he moistens his face with that water, if he desires that a son should be born to him.

16. 'He should not take up the first vessel, into which the Arghya water for the Fathers has been poured. Hidden the Fathers dwell therein: thus Saunaka has said.'

17. In that moment the gifts of perfumes, garlands, incense, lights, and clothes are offered (to the Brâhmanas).

18. Having taken some food (of the Sthâlpâka prepared for the Pindapitriyagña), and having besmeared it with ghee, he asks (the Brâhmanas) for their permission by saying, 'I shall offer it in the fire,' or, 'I will sacrifice my offering in the fire,' or, 'I will offer it in the fire.'

19. The permission (is given in the words), 'It may be offered,' or, 'Sacrifice thy offering,' or, 'Offer it.'

20. He then sacrifices in the fire as stated above,

pour it out. Instead of *prithivî sambabhûvuḥ* (*prithivî* being intended as a locative; see Lanman, Noun-inflection in the Veda, p. 389) we should read, no doubt, as the parallel texts have, *payasâ sambabhûvuḥ*: 'The celestial waters which have united themselves with milk.'

16. This is a Sloka.

17. Manu III, 209; Yâgñavalkya I, 231.

20. The oblations alluded to in this Sûtra are prescribed in the Srauta-sûtra, II, 6, 12. They are directed to Soma *pitrinat* and to Agni *kavyavâhana*.

21. Or, if they give their permission, in the hands (of the Brâhmanas).

22. 'The mouth of the gods verily is the fire, the mouth of the Fathers is the hand'—thus says the Brâhmana.

23. If in the hands, he assigns to them other food, after they have sipped water.

24. The food (is put together) with the food.

25. It is said, 'What is given away and offered, that brings prosperity.'

26. When he sees that they are satiated, he should recite (the verses) containing the word madhu, and (the verse), 'They have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves' (Rig-veda I, 82, 2).

27. Having asked them, 'Relished?' and having taken the food, whatever food he has used, together with the Sthâlpâka, in order to make lumps thereof, he should offer the rest (to the Brâhmanas).

28. After they have either accepted (that rest of food), or left it (to him), and have finished eating, he should, before they have sipped water, put down the lumps for the Fathers.

21. According to Manu (III, 212) this is done only in case there is no fire. Possibly abhyanugñâyâm belongs to Sûtra 20, so that we should have to translate, 'He then sacrifices . . . if they give their permission. Or in the hands.'

24. 'The food which is left from the oblations he puts with the food (Sûtra 23) which is to be eaten by the Brâhmanas, and has been put into the vessels.' Nârâyana.

25. Is *srîshâm* to be understood in the sense of *visrîshâm*? Nârâyana explains it by *prabhûtam*.

26. The verses containing the word madhu are Rig-veda I, 90, 6-8.

27. On the question, 'Relished?' compare Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya IV, 2, 5. For several kinds of Śrâddha ceremonies a Sthâlpâka is prescribed, for others it is not; for the Śrâddhas of the last kind the words 'Together with the Sthâlpâka' are not valid.

29. After they have sipped water, according to some (teachers).

30. Having strewn the food on the ground and suspended the sacrificial cord over his left shoulder, he should dismiss the Brâhmaṇas, (saying to them), 'Say Om! Svadhâ!'

31. Or, 'So be it! Svadhâ!'

KANDIKÂ 8.

1. Now the spit-ox (sacrificed to Rudra).

2. In autumn or in spring, under the (Nakshatra) Ârdra.

3. The best of his herd,

4. (An ox) which is neither leprous nor speckled;

5. One with black spots, according to some ;

6. If he likes, a black one, if its colour inclines to copper-colour.

7. He sprinkles it with water, into which he has thrown rice and barley,

8. From head to tail,

9. With (the formula), 'Grow up, agreeable to Rudra the great god.'

10. He should let it grow up. When it has cut its teeth, or when it has become a bull—

11. To a quarter (of the horizon) which is sacrificially pure,

12. At a place which cannot be seen from the village,

30. They reply, 'Om ! Svadhâ !'

8, 1. According to Nârâyana, the 'spit-ox' sacrifice is so called because it is offered to Rudra the spit-wearer.

5. Kalmâsho nâma kṛishṇabinduḷitaḥ. Nârâyana.

10. This Sûtra should rather be divided into two.

11. I. e. to the east or the north.

13. After midnight,
14. According to some, after sunrise.
15. Having caused a Brahman who is versed in learning and knows the practice (of this sacrifice), to sit down, having driven a fresh branch with leaves into the ground as a sacrificial post, (having taken) two creeping plants or two Kusa ropes as two girdles, and having wound the one round the sacrificial post, and tied the other round the middle of the animal's head, he binds it to the sacrificial post or to the girdle (which he had tied to that post) with (the formula), 'Agreeable to him to whom adoration (is brought), I bind thee.'
16. The sprinkling with water and what follows is the same as at the animal sacrifice.
17. We shall state what is different.
18. Let him sacrifice the omentum with the Pâtri or with a leaf—thus it is understood (in the Sruti)—
19. With (the formulas), 'To Hara, *Mrida*, *Sarva*, *Siva*, *Bhava*, *Mahâdeva*, *Ugra*, *Bhîma*, *Pasupati*, *Rudra*, *Saṅkara*, *Îsâna svâhâ*!'
20. Or with the last six (parts of that formula),
21. Or with (the formula), 'To Rudra svâhâ!'
22. Let him make Bali offerings towards the four quarters (of the horizon), to each on four rings of Kusa net-work, with (the formulas), 'The hosts, Rudra, which thou hast towards the eastern direction,

15. Round the middle of the head means, between the two horns. *Nârâyana*.

16. See above, I, 11.

22. This Bali offering is performed, according to *Nârâyana*, before the *Svish/akrîṭ* oblation of the chief sacrifice. On *kusasûna* the commentator has the note, 'Darbhastambais *trîṇais ka kalpavad* (or rather, as Prof. Stenzler writes, *ka/akavad*) *grathitvâ sarveshâm agram grîhitvâ, ekîkrîtya grathitâḥ kusasûnâ ukṣyante*.'

to them this (offering is brought). Adoration to thee! Do no harm to me!' In this way the assigning (of the offerings is performed) according to the different quarters (of the horizon).

23. With the following four hymns he should worship the four quarters, viz. 'What shall we to Rudra,' 'These prayers to Rudra,' 'To thee, O father,' 'These songs to Rudra with the strong bow' (Rig-veda I, 43, 114; II, 33; VII, 46).

24. (This) worship to the quarters (of the horizon) (is performed) at all sacrifices to Rudra.

25. The husks and chaff (of the rice), the tail, the skin, the head, the feet (of the sacrificial animal) he should throw into the fire.

26. He should turn the skin to some use, according to *Sāmvatya*.

27. To the north of the fire, on rows of Darbha grass, or on rings of Kusa net-work, he should pour out the blood (of the sacrificial animal) with (the formula), 'Hissing ones! Noisy ones! Searching ones! Seizing ones! Serpents! What here belongs to you, take that.'

28. Then, turning to the north, (he assigns it) to the serpents (in the words), 'Hissing ones! Noisy ones! Searching ones! Seizing ones! Serpents! What here belongs to you, take that.'

Then the serpents take whatever has flowed down there of blood or of the contents of stomach and entrails.

29. All names, all hosts, all exaltations belong

26. Perhaps *Sāmvatya* is a mis-spelling of the name of the well-known *Grīhya* teacher *Sāmbavya*.

27. *Darbhavâtâ* is explained in the commentary by *darbharâgi*.

to him ;—to a sacrificer who knows that, he gives joy.

30. Even to a man who only with words sets forth (some part) of that (ceremony), he will do no harm ; thus it is understood (in the *Sruti*).

31. He should not partake of that (sacrifice).

32. They should not take anything belonging to it into the village. For this god will do harm to (human) creatures.

33. He should keep away his people from the vicinity (of the place where he has sacrificed).

34. On an express injunction, however, he should partake (of that sacrificial food), for it will bring luck.

35. This spit-ox sacrifice procures wealth, (open) space, purity, sons, cattle, long life, splendour.

36. After he has sacrificed, he should let loose another (animal).

37. He should not be without such an animal.

38. Then he will not be without cattle—thus it is understood (in the *Sruti*).

39. Muttering the *Santâtiya* hymn, he should go to his house.

40. If disease befalls his cattle, he should sacrifice to that same god in the midst of his cow-stable—

41. A mess of cooked food, which he sacrifices in its entirety.

32. Instead of *abhimâruka* we ought to read *abhimânuka*. See *Aitareya Brâhmana* III, 34, and the *Petersburg Dictionary* s. v. *abhimânuka*.

36. He should destine another young animal in the way stated above (*Sûtras* 7 seqq.) to a new *Sûlagava* sacrifice.

39. *Rig-veda* VII, 35. Comp. above, II, 8, 11.

42. Having thrown the sacrificial grass and the Âgya into the fire, he should lead his cows through the smoke.

43. Murmuring the Santâttya hymn, he should go in the midst of his cattle.

44. Adoration to Saunaka! Adoration to Saunaka!

End of the Fourth Adhyâya.

End of the Âsvalâyana-Grihya-sûtra.

PÂRASKARA-GRHYA-
SÛTRA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PÂRASKARA-GR̥HYA-SŪTRA.

THE *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of Pâraskara, which belongs to the White Yagur-veda and forms an appendix to Kâtyâyana's *Srauta-sūtra*, has been edited, with a German translation, by the scholar who was the first to make a *Gr̥hya* text accessible to Orientalists and to begin to grapple with the first and most serious difficulties that beset its interpretation, and who has continued since to do more than any one else towards elucidating that important branch of Vedic literature. It would be very unbecoming in any one engaged in the study of *Gr̥hya* texts, not to acknowledge most warmly the debt of gratitude which he owes to Professor Stenzler. At the same time the respect due to the veteran editor and interpreter of *Āsvalâyana* and Pâraskara not only allows, but requires that one who proposes to himself the same task at which Prof. Stenzler has worked with so much learning, should state as clearly as possible what that distinguished scholar has left for others to do, and why one who prepares an English translation of Pâraskara has a very different task from merely translating into English the German translation of Prof. Stenzler.

If I may venture to express in one word the difference between Prof. Stenzler's method, as I understand it, for getting at the meaning of a doubtful or obscure passage, and the method which I have endeavoured to follow, I should say that with Prof. Stenzler the first step and,

I believe, in many cases also the last step is to ask how *Gayarâma* and *Râmakrishna* understand the passage in question, while I hold that we ought rather to make ourselves independent from those commentators in the sense in which Prof. Max Müller once expressed himself¹, 'not that I ever despise the traditional interpretation which the commentators have preserved to us, but because I think that, after having examined it, we have a right to judge for ourselves.' There exists a commentary on the *Pâraskara-Grîhya* which far surpasses in trustworthiness *Gayarâma's* *Sagganavallabha* and *Râmakrishna's* *Samskâraganapati*, and which is not composed by an author who, as says Goethe,

— im Auslegen ist munter;
Legt er nicht aus, so legt er unter.

But the leaves of that commentary are scattered through a good many volumes. Here we find a few lines of it in the *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* or in *Kâtyâyana's* *Srauta-sûtra*; there *Sânkhâyana* or *Âsvalâyana* has preserved a word or a sentence that belongs to it; or the law-books of *Manu* or *Yâgyavalkya* help us to understand a difficult or doubtful aphorism of our text. In one word: the only true commentary on a work like *Pâraskara's* *Grîhya* is that which the ancient literature itself furnishes. No one will say that in Prof. Stenzler's translation and notes this commentary has not been consulted. But it has been consulted perhaps not quite as much as it ought to have been, and *Râmakrishna* and *Gayarâma* have been consulted too much. They have been consulted and followed in many instances, where a continued consideration of what can be the meaning of a word and what can not, and of what the parallel texts say with regard to the subject in question, would have shown that those commentators, instead of interpreting *Pâraskara's* meaning, father on him vague opinions of their own.

Perhaps it will not be out of place here to point our

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xv, p. 2, note 2.

criticism, lest it should be deemed unjust, by a few remarks on a single passage of Pâraskara in which the difference of Prof. Stenzler's way of translating and of our own becomes manifest. Of the numerous passages which could be selected for this purpose, I choose Sûtra I, 2, 5, belonging to the description of the setting up of the sacred domestic fire. The text of that Sûtra runs thus :

5. *aranipradânam eke.*

Prof. Stenzler translates as follows :

‘Einige sagen, es müsse durch Reibhölzer erzeugtes Feuer sein.’

The two Sûtras which precede give a description of that ceremony from which evidently the opinion of the ‘eke’ mentioned in this Sûtra differs, or to which they find it necessary to add something. Those Sûtras run thus :

3. After he has fetched fire from the house of a Vaisya who is rich in cattle—

4. All ceremonies are performed as at the cooking of the *kâtushprâsya* food¹.

It seems evident that the Âkâryas to whom the opinion spoken of in Sûtra 5 belongs, add, or perhaps substitute, to the fetching of the fire which is to be worshipped as the sacrificer's domestic fire, from a rich Vaisya's house, another rite in which an *arani*, i. e. a stick for kindling the fire by attrition, is made use of in some way or other.

Now if this may be accepted as a vague expression of the general purport of the Sûtra, what is the literal meaning of the words? ‘Some (teachers),’ it says, ‘(prescribe) the *pradâna* of the kindling stick (or, of the kindling sticks).’

What does *pradâna* mean? Gayarâma says,

‘*prasabda upasabdârthe. aranyupâdânakam eka âkâryâ iḥkḥanti.*’

¹ The food which is eaten by the four chief officiating priests of the *Srauta* ritual. For these priests a mess of food is prepared at the ceremony of the *âdhâna* of the *Srauta* fires.

That is: 'The word *pra* stands in the sense of the word *upa*. Some teachers desire that it (i.e. the fire) should have the kindling sticks as its physical basis¹.'

Thus, if Gayarâma is right, Prof. Stenzler's translation would be justified. But can we acquiesce indeed in simply accepting the commentator's opinion? *Pradâna* is *pradâna* and not *upâdâna*, as *pradadâti* is not *upâdatte*. *Pradadâti* means 'he hands over,' and *pradâna* 'the handing over.' This is an established fact, and an interpreter of a Vedic text should not allow himself to be induced by a statement like that of Gayarâma about the preposition *pra* standing in the sense of *upa*, to abate one iota of it. Thus we are obliged, until passages have been discovered which modify our knowledge of what *pradâna* means—but such passages most certainly will never be discovered—to translate:

5. Some (teachers say that) the handing over of the kindling sticks (takes place).

We should give that translation even if we were not able to find an explanation for it. It appears that Prof. Stenzler, as far as we can judge from his note, has not even thought of the possibility of disregarding the authority of Gayarâma and Râmakrîshna, or of looking through the parallel texts to see whether they do not throw light on what that 'handing over of the kindling sticks' signifies. The text to be consulted first is of course Kâtyâyana's *Srauta-sûtra*. As the *Srauta* ritual contains a description of an *âdhâna* which is in some way the prototype of the corresponding *Grîhya* ceremony, we may possibly expect to discover, in the course of that description, the statements regarding the *arani-pradâna* for which we are searching. Now Kâtyâyana², having described the setting up of the fire in the *gârhapatyâgâra*, states that at sunset the sacrificer and his

¹ Râmakrîshna also, according to Prof. Stenzler's note, explains *pradâna* by *upâdâna*, *kârana*, *utpattisthâna*.

² IV, 7, 15 seqq. The corresponding passage of the *Paddhati* is found at p. 35⁸ of Prof. Weber's edition.

wife sit down to the west of the fire which has just been established, and then the Adhvaryu hands over to them the two kindling sticks¹. The Paddhati, in describing that act, goes into further details. The Adhvaryu hands over to the sacrificer the two *Araṇis*, which, as required by custom, are wrapped up in new clothes. The wife takes the *adharâraṇi* from his hand and puts it on her lap; the sacrificer puts the *uttarâraṇi* on his lap, and they do homage to them with flowers, saffron, sandal wood, &c.; then, after the performance of some other ceremonies, they put the two *Araṇis* away on a chair or bench. The two *Araṇis* have to be kept by the sacrificer; if they are lost or burnt or destroyed in any other way, other *Araṇis* must be procured, and by their attrition a new fire must be kindled².

Âpastamba likewise mentions, in his description of the *Agnyâdhâna*³, the handing over of the two *Araṇis*, and indicates a Mantra which the Adhvaryu recites in giving them to the sacrificer, and two other Mantras with the one of which the sacrificer receives them, while he recites the other over the *Araṇis*, after having taken them into his hands.

Finally we may quote here, as bearing witness to the custom of the *Araṇipradâna*, a passage taken from *Nârâyana*'s commentary on the *Sâṅkhâyana-Grihya*. Though the decisive words in that passage rest only on the authority of the commentator and not of the *Sûtrakâra* himself, they deserve to be taken notice of, as they are not subject to the suspicion that they could be influenced by a misunderstanding of that very *Sûtra* of *Pâraskara* of which we are treating. *Nârâyana* says, in his explanation of *Sâṅkhâyana* I, 1, 10⁴: 'To the west of the fire the sacrificer, and southwards (of him) the wife sits down. The

¹ IV, 7, 22 : *arvatthasamîgarbhâraṇî prayakṣati*.

² See the commentary on IV, 7, 22, and the passages of the *Karmapradîpa* quoted there.

³ *Srauta-sûtra* V, 8, 7; vol. i, p. 255, of Prof. Garbe's edition.

⁴ *Sâyamâhutisamskâro dhvaryupratyaya ity âtâryât*.

handing over of the kindling sticks does not take place. For it is a fire fetched (from a Vaisya's house, &c.) which is inaugurated here¹. Then the commentator goes on to quote a Sloka :

‘The handing over of the Aranis which the Adhvaryu sometimes performs,

‘Is not in accordance with the opinion of Suyagña²; he does not approve of kindling the fire by attrition³.’

Thus, I think, no doubt can remain as to the real meaning of Pâraskara's Sûtra : it means what its words signify and what is in accordance with Kâtyâyana and Âpastamba, and it does not mean what the commentators most gratuitously would make it mean.

Perhaps I have dwelt here too long on the interpretation of a few words which are of no peculiar interest in themselves. But I venture to hope that the discussion on these words will serve as a specimen, by which the fundamental difference of two methods of handling our texts may be discerned. Let us never forget how much we owe to the scholars who have followed the first of these methods, but for ourselves let us choose the second.

¹ Agneḥ paskād yagamāno dakṣiṇataḥ patnī ka upavisati. araniḥpradānam na kartavyam. āhṛitasyāgner eva saṁskāraḥ.

² On this name of Sāṅkhâyaṇa, see my Introduction to the translation of the Sāṅkhâyaṇa-Grhya, above, p. 3.

³ Atrāranipradānam yad adhvaryuḥ kurute kvaḥit, mataḥ tan na Suyagñasya mathitam so'tra nekkḥati.

PÂRASKARA-GR̥HYA-SŪTRA.

KÂṆDA I, KANDIKÂ 1.

1. Now henceforth the performance of the domestic sacrifices of cooked food (will be explained).

2. Having wiped (around the surface on which he intends to perform a sacrifice), having besmeared it (with cowdung), having drawn the lines thereon, having taken the earth out (of the lines), having besprinkled (the place with water), having established the (sacred) fire, having spread out the seat for the Brahman to the south, having carried forward (the *Pranīta* water), having spread (*Kusa* grass) round (the fire), having put down (the different things used at the sacrifice) according as they are wanted, having prepared two (*Kusa* blades used as) strainers, having consecrated the *Prokshant*

1, 1. Comp. *Sāṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya* I, 1; *Âśvalâyana-Gr̥hya* I, 1, &c. It seems to me that Professor Stenzler is not quite right in giving to the opening words of the text *athâtaḥ*, which he translates 'nun also,' the explanation: 'das heisst, nach Beendigung des *Srauta-sûtra* von *Kâtyâyana*.' I think rather it can be shown that *ataḥ* does not contain a reference to something preceding; thus the *Srauta-sûtra*, which forms the first part of the whole *Sûtra* collection, is opened in the same way by the words *athâtoḍdhikâraḥ*.

2. The description of the standard form of domestic sacrifice opens with an enumeration of the five so-called *bhûsamskâra* (*parisamuhya*, &c.). On the *saṁṭhana* (for *parisamuhya* is derived

water, having sprinkled (with that water the sacrificial implements) according to what is needed, having poured out (the Âgya or sacrificial butter into the pot), and having put the sacrificial butter on the fire, he should (lustrate the butter by) moving a fire-brand round it.

3. Having warmed the (sacrificial spoon called) Sruva, having wiped it, having besprinkled it (with water), and warmed it again, he should put it down.

4. Having taken the Âgya from the fire, having purified it, having looked at it, and (having purified) the Prokshantî water as above, having taken up the Kusa blades with which he is to take hold (of the Âgya pot) by its under surface, having put pieces of wood on (the fire), and having sprinkled (water round it), he should sacrifice.

5. This is the rite wherever a sacrifice is performed.

KANDIKÂ 2.

1. The setting up of the Âvasathya (or sacred domestic) fire (is performed) at the time of his wedding.

from the root ūh, not from vah ; comp. below, II, 4, 2 : pâninâgnim parisamûhati), see Sâṅkhâyaṇa I, 7, 11 ; Grîhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa I, 37, &c. On the lines drawn on the sacrificial surface, see Sâṅkhâyaṇa I, 7, 6 seq. ; Âśvalâyaṇa I, 3, 1 ; Grîhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa I, 47 seq.

4. Pûrvavat ('as above') can possibly, as Professor Stenzler understands it, have been said with regard to Kâtîyâṇa's rule, II, 3, 33 : Tâbhyâm (scil. pavitrâbhyâm) utpunâtî Savitur va iti. But it is also possible that the expression may refer to the second Sûtra of this chapter, where it is said, prokshantîh saṃskṛtîya. On upa-yamanân kusân, comp. Kâtîyâṇa I, 10, 6-8.

2, 1. Comp. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya I, 1, 3.

2. At the time of the division of the inheritance, according to some (teachers).

3. After he has fetched fire from the house of a Vaisya who is rich in cattle,—

4. All ceremonies are performed as at the cooking of the *kâtushprâsya* food.

5. Some (say that) the handing over of the kindling sticks (should take place),

6. Because the *Sruti* says, ‘There are five great sacrifices.’

7. Having cooked a mess of sacrificial food for the deities of the *Agnyâdheya*, and having sacrificed the two *Âgya* portions, he sacrifices (the following) *Âgya* oblations :

8. ‘Thou, Agni’ (*Vâg. Samhitâ* XXI, 3); ‘Thus

2. *Sânkhâyana* I, 1, 4.

3. *Sânkhâyana* I, 1, 8.

4. The *kâtushprâsya* food is prepared, at the time of the setting up of the *Srauta* fires, for the four chief officiating priests of the *Srauta* sacrifices. Comp. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* II, 1, 4. *Kâtâyâna*’s corresponding rules with regard to the *Âdhâna* of the *Srauta* fires are found at IV, 7, 15. 16.

5. Comp. the remarks on this *Sûtra*, in the Introduction, pp. 265 seq.

6. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* XI, 5, 6, 1: ‘There are five great sacrifices which are great *Sattras*, viz. the sacrifice to living beings, the sacrifice to men, the sacrifice to the Manes, the sacrifice to the gods, the *Brahmayagñâ*.’ As the *Grihya* ceremonies are included here under the category of *mahâyagñâs* or great sacrifices, they require, according to the teachers whose opinion is stated in *Sûtra* 5, a form of the *Agnyâdhâna* (setting up of the sacred fire) analogous to the *Agnyâdhâna* of the *Srauta* ritual, and containing, like that *Âdhâna*, the act of the *Araṇipradâna* or handing over of the kindling woods (*Sûtra* 5).

7. The deities of the *Agnyâdheya*, or of the *Srauta* ceremony corresponding to the *Grihya* rite here treated of, are *Agni pavamâna*, *Agni pâvaka*, *Agni sukî*, *Aditi*. On the *Âgyabhâgas*, see *Sânkhâyana* I, 9, 7, &c.

8. The verses *Vâg. Samh.* XXI, 3, 4, the two verses quoted

thou, Agni' (Vâg. Samhitâ XXI, 4); 'This, O Varuna' (XXI, 1); 'For this I entreat thee' (XXI, 2); 'Thy hundred' (Kâty.-Sraut. XXV, 1, 11); 'And quick, Agni' (Kâty. 1.1.); 'The highest one' (Vâg. Samh. XII, 12); 'Be both to us' (ibid. V, 3)—with (these verses he sacrifices) eight (oblations) before (the oblations of cooked food).

9. Thus he sacrifices also afterwards, after he has made oblations of the mess of cooked food to the deities of the Agnyâdheya.

10. And to (Agni) Svishṭakṛit,

11. With (the formulas), 'Into the quick one (has been put) Agni's (sacrificial portion) over which the word vashaṭ has been spoken;' 'What I have done too much;' 'O gods who know the way.'

12. Having sacrificed the Barhis, he partakes (of the sacrificial food).

13. Then food is given to the Brâhmanas.

Kâty. XXV, 1, 11, and fifthly the verse Vâg. Samh. XII, 12, are prescribed for the Sarvaprâyaścitta (or general expiatory ceremony), see Kâtyâyana 1.1.

11. Professor Stenzler, following Gayarâma, takes the whole as one Mantra, which he translates: 'Ungehemmet sei Agni's Spende, die durch die That ich überreich machte, bahnschaffende Götter!' But the words yat karmaṇâtyarîṛikam are the opening words of a Mantra quoted Satapatha Brâhmaṇa XIV, 9, 4, 24, (comp. also Âśvalâyana-Grîhya I, 10, 23; the connection in which atyarîṛikam there stands, shows that the word designates a mistake made in the sacrificial work by doing too much.) The words devâ gâtuvidaḥ are the Pratîka of Vâg. Samhitâ VIII, 21. Thus I have no doubt that also ayâsy Agner vashaṭkṛitam (or possibly ayâsy Agner (?) and vashaṭkṛitam (?)) is a Pratîka. Of course, the translation of these words must remain uncertain until the Mantra to which they belong has been discovered.

12. On the throwing into the fire of the Barhis, comp. Kâtyâyana III, 8.

KANDIKĀ 3.

1. To six persons the Arghya reception is due : to a teacher, to an officiating priest, to the father-in-law, to the king, to a friend, to a Snâtaka.

2. They should honour them (with the Arghya reception) once a year.

3. But officiating priests (they should receive) whenever they intend to perform a sacrifice.

4. Having ordered a seat to be got (for the guest), he says, 'Well, sir! sit down! We will do honour to you, sir!'

5. They get for him a couch (of grass) to sit down on, another for the feet, water for washing the feet, the Argha water, water for sipping, and the honey-mixture, i.e. curds, honey, and ghee, in a brass vessel with a brass cover.

6. Another person three times announces (to the guest) the couch and the other things (when they are offered to him).

7. He accepts the couch.

8. He sits down thereon with (the verse), 'I am the highest one among my people, as the sun among the thunder-bolts. Here I tread on whosoever infests me.'

9. With the feet (he treads) on the other (bundle of grass).

3, 1. On vaivâhya, which I have translated 'father-in-law,' comp. the note on Sâṅkhâyana II, 15, 1.

2, 3. Comp. below, Sûtra 31, and Sâṅkhâyana-Gṛîhya II, 15, 10.

6. Ârvalâyana-Gṛîhya I, 24, 7.

8. I have translated according to the reading of Ârvalâyana (l. 1. § 8), vidyutâm instead of udyatâm.

9, 10. There is no doubt that these Sûtras should be divided

10. When he is seated on the couch, he washes (for his guest) the left foot and then the right foot.

11. If (the host) is a Brâhmana, the right first.

12. (He does so) with (the formula), 'The milk of Virâg art thou. The milk of Virâg may I obtain. (May) the milk of Padyâ Virâg (dwell) in me.'

13. He accepts the Arghya water with (the words), 'Waters are ye. May I obtain through you all my wishes.'

14. Pouring it out he recites over (the waters the formula), 'To the ocean I send you; go back to your source. Unhurt be our men. May my sap not be shed.'

15. He sips water with (the formula), 'Thou camest to me with glory. Unite me with lustre. Make me beloved by all creatures, the lord of cattle, unhurtful for the bodies.'

16. With (the formula), 'With Mitra's' (Vâg. Samh., Kâṇvasâkhâ II, 3, 4) he looks at the Madhuparka.

17. With (the formula), 'By the impulse of the god Savitri' (Vâg. Samh. l. l.) he accepts it.

18. Taking it into his left hand he stirs it about

thus: pādāyor anyam. viśtara āsînāya savyam pādāṃ prakṣhālyā dakṣhiṇam prakṣhālayati. Thus it is said in the Khādira-Grîhya: viśtaram āstīrya . . . adhyāsita. pādāyor dvitīyayâ (scil. rikâ) dvau ket. Gobhila has the Sûtra: pādāyor anyam.

11. The words brâhmanas ket refer to the host, as the comparison of Âsvalâyana I, 24, 11, shows.

12. Comp. Âsvalâyana l. l. § 22; Sâṅkhâyana III, 7, 5.

13. The play on words (âpas=waters, avâpnâvâni=may I obtain) is untranslatable.

16. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 24, 14.

17. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 24, 15.

18. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya l. l. Annasane instead of annâsane is simply a mistake in spelling.

three times with the fourth finger of his right hand with (the formula), 'Adoration to the brown-faced One. What has been damaged in thee, when the food was eaten, that I cut off from thee.'

19. And with the fourth finger and the thumb he spirts away (some part of the Madhuparka) three times.

20. He partakes of it three times with (the formula), 'What is the honied, highest form of honey, and the enjoyment of food, by that honied, highest form of honey, and by that enjoyment of food may I become highest, honied, and an enjoyer of food.'

21. Or with (the verses) that contain the word 'honey,' verse by verse.

22. Let him give the remainder (of the Madhuparka) to a son or a pupil who is sitting to the north.

23. Or let him eat the whole of it (himself).

24. Or he should pour out (the remainder) to the east, at an unfrequented spot.

25. Having sipped water, he touches his bodily organs with (the formula), 'May speech dwell in my mouth, breath in my nose, sight in my eyes, hearing in my ears, strength in my arms, vigour in my thighs. May my limbs be unhurt, may my body be united with my body!'

26. When (the guest) has sipped water, (the host), holding a butcher's knife, says to him three times, 'A cow!'

27. He replies, 'The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Âdityas, the

21. These are the three verses, Vâg. Samhitâ XIII, 27-29.

22. Âsvalâyana-Gṛîhya I, 24, 25. 23. Âsvalâyana l.l. § 27.

24. Âsvalâyana l.l. § 26.

navel of immortality. To the people who understand me, I say, "Do not kill the guiltless cow, which is Aditi." I kill my sin and N.N.'s sin,—thus, if he chooses to have it killed.

28. But if he chooses to let it loose, he should say, 'My sin and N.N.'s sin has been killed. Om! Let it loose! Let it eat grass!'

29. But let the Argha not be without flesh.

30. On the occasion of a sacrifice and of a wedding let (the guest) say, 'Make it (ready).'

31. Even if he performs more than one Soma sacrifice during one year, let only priests who have received (from him) the Arghya reception, officiate for him, not such who have not received it; for this has been prescribed in the Sruti.

KANDIKÂ 4.

1. There are four kinds of Pākayagñas, viz. the huta, the ahuta, the prahuta, and the prāsita.

2. On the following five occasions; viz. the wedding, the tonsure (of the child's head), the initiation (of the Brahma-kārin), the cutting of the beard, and the parting of the hair, (on these occasions) in the outer hall,

3. On a place that has been smeared (with cow-dung), which is elevated, and which has been sprinkled (with water), he establishes the fire,

29, 30. These Sūtras are identical with two Sūtras in the Sāṅkhāyana-Grīhya II, 15, 2, 3. See the note there. It seems to me inadmissible to translate § 29, as Professor Stenzler does: Der Argha darf aber nicht immer ohne Fleisch sein.

31. Sāṅkhāyana-Grīhya II, 15, 10.

4. 1-5. See Sāṅkhāyana-Grīhya I, 5, 1-5 and the notes.

4. Having kindled it by attrition, according to some teachers, at his marriage.

5. During the northern course of the sun, in the time of the increasing moon, on an auspicious day he shall seize the hand of a girl,

6. Under one of the (three times) three Nakshatras of which a constellation designated as Uttara is first,

7. Or under (the Nakshatras) Svâti, Mrîgasiras, or Rohiṇī.

8. Three (wives are allowed) to a Brâhmana, in accordance with the order of the castes,

9. Two to a Râganya,

10. One to a Vaisya,

11. One Sûdra wife besides to all, according to some (teachers), without using Mantras (at the ceremonies of wedding, &c.).

12. He then makes her put on the (under) garment with (the verse), 'Live to old age; put on the garment! Be a protectress of the human tribes against imprecation. Live a hundred years full of vigour; clothe thyself in wealth and children. Blessed with life put on this garment!'

13. Then the upper garment with (the verse), 'The goddesses who spun, who wove, who spread

6. I. e. under the constellations Uttaraphalgunî or the two constellations following it, Uttarâshâdhâ or the two constellations following it, Uttarabhâdrapadâ or the two constellations following it.

12. The words of the Mantra bhavâ krîshîṇâm abhisastipâvâ no doubt are an imitation of Rig-veda I, 76, 3, bhavâ yagnânâm abhisastipâvâ (where the words are applied to Agni). Thus the use of the masculine abhisastipâvâ with reference to the bride may be accounted for.

13. Comp. Atharva-veda XIV, 1, 45. This parallel passage shows us the way to correct the text of this very much corrupted Mantra.

out, and who drew out the threads on both sides, may those goddesses clothe thee for the sake of long life. Blessed with life put on this garment !'

14. (The bride's father?) anoints the two, (while the bridegroom recites the verse,) 'May the Visve devâs, may the waters unite our hearts. May Mâtariśvan, may Dhâtṛi, may Deshṛi (the 'showing' goddess) join us.'

15. (The bridegroom), having accepted her who is given away by her father, takes her and goes away (from that place) with (the verse), 'When thou wanderest far away with thy heart to the regions of the world like the wind, may the gold-winged Vaikarna (i.e. the wind?) grant that thy heart may dwell with me! N. N. !'

16. He then makes them look at each other (while the bridegroom repeats the verses), 'With no evil eye, not bringing death to thy husband, bring luck to the cattle, be full of joy and vigour. Give birth to heroes; be godly and friendly. Bring us luck, to men and animals.

'Soma has acquired (thee) first (as his wife); after him the Gandharva has acquired (thee). Thy third husband is Agni; the fourth is thy human husband.

14. The literal translation would be: 'He salves together (*samañ-gayati*) the two . . . May the waters salve together (*samañgantu*) our hearts.' It was a real anointing of the bridegroom and of the bride, that took place, and we cannot accept Professor Stenzler's translation (based on Gayarâma's note: *samañgayati parasparam sammukhikaroti*), by which the proper signification of *samañgayati* is effaced: Dann heisst (der Vater der Braut) sie beide *zusammentreten*. See the note on Sâṅkhâya-Grhya I, 12, 5. The parallel passage of the Khâdira-Grhya runs thus: *aparenâgnim auduko gatvâ pâṇigrâham mûrdhany avasiñked, vadhûm ka, samañgantv ity avasiktaḥ*.

16. Comp. Rig-veda X, 85, 44. 40. 41. 37.

‘Soma has given thee to the Gandharva; the Gandharva has given thee to Agni. Wealth and children Agni has given to me, and besides this wife.

‘Pūshan! Lead her to us, the highly blessed one. Sā na ūrū usatī vihara, yasyām usantaḥ praharāma sepam yasyām u kāmā bahavo nivishṭyā (nivishṭā ?) iti.’

KANDIKĀ 5.

1. Having led her around the fire, keeping it on his right side, according to some (teachers)—

2. Having pushed with his right foot a bundle of grass or a mat to the west of the fire, he sits down.

3. While (the bride) touches him, (the following oblations are made :) the two Āghāra oblations, the two Āgya portions, the Mahāvyaḥrītis, the general expiation, the Prāgāpatya oblation, and the Svishṭakṛit.

4. These are regular (oblations) at every sacrifice.

5. The Svishṭakṛit comes before the Mahāvyaḥrītis, if the sacrificial food is different from Āgya.

6. The place for the insertion (of the peculiar oblations belonging to the different sacrifices) is the interval between the general expiation and the oblation to Prāgāpati.

7. At the wedding (he may make oblations) with the Rāshṭrabhrīt formulas (i.e. the formulas procuring royal power), if he likes, and with the Gaya and Abhyātāna formulas (i.e. the formulas procuring

5, 3. See the note on Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hya I, 9, 12.

6. See the note l. 1.—I have altered the division of Sūtras 6 and 7, so as to draw the word vivāhe to the seventh Sūtra. The rule in § 6 has an entirely general character; the formulas stated in § 7 are given for the particular occasion of the vivāha ceremony.

victory, and aiming [at the hostile powers]), if he knows them—

8. Because it has been said, 'By what sacrifice he wishes to attain success.'

9. (The *Gaya* formulas run thus): 'Thought and thinking. Intention and intending. The understood and understanding. The mind and the *Sakvarî* (verses). The new moon and the full moon. *Brîhat* and *Rathantara*.

'*Pragâpati*, the powerful one in victorious battles, has given victories (or, the *Gaya* formulas) to manly *Indra*. To him all subjects bowed down; he has become powerful and worthy of sacrifice. *Svâhâ!*'

10. (The *Abhyâtâna* formulas run thus): 'May *Agni*, the lord of beings, protect me. May *Indra*, (the lord) of the noblest, *Yama*, of the earth, *Vâyu*, of the air, the Sun, of heaven, the Moon, of the *Nakshatras*, *Brîhaspati*, of the Brahman, *Mitra*, of truth, *Varuṇa*, of the waters, the sea, of the rivers, food, the lord of royalty, protect me. May *Soma*, (the lord) of herbs, *Savitri*, of impulses, *Rudra*, of cattle, *Tvashtri*, of forms, *Vishṇu*, of mountains, the *Maruts*, the lords of hosts, protect me. May the fathers,

8. *Taittirîya Samhitâ* III, 4, 6, 1 : 'By what sacrifice he wishes to attain success, at that (sacrifice) he should make oblations with them (i.e. with the *Abhyâtâna* Mantras): then he will attain success by that sacrifice.'

9. Instead of *sa i havyaḥ* we ought to read probably *sa u havyaḥ*, or, as the *Taitt. Samh.* III, 4, 4, 1 gives, *sa hi havyaḥ*. The *Maitr. Samh.* has *vihavyaḥ* (II, 10, 2).

10. The words, 'in this power of holiness . . . *svâhâ!*' are to be added to each member of the whole formula (comp. *Atharva-veda* V, 24). The expressions 'fathers' and 'grandfathers,' which are twice identically repeated in the translation, stand the first time for *pitaraḥ* *pitâmahâḥ*, and then for *tatâs* *tatâmahâḥ* of the Sanskrit text.

the grandfathers, the former, the later, the fathers, the grandfathers protect me here in this power of holiness, in this worldly power, in this prayer, in this Purohitaship, in this sacrifice, in this invocation of the gods. Svâhâ!—this is added each time.

11. (He then makes other oblations with the following texts :)

‘May Agni come hither, the first of gods. May he release the offspring of this wife from the fetter of death. That may this king Varuṇa grant, that this wife may not weep over distress (falling to her lot) through her sons. Svâhâ !

‘May Āgni Gârhapatya protect this woman. May he lead her offspring to old age. With fertile womb may she be the mother of living children. May she experience delight in her sons. Svâhâ !

‘Make, Agni, all ways of heaven and earth blissful to us, O thou who art worthy of sacrifices. What is great, born on this (earth), and praised, (born) in heaven, that bestow on us, rich treasures. Svâhâ !

‘Come hither, showing us an easy path. Give us bright, undecaying life. May death go away ; may immortality come to us. May Vivasvat’s son make us safe from danger. Svâhâ !’

12. And the (verse), ‘Another way, O death’ (Vâg. Samh. XXXV, 7), after the eating (of the remnant of the sacrificial food), according to some (teachers).

KANDIKÂ 6.

1. The girl’s brother pours out of his joined hands into her joined hands fried grain mixed with Samī leaves.

2. This she sacrifices, with firmly joined hands, standing, (while the bridegroom recites the verses,)

‘To the god Aryaman the girls have made sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Aryaman, loosen us from here, and not from the husband. Svâhâ!

‘This woman, strewing grains, prays thus, “May my husband live long; may my relations be prosperous.” Svâhâ!

‘These grains I throw into the fire: may this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee. May Agni grant us that. N. N.! Svâhâ!’

3. He then seizes her right hand together with the thumb, with (the verses),

‘I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness, that thou mayst live to old age with me, thy husband. Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitṛi, Purandhi, the gods have given thee to me that we may rule our house.

‘This am I, that art thou; that art thou, this am I. The Sâman am I, the *Rik* thou; the heaven I, the earth thou.

‘Come! Let us marry. Let us unite our sperm. Let us beget offspring. Let us acquire many sons, and may they reach old age.

‘Loving, bright, with genial minds may we see a hundred autumns, may we live a hundred autumns, may we hear a hundred autumns!’

KANDIKÂ 7.

1. He then makes her tread on a stone, to the north of the fire, with her right foot, (repeating the

2. Sâṅkhâyana I, 18, 3; 14, 1; Âsvalâyana I, 7, 13.

3. Rig-veda X, 85, 36; Sâṅkhâyana I, 13, 4, &c.

7, 1. Âsvalâyana-Gr̥hya I, 7, 7; Sâṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya I, 13, 12.

verse,) 'Tread on this stone ; like a stone be firm. Tread the foes down ; turn away the enemies.'

2. He then sings a song : 'Sarasvatī ! Promote this (our undertaking), O gracious one, bountiful one, thou whom we sing first of all that is, in whom what is, has been born, in whom this whole world dwells—that song I will sing to-day which will be the highest glory of women.'

3. They then go round (the fire) with (the verse, which the bridegroom repeats),

'To thee they have in the beginning carried round Sūryā (the Sun-bride) with the bridal procession. Mayst thou give back, Agni, to the husbands the wife together with offspring.'

4. Thus (the same rites are repeated) twice again, beginning from the fried grain.

5. The fourth time she pours the whole fried grain by the neb of a basket (into the fire) with (the words), 'To Bhaga svâhâ !'

6. After he has led her round (the fire) three times, and has sacrificed the oblation to Pragâpati—

KANDIKĀ 8.

1. Then he makes her step forward in a northern direction seven steps (with the words),

'One for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comfort, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend ! be with seven steps (united to me). So be thou devoted to me.'

4. See chap. 6, 1.

5. Comp. Khândira-Gr̥hya I, 3 : sūrpena sishân agnâv opya prâ-gudîkâm utkramayet. See also Gobhila II, 2 ; Âsvalâyana I, 7, 14.

8, 1. The parallel texts have sakhâ and saptapadî for sakhe and saptapadâ of Pâraskara.

2. (The words), 'May Vishnu lead thee' are added to every part (of the formula).

3. From the moment of their going away a man who holds a water-pot on his shoulder, stands silent to the south of the fire ;

4. To the north, (according to the opinion) of some (teachers).

5. From that (pot) he sprinkles her (with water) on her head (with the formula),

'The blessed, the most blessed waters, the peaceful ones, the most peaceful ones, may they give medicine to thee'—

6. And with the three (verses), 'Ye waters are' (Vâg. Samh. XI, 50-52).

7. He then makes her look at the sun with (the verse), 'That eye' (Vâg. Samh. XXXVI, 24).

8. He then touches her heart, (reaching) over her right shoulder, with (the words), 'Into my will I take thy heart; thy mind shall follow my mind; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart; may Pragâpati join thee to me.'

9. He then recites over her (the verse), 'Auspicious ornaments does this woman wear. Come up to her and behold her. Having brought luck to her, go away back to your houses.'

10. A strong man snatches her up from the

3. See above, I, 4, 15. The water mentioned here is designated as *stheyâ âpah*; see *Sâṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya* I, 13, 5 seq.; *Gr̥hya-samgraha* II, 26. 35.

8. See the note on *Sâṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya* II, 3, 3.

9. *Rig-veda* X, 85, 33.

10. The *Atharva-veda* (XX, 127, 12) has the reading *pragâyadhvam* instead of *ni shîdantu* (in the first Pâda); the second hemistich there runs thus: *iho sahasradakshino • pi Pûshâ ni shîdati*.

ground, and sets her down in an eastern or northern direction in an out-of-the-way house, on a red bull's hide, with (the words),

'Here may the cows sit down, here the horses, here the men. Here may sacrifice with a thousand gifts, here may Pûshan sit down.'

11. And what (the people in) the village tell them, that they should do.

12. For it is said, 'At weddings and funerals he shall enter the village ;'

13. (And) because the Sruti says, 'Therefore on these two occasions authority rests with the village.'

14. To the teacher (who helps at the wedding ceremonies) he gives an optional gift.

15. A cow is the optional gift to be given by a Brâhmana,

16. A village by a Râganya,

17. A horse by a Vaisya.

18. A hundred (cows) with a chariot (he gives to a father) who has only daughters.

19. After sunset he shows her the firm star (i.e. the polar-star) with (the words),

'Firm art thou ; I see thee, the firm one. Firm be thou with me, O thriving one !

12. I have ventured, differing from Professor Stenzler ('Bei der Hochzeit und auf der Leichenstätte richte er sich nach dem Dorfe'), to translate *pravisatât* according to its original meaning. Could this possibly be a rule for Vânaprasthas who live in the forest and enter the village only on exceptional occasions?

15-17. *Sâṅkhâyana* I, 14, 13 seqq.

18. *Sâṅkhâyana* I, 14, 16. Comp. the note there.

19. In the text the word 'firm' (*dhruva*) is neuter in the two first instances, and refers to the 'firm star ;' the third time it is feminine, referring to the bride. Pâraskara has the vocative *poshye* for the nominative *poshyâ* of *Sâṅkhâyana* I, 17, 3; comp. above, § 1 *sakhe* for *sakhâ*.

‘To me Br̥haspati has given thee; obtaining offspring through me, thy husband, live with me a hundred autumns.’

20. If she does not see (the polar-star), let her say notwithstanding, ‘I see,’ &c.

21. Through a period of three nights they shall eat no saline food; they shall sleep on the ground; through one year they shall refrain from conjugal intercourse, or through a period of twelve nights, or of six nights, or at least of three nights.

KANDIKĀ 9.

1. Beginning from the wedding the worshipping of the Aupāsana (i. e. sacred domestic) fire (is prescribed).

2. After sunset and before sunrise (the fire should

21. Sāṅkhāyana I, 17, 5, 6; Ârvalāyana I, 8, 10, 11.

9, 1. The expression which I have translated ‘beginning from the wedding’ is upayamanaprabhṛiti. The Indian commentators and Professor Stenzler explain the term upayamana as implying a reference to the Sūtra I, 1, 4, upayamanân kusân âdâya (‘having taken up the Kusa blades with which he is to take hold of the lower surface of the Âgya pot’). ‘The worshipping of the domestic fire,’ says Stenzler, following the native authorities, ‘consists in the rites which have been prescribed above (I, 1, 4), beginning from the word upayamana, i. e. in the taking up of the Kusa blades, the putting of wood on the fire, the sprinkling and sacrificing. As the rites preceding that word, such as the preparation of the sacrificial spoon (I, 1, 3), are hereby excluded, the oblations are offered with the hand.’ It would be easy to show that the upayamanâḥ kusâḥ have nothing at all to do with the regular morning and evening oblations of which these Sūtras treat. The comparison of Ârvalāyana-Gr̥hya I, 9, 1 (see also Manu III, 67, &c.) leaves no doubt that upayamana is to be understood here as derived from upayakṛti in its very frequent meaning of marrying. I have translated the Sūtra accordingly.

2. On the different statements of Vedic authors with regard to the proper time of the morning oblations, see Weber’s Indische Studien, X, 329.

be worshipped) with (oblations of) curds, (rice) grains, or fried grains.

3. (He sacrifices) in the evening with (the formulas), 'To Agni svâhâ! To Pragâpati svâhâ!'

4. In the morning with (the formulas), 'To Sûrya svâhâ! To Pragâpati svâhâ!'

5. 'Men are both Mitra and Varuṇa; men are both the Asvins; men are Indra and Sûrya. May a man be born in me! Again svâhâ!'—with (this verse) a wife who desires to conceive, (should offer) the first (oblation).

KANDIKĀ 10.

1. If (in the chariot) of a king the axle breaks, or something that is bound loosens itself, or the chariot is overturned, or if another accident happens, or (if one of these same things occurs) when a bride is carried home, he establishes the same fire, prepares Āgrya, and sacrifices (two Āgrya oblations) separately with the two Mantras, 'Here is joy' (Vâg. Samh. VIII, 51 a).

2. Having got ready another chariot, he (i.e. the Purohita or the bridegroom) should make the king or the woman sit down thereon with (the formula), 'In royal power' down to the word, 'in sacrifice'

5. Comp. Sâṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya I, 17, 9, where the reading and the construction slightly differ. The words punaḥ svâhâ at the end of the Mantra seem to be corrupt; the frequent repetition of pumâṃsam and pumân through the whole verse suggests the correction pumse svâhâ, or pumbhyaḥ svâhâ, 'to the man svâhâ!' or 'to the men svâhâ!'

10, 1. 'The same fire' is the senâgni (the fire belonging to the army) in the case of the king, the nuptial fire in the second case. The two Mantras are the two parts of Vâg. Samh. VIII, 51 a.

(Vâg. Samh. XX, 10), and with the (verse), 'I have seized thee' (ibid. XII, 11).

3. The two beasts that draw the chariot, constitute the sacrificial fee.

4. (This is) the penance.

5. Then (follows) feeding of the Brâhmanas.

KANDIKÂ 11.

1. In the fourth night (after the wedding), towards morning, (the husband) establishes the fire within (the house), assigns his seat, to the south (of it), to the Brahman, places a pot of water to the north, cooks a mess of sacrificial food, sacrifices the two Âgya portions, and makes (other) Âgya oblations with (the following Mantras) :

2. 'Agni! Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brâhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance which dwells in her that brings death to her husband, that extirpate in her. Svâhâ!

'Vâyu! Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brâhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance which dwells in her that brings death to her children, that extirpate in her. Svâhâ!

'Sûrya! Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brâhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance which dwells in her that brings death to cattle, that extirpate in her. Svâhâ!

'Kandra! Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brâhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous

of protection. The substance which dwells in her that brings destruction to the house, that extirpate in her. Svâhâ!

‘Gandharva! Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brâhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance which dwells in her that brings destruction to fame, that extirpate in her. Svâhâ!’

3. He sacrifices of the mess of cooked food with (the words), ‘To Pragâpati svâhâ!’

4. Each time after he has sacrificed, he pours the remainder of the oblations into the water-pot, and out of that (pot) he besprinkles her on her head with (the words), ‘The evil substance which dwells in thee that brings death to thy husband, death to thy children, death to cattle, destruction to the house, destruction to fame, that I change into one that brings death to thy paramour. Thus live with me to old age, N.N.!’

5. He then makes her eat the mess of cooked food with (the words), ‘I add breath to thy breath, bones to thy bones, flesh to thy flesh, skin to thy skin.’

6. Therefore one should not wish for sport with the wife of a Srotriya who knows this; for the other one is a person who knows this (and is thereby enabled to destroy a lover of his wife).

7. After he has led her to his house, he should cohabit with her after each of her monthly periods,

8. Or as he likes, because it has been said, ‘May we have intercourse as we like, until a child is born.’

4. The water-pot is that mentioned in Sûtra 1.

6. Satapatha Brâhmaṇa I, 6, 1, 18; XIV, 9, 4, 11 (=Brîhad Âraṇyaka VI, 4, 12; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xv, p. 218).

8. Taittirîya Saṃhitâ II, 5, 1, 5.

9. He then touches her heart, (reaching) over her right shoulder, with (the verse), 'O thou whose hair is well parted! Thy heart that dwells in heaven, in the moon, that I know; may it know me. May we see a hundred autumns; may we live a hundred autumns; may we hear a hundred autumns.'

10. In the same way afterwards.

KANDIKÂ 12.

1. At the beginning of each half-month he cooks a mess of sacrificial food, sacrifices to the deities of the festivals of the new and full moon (as stated in the Srauta ritual), and then sacrifices to the following deities: to Brahman, to Pragâpati, to the Visve devâs, and to Heaven and Earth.

2. To the Visve devâs a Bali is offered, to the domestic deities, and to Âkâsa (i.e. the Ether).

3. From the Vaisvadeva food he makes oblations in the fire with (the formulas), 'To Agni svâhâ! To Pragâpati svâhâ! To the Visve devâs svâhâ! To Agni Svishṭakṛit svâhâ!'

4. Outside (the house) the wife offers the Bali with (the formulas), 'Adoration to the wife! Adoration to the man! To every time of life, adoration! To the white one with the black teeth, the lord of the bad women, adoration!

'They who allure my offspring, dwelling in the village or in the forest, to them be adoration; I offer

9. See above, chap. 8, 8.

12, 1. Comp. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya I, 3, 3. The deities of the corresponding Srauta festivals are, at the full moon, Agni and Agni-shomau; at the new moon, Agni, Vishṇu, and Indrâgnî.

2. Comp. below, II, 9, 3.

3. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grîhya II, 14, 3, 4.

a Bali to them. Be welfare to me! May they give me offspring.'

5. The remainder he washes out with water. Then (follows) feeding of the Brâhmanas.

KANDIKÂ 13.

1. If she does not conceive, he should, after having fasted, under (the Nakshatra) Pushya, lay down (in his house) the root of a white-blooming *Simhi* plant, and on the fourth day, after (his wife) has bathed, he should in the night-time crush it in water and insert it into her right nostril with (the verse), 'This herb is protecting, overcoming, and powerful. May I, the son of this great (mother), obtain the name of a father!'

KANDIKÂ 14.

1. Now the *Pumsavana* (i. e. the ceremony to secure the birth of a male child),

2. Before (the child in his mother's womb) moves, in the second or third month (of pregnancy).

3. On a day on which the moon stands in conjunction with a Nakshatra (that has a name) of masculine gender, on that day, after having caused (his wife) to fast, to bathe, and to put on two garments which have not yet been washed, and after having in the night-time crushed in water descending roots and shoots of a *Nyagrodha* tree, he inserts (that into her right nostril) as above, with the two (verses),

13, 1. I have translated according to the reading of a similar Mantra found in the Atharva-veda (VIII, 2, 6), which no doubt is correct, *sahasvatî* instead of *sarasvatî*.

14, 3. The words 'as above' refer to chap. 13, 1.

‘The gold-child’ (Vâg. Samh. XIII, 4) and ‘Formed of water’ (ibid. XXXI, 17);

4. A Kusa needle and a Soma stalk, according to some (teachers).

5. And he puts gall of a tortoise on her lap.

If he desires, ‘May (the son) become valiant,’ he recites over him (i.e. over the embryo), modifying the rite (?), ‘The Suparna art thou’ (Vâg. Samh. XII, 4), (the Yagus) before (the formulas called) ‘steps of Vishnu.’

KANDIKÂ 15.

1. Now the Sîmantonnayana (or parting of the pregnant wife’s hair).

2. (It is performed) like the Pumsavana ;

3. In her first pregnancy, in the sixth or eighth month.

4. After he has cooked a mess of sacrificial food, containing sesamum and Mudga beans, and has sacrificed to Pragâpati, he parts for the wife, who is seated to the west of the fire on a soft chair, her hair upwards (i.e. beginning from the front) with a bunch containing an even number of unripe Udumbara

4. Comp. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya I, 20, 3.

5. The commentators state that kûrmapitta (gall of tortoise) means ‘a dish with water.’ I place no confidence in this statement, though I cannot show at present what its origin is. I am not sure about the translation of vikṛityâ (or vikṛitya?). But it seems impossible to me that it should be the name of the metre Vikṛiti. ‘Steps of Vishnu’ is a name for the Yagus following in the Samhitâ on the one prescribed in this Sûtra. It begins, ‘Vishnu’s step art thou, &c.’ (Vâg. Samh. XII, 5).

15, 2. I.e. the Nakshatra under which the ceremony is performed, should be of male gender; the wife is to fast, &c. (see chap. 14, 3).

4. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya I, 22, 8; Âsvalâyana I, 14, 4.

fruits, and with three bunches of Darbha grass, with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, with a stick of Vīratara wood, and with a full spindle, with the words, 'Bhûr bhuvaḥ svaḥ.'

5. Or (he parts the hair once) with each of the (three) Mahāvyaḥrītis.

6. He ties (the Udumbara fruits, &c.) to a string of three twisted threads with (the words), 'Rich in sap is this tree; like the tree, rich in sap, be thou fruitful.'

7. (The husband) then says to two lute-players, 'Sing ye the king, or if anybody else is still more valiant.'

8. Here some also prescribe a certain stanza (to be sung by the lute-players): 'Soma alone is our king. May these human tribes dwell on thy banks, O (river) whose dominion is unbroken, N.N.!'—here he names the name of the river near which they dwell.

9. Then (follows) feeding of the Brāhmanas.

KANDIKĀ 16.

1. Soshyantīm adbhir abhyukshaty egatu dasa-māsyā iti (Vāg. Samh. VIII, 28) prāg yasyai ta iti (ibid. 29).

2. Athâvarâvapatanam, avaitu prīṣni sevalam sune garâyv attave, naiva mām̐sena pīvari na kasmims kanâyatam ava garâyū padyatām iti.

3. When the boy is born, he performs for him, before the navel-string is cut off, the medhâganana

6. Sâṅkhâyaṇa I, 22, 10.

7. Sâṅkhâyaṇa l.l. §§ 11, 12; Âśvalâyana l.l. § 6.

8. Âśvalâyana l.l. § 7. I take avimuktaṭakre to be the vocative of the feminine.

16, 1. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa XIV, 9, 4, 22.

2. Atharva-veda I, 11, 4.

(production of intelligence) and the âyushya (rite for procuring long life).

4. (The medhâganana is performed in the following way :) With his fourth finger and with (an instrument of) gold he gives (to the child) honey and ghee, or ghee (alone), to eat with (the formulas), 'Bhûh I put into thee; bhuva^h I put into thee; sva^h I put into thee. Bhûr bhuva^h sva^h everything I put into thee.'

5. He then performs the âyushya.

6. Near his navel or his right ear he murmurs: 'Agni is long-lived; through the trees he is long-lived. By that long life I make thee long-lived.

'Soma is long-lived; through the herbs he is, &c.

'The Brahman is long-lived; through the Brâhmanas it is, &c.

'The gods are long-lived; through ambrosia (amrita) they are, &c.

'The Rishis are long-lived; through their observances they are, &c.

'The Fathers are long-lived; through the Svadhâ oblations (or oblations made to the Manes) they are, &c.

'Sacrifice is long-lived; through sacrificial fee it is, &c.

'The ocean is long-lived; through the rivers it is long-lived. By that long life I make thee long-lived;'

7. And three times the verse, 'The threefold age' (Vâg. Samh. III, 62).

8. If he desires, 'May he live his full term of

4. Comp. Satapatha Brâhmaṇa XIV, 9, 4, 23 seqq. (Brâhad Âraṇyaka VI, 4, 24 seqq.; S. B. E., XV, 222 seq.). The text has anâmikayâ suvarṇântarhitayâ, which literally is: with the nameless (or fourth) finger, between which (and the food) gold has been put.

life,' he should touch him with the Vâtsapra hymn (Vâg. Samh. XII, 18-29).

9. From the Anuvâka beginning with 'From heaven' (XII, 18 seqq.) he omits the last *Rik* (XII, 29).

10. Having placed five Brâhmanas towards the (five) regions, he should say to them, 'Breathe ye upon this (child).'

11. The (Brâhmana placed) to the east should say, 'Up-breathing!'

12. The one to the south, 'Back-breathing!'

13. The one to the west, 'Down-breathing!'

14. The one to the north, 'Out-breathing!'

15. The fifth one, looking upwards, should say, 'On-breathing!'

16. Or (the father) may do that himself, going round (his child), if he can find no (Brâhmanas).

17. He recites over the place at which (the child) is born: 'I know, O earth, thy heart that dwells in heaven, in the moon. That I know; may it know me. May we see a hundred autumns; may we live a hundred autumns; may we hear a hundred autumns.'

18. He then touches him with (the verse), 'Be a stone, be an axe, be imperishable gold. Thou indeed art the Self called son; thus live a hundred autumns.'

11 seqq. In translating the technical terms for the different kinds of breath, I adopt the expressions chosen by Professor Max Müller, S. B. E., XV, 94. As to the whole rite, comp. Satap. Br. XI, 8, 3, 6.

17. Comp. above, I, 11, 9. The comparison of the parallel Mantra leaves scarcely any doubt that veda (the first word of the verse) is the first, not the third person, and bhûmi the vocative case. Compare the vocative darvi of the Vâg. Samhitâ, while the Atharva-veda has darve. Lanman, Noun-Inflection, p. 390.

18. Satapatha Brâhmana XIV, 9, 4, 26; Âsvalâyana I, 15, 3.

19. He then recites over his mother (the verse), 'Thou art *Idâ*, the daughter of *Mitra* and *Varuna*; thou strong woman hast born a strong son. Be thou blessed with strong children, thou who hast blessed us with a strong son.'

20. He then washes her right breast, and gives it to the child with (the verse), 'This breast' (*Vâg. Samh. XVII, 87*);

21. The left (breast) with (the verse), 'Thy breast which' (*ibid. XXXVIII, 5*)—with these two (verses).

22. He puts down a pot of water near her head with (the verse), 'O waters, you watch with the gods. As you watch with the gods, thus watch over this mother who is confined, and her child.'

23. Having established near the door the fire that has been kept from (the wife's) confinement, he throws into that fire at the time of the morning and evening twilight, until (the mother) gets up (from childbed), mustard seeds mixed with rice chaff (pronouncing the following names of demons and goblins): 'May *Sandâ* and *Marka*, *Upavîra*, *Saundîkeya*, *Ulûkhala*, *Malimluka*, *Dronâsa*, *Kyavana* vanish hence. *Svâhâ*!

'May *Âlikhat*, *Animisha*, *Kimvadanta*, *Upasruti*, *Haryaksha*, *Kumbhin*, *Satru*, *Pâtrapâni*, *Nrîmani*, *Hantrimukha*, *Sarshapârûna*, *Kyavana* vanish hence. *Svâhâ*!'

24. If (the demon bringing disease) *Kumâra* attacks the boy, the father covers him with a net

19. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* l. l. § 27. Comp. Professor Max Müller's note, *S. B. E.*, XV, 223 seq.

21. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* l. l. § 28.

23. On the *sûtikâgni*, comp. *Satap. Br. l. l. § 23*; *Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya* I, 25, 4, &c.

24. *Kûrkura* seems to me, and this is also Professor Stenzler's

or with an upper garment, takes him on his lap, and murmurs : 'Kûrkura, Sukûrkura, Kûrkura, who holds fast children. *Ket! ket! doggy!* let him loose. Reverence be to thee, the Sîsara, barker, bender.

'That is true that the gods have given a boon to thee. Hast thou then chosen even this boy?

'*Ket! ket! doggy!* let him loose. Reverence be to thee, the Sîsara, barker, bender.

'That is true that (the divine she-dog) Saramâ is thy mother, Sîsara thy father, the black and the speckled (two dogs of Yama) thy brothers.

'*Ket! ket! doggy!* let him loose. Reverence be to thee, the Sîsara, barker, bender.'

25. He then touches (the boy) with (the words), 'He does not suffer, he does not cry, he is not stiff, he is not sick, when we speak to him and when we touch him.'

KANDIKĀ 17.

1. On the tenth day (after the birth of the child) the father, having made (his wife) get up, and having fed the Brâhmaṇas, gives a name (to the child),

2. Of two syllables, or of four syllables, beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, with a long vowel (or) the Visarga (at its end), with a *Kṛî*t (suffix), not with a Taddhita ;

3. With an uneven number of syllables, ending in â, with a Taddhita (suffix) to a girl.

4. (The name) of a Brâhmaṇa (should end in)

opinion, identical with *kurkura*, *kukkura* ('dog'). The Petersburg Dictionary explains it, 'Name eines die Kinder bedrohenden Dämons (vielleicht eine Personification des Hustens).'

17, 1. Comp. Gobhila II, 8, 14; Âsvalâyana I, 15, 4.

sarman (for inst. Vishvasarman), that of a Kshatriya in varman (for inst. Lakshmiarman), that of a Vaisya in gupta (for inst. Kandragupta).

5. In the fourth month (follows) the going out.

6. He makes (the child) look at the sun, pronouncing (the verse), 'That eye' (Vâg. Samhitâ XXXVI, 24).

KANDIKÂ 18.

1. When he returns from a journey, he approaches his house in the manner stated above.

2. When he sees his son, he murmurs, 'From limb by limb thou art produced; out of the heart thou art born. Thou indeed art the Self called son; so live a hundred autumns!'

3. He then kisses his head with (the words), 'With the himkâra (the mystical syllable hin) of Pragâpati, which gives thousandfold life, I kiss thee, N. N.! Live a hundred autumns!'

4. And three times with (the words), 'With the himkâra of the cows.'

5. In his right ear he murmurs, 'Bestow on us, O bountiful, onward-pressing Indra, plentiful, rich treasures. Give us a hundred autumns to live; give us many heroes, strong-jawed Indra;'

6. In the left ear, 'Indra, bestow on us the best treasures, insight of mind, happiness, increase of wealth, health of our bodies, sweetness of speech, and that our days may be good days.'

7. For a girl he only kisses the head silently.

18, 1. See Kâtyâyana, Srauta-sûtra IV, 12, 22 seq.: With the words, 'House, be not afraid,' &c. (Vâg. Samh. III, 41) he approaches the house. With, 'For peace you' (III, 43) he enters it.

5. Rig-veda III, 36, 10.

6. Rig-veda II, 21, 6.

KANDIKĀ 19.

1. In the sixth month the Annaprâsana (or first feeding with solid food).

2. Having cooked a mess of sacrificial food, and sacrificed the two Âgyabhâgas, he offers two Âgya oblations, (the first with the verse,) 'The gods have generated the goddess Speech; manifold animals speak her forth. May she, the sweet-sounding, the cow that (for milk) gives sap and juice to us, Speech, the highly-praised one, come to us. Svâhâ!'

3. And the second (oblation) with (the verse), 'May vigour us to-day' (Vâg. Samhitâ XVIII, 33).

4. He then sacrifices (four oblations) of cooked food with (the formulas),

'Through up-breathing may I enjoy food. Svâhâ!

'Through down-breathing may I enjoy smells. Svâhâ!

'Through my eye may I enjoy visible things. Svâhâ!

'Through my ear may I enjoy renown. Svâhâ!'

5. After he has eaten (himself), he should set apart food of all kinds, and of all different sorts of flavour, and should give it to him (i.e. to his son) to eat,

6. Silently or with (the word), 'Hanta' (i.e. Well!). For it is said in the Sṛuti, 'Men (live on) the word hanta.'

7. (He feeds the child) with flesh of (the bird called) Bhâradvâgî, if he wishes (to the child) fluency of speech,

8. With flesh of partridge, if abundance of nourishment,

-
9. With fish, if swiftness,
 10. (With flesh) of (the bird) *Kṛīkashâ*, if long life,
 11. (With flesh) of (the bird) *Âti*, if desirous of holy lustre,
 12. With all, if desirous of all.
 13. Or each (sort of) food one by one. Then (follows) feeding of the *Brâhmanas*, or each (sort of) food one by one. Then feeding of the *Brâhmanas*.

End of the First *Kânda*.

KÂNDA II, KANDIKÂ 1.

1. When (the son) is one year old, the *Kûdâkarana* (i.e. the tonsure of his head, should be performed),
2. Or before the lapse of the third (year).
3. When he is sixteen years old, the *Kesânta* (i.e. the shaving of his beard, is to be done),
4. Or, according as it is considered auspicious by all (the different families).
5. After food has been distributed to the *Brâhmanas*, the mother takes the boy, bathes him, puts on him an under and an upper garment which have not yet been washed, and putting him on her lap, she sits down to the west of the fire.
6. The father taking hold (of his wife) sacrifices *Âgya* oblations, and after he has partaken of the (sacrificial) food, he pours warm water into cold water with (the words), 'With warm water come hither, *Vâyu*! *Aditi*, cut the hair.'
7. At the *Kesânta* ceremony (*Sûtra* 3), 'hair and beard' (instead of 'hair').
8. He throws a piece of fresh butter, or of ghee, or some curds into it (i.e. into the water, *Sûtra* 6).
9. Taking some (water) he moistens the hair near the right ear with (the formula), 'On the impulse of *Savitri* may the divine waters moisten

1, 6. I see no reason why we should not take *Aditi* for the name of the goddess. Comp. *Atharva-veda* VI, 68, 2 : *Aditiḥ smaṣṭu vapatu. Âsvalâyana-Gṛhya* I, 17, 7. Stenzler translates: *Ungebundener, die Haare schneide.*

9. The text has, *dakshinam godânam undati*. The commentary on *Kâtyâyana* V, 2, 14 explains *dakshina godâna* : *dakshinakarnasamṣpavartinam siraḥpradesam*. *Sâyana* on *Satapatha Brâhmana* III, 1, 2, 4 (p. 323, ed. Weber) : *godânam nâma karnasyopari pradesaḥ*. The Mantra reoccurs in *Kâtyâyana*, loc. cit.—*Savitṛâ*

thy body in order that long life and splendour may be thine.'

10. Having unravelled (the hair) with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, he puts three young Kusa shoots into it with (the formula), 'Herb' (*Vâg. Samh.* IV, 1).

11. Taking up a copper razor with (the formula), 'Friendly by name' (*Vâg. Samh.* III, 63 a), he cuts (the hair) with (the formula), 'I cut off' (*ibid.* 63 b), (and with the formula,) 'The razor with which Savitrî, the knowing one, has shaven (the beard) of king Soma and Varuna, with that, ye Brâhmanas, shave his (head), in order that he may be blessed with long life and may reach old age.'

12. Cutting off (the Kusa shoots) together with the hair, he throws them on a lump of bull's dung which they keep northwards of the fire.

13. In the same way two other times silently.

14. The moistening and the other rites are repeated with the two other (tufts of hair).

15. Behind with (the verse), 'The threefold age' (*Vâg. Samh.* III, 62).

16. Then on the left side with (the verse), 'With that prayer by which mayst thou, a mighty one, go to heaven, and long mayst thou see the sun : with that prayer I shave thee for the sake of life, of existence, of glory, of welfare.'

prasûtâh should not be translated as Prof. Stenzler does: von Sav. erzeugt, but: von Sav. angetrieben.

10. This Sûtra is identical with Kâtyâyana-Sraut. V, 2, 15.

11. Compare Kâtyâyana I. l. § 17. The Mantra, *Vâg. Samh.* III, 63 b, is that given by Kâtyâyana, the following one is that which the other *Grîhya* texts prescribe.

16. See the various readings of the Mantra given by Professor Stenzler, p. 53 of his critical annotations, and compare Ârvalâyana-*Grîhya* I, 17, 13.

17. Three times he shaves round the head, from left to right ;

18. Including the face, at the Kesânta ceremony.

19. (He recites the verse,) ' When the shaver shaves his hair with the razor, the wounding, the well-shaped, purify his head, but do not take away his life.'

20. He adds (the word), ' his face ' at the Kesânta ceremony.

21. With that water (Sûtras 6, 8) he moistens his head, and gives the razor to the barber with (the words), ' Without wounding him, shave him.'

22. The locks of hair which are left over, are to be arranged as it is considered auspicious (in his family).

23. Having put away that lump of dung with the hair so that it is hidden in a cow-stable, or in a small pond, or in the vicinity of water, he gives an optional gift to the teacher ;

24. A cow at the Kesânta ceremony.

25. After the Kesânta has been performed, (the youth) should observe chastity and should not be shaven through one year, or twelve nights, or six nights, or at least three nights.

KANDIKÂ 2.

1. He should initiate a Brâhmaṇa, when he is eight years old, or in the eighth year after the conception,

2. A Râganya, when he is eleven years old,

19. Ârvalâyana I. I. § 16 ; Atharva-veda VIII, 2, 17.

20. He repeats the Mantra, given in Sûtra 19, in this form : ' When the shaver shaves his hair and his face,' &c.

23. See above, Sûtra 12.

3. A Vaisya, when he is twelve years old.
4. Or according as it is considered auspicious by all (the different families).
5. He should feed the Brâhmanas. And they lead him (i. e. the boy who is to be initiated) on, with his head shaven all round, and decked with ornaments.
6. (The teacher) makes him place himself to the west of the fire and say, 'I have come hither for the sake of studentship (brahmaçarya).' And, 'I will be a student (brahmaçarin).'
7. He then makes him put on a garment with (the verse), 'In the way in which Brîhaspati put the garment of immortality on Indra, thus I put (this garment) on thee, for the sake of long life, of old age, of strength, of splendour.'
8. He ties round him the girdle with (the verse which the youth recites), 'Here has come to me, keeping away evil words, purifying my kind as a purifier, clothing herself, by (the power of) inhalation and exhalation, with strength, this sisterly goddess, this blessed girdle.'
9. Or, 'A youth, well attired, dressed, came hither. He, being born, becomes glorious. Wise sages extol him, devout ones, turning their minds to the gods.'
10. Or silently.
11. He gives him the staff.

6 seqq. Comp. Satapatha Brâhmana XI, 5, 4.

8. The commentators differ as to whether the Âçârya or the youth should recite the verse. The comparison of Sâṅkhâya II, 2, 1 would rather tend to show that it is the teacher, but Gobhila II, 10 says expressly : *athainam triṣṇuṣṇu pradakṣiṇam muṇḍamekhalâm pariḥaran vâçayatiṣṇu duruktât paribâdhmânety ritasya goptrîti vâ*.

9. Rig-veda III, 8, 4. The verse is originally addressed to Agni.

12. (The student) accepts it with (the verse), 'My staff which fell down to the ground in the open air, that I take up again for the sake of long life, of holiness, of holy lustre.'

13. According to some (teachers he accepts the staff) in the way prescribed for the inauguration, because it is said, 'He enters upon a long Sattrā (or sacrificial period).'

14. (The teacher) then with his joined hands fills (the student's) joined hands with water with the three (verses), 'Ye waters are' (Vâg. Samh. XI, 50 seqq.).

15. He then makes him look at the sun with (the verse), 'That eye' (Vâg. Samh. XXXVI, 24).

16. He then touches his heart, (reaching) over his right shoulder, with (the words), 'Into my will I take thy heart, &c.'

17. He then seizes (the student's) right hand and says, 'What is thy name?'

18. He replies, 'I am N. N., sir!'

19. He then says to him, 'Whose pupil (brahma-kârin) art thou?'

20. After (the student) has said, 'Yours!'—(the

13. Satapatha Brâhmaṇa XI, 3, 3, 2: 'He enters upon a long Sattrā, who enters upon Brahmaṭarya.' The student, when being initiated, ought to behave, consequently, in the same way as those who receive the inauguration (dikshâ) for a long Sattrā. This is the meaning of this Sûtra. The rules regarding the staff handed over by the Adhvaryu to the Yagamâna at the dikshâ ceremony are given by Kâtyâyana, Srauta-sûtra VII, 4, 1-4.

15. See above, I, 8, 7.

16. See above, I, 8, 8.

17 seqq. Comp. Satapatha Brâhmaṇa XI, 5, 4, 1 seqq.

20. The words 'I am thy teacher' are omitted in one of Professor Stenzler's MSS. and in his translation. But they are given in the parallel passage of the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa. The

teacher replies,) ' Indra's pupil art thou ; Agni is thy teacher ; I am thy teacher, N. N. !'

21. He then gives him in charge to living beings with (the formulas), ' To Pragâpati I give thee in charge. To the god Savitrî I give thee in charge. To the waters, the herbs I give thee in charge. To Heaven and Earth I give thee in charge. To the Visve devâs I give thee in charge. To all beings I give thee in charge for the sake of freedom from harm.'

KANDIKÂ 3.

1. Having walked round the fire with his right side turned towards it, he sits down.

2. Taking hold (of the student), he sacrifices the Âgya oblations, and after having partaken (of the remains of the sacrificial food) he instructs him, ' A student art thou. Take water. Do the service. Do not sleep in the day-time. Keep silence. Put fuel on (the fire). Take water.'

3. He then recites the Sâvitri to him, who is seated to the north of the fire, with his face to the west, sitting near the teacher, and looks (at the teacher), while (the teacher) looks at him ;

4. Some say, to (the student) who is standing or seated to the south (of the fire) ;

5. Pâda by Pâda, (then) hemistich by hemistich, and the third time the whole (verse), reciting it together (with the student) ;

parallel passage in Sâṅkhâyaṇa (*Gr̥hya* II, 3, 1) also runs thus : Agnir âtâryas tava, asâv, aham kôbhau.

3, 1 seqq. Comp. the corresponding section of the *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* XI, 5, 4, 6 seqq.

4. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* l. l. § 14.

6. After one year, or after six months, or after twenty-four days, or after twelve days, or after six days, or after three days.

7. To a Brâhmana, however, he should recite a (Sâvitri) verse in the Gâyatri metre immediately. For it is said in the Sruti, 'To Agni indeed belongs the Brâhmana.'

8. A Trishûbh verse to a Râganya,

9. A Gagati to a Vaisya,

10. Or a Gâyatri to (persons of) all (castes).

KANDIKÂ 4.

1. Now the putting on of fuel.

2. He wipes with his hand (the ground) round the fire with (the formula), 'Agni, glorious one, make me glorious. As thou, glorious Agni, art glorious, thus, O glorious one, bring me to glory. As thou, Agni, art the preserver of the treasure of sacrifice for the gods, thus may I become the preserver of the treasure of the Veda for men.'

3. Having sprinkled (water) round the fire from left to right, he stands up and puts a piece of wood on (the fire) with (the texts),

'To Agni I have brought a piece of wood, to the great Gâtavedas. As thou, Agni, art inflamed by wood, thus I am inflamed by life, insight, vigour, offspring, cattle, holy lustre.

'May my teacher be the father of living sons; may I be full of insight, not forgetful (of what I have learned); may I become full of glory, of splendour, of holy lustre, an enjoyer of food. Svâhâ!

7. Satapatha Brâhmana I. I. § 12.

4, 2. Comp. Âsvalâyana-Grihya I, 22, 21.

3. As to anirâkarishnu, comp. anirâkarana below, III, 16.

4. In the same way (he puts on) a second (piece of wood) ; and thus a third.

5. Or (each piece) with (the verse), 'Thine is this' (Vâg. Samh. II, 14).

6. Or (he uses) both (this verse and the formulas given in Sûtra 3).

7. The wiping and sprinkling (of water) round (the fire are repeated) as above.

8. Having warmed his two hands, he wipes his mouth with (the formulas) :

'Agni, thou art the protector of bodies. Protect my body. Agni, thou art the giver of life. Give me life. Agni, thou art the giver of vigour. Give me vigour.

'Agni, what is deficient in my body, that restore to fulness.

'May the god Savitri bestow insight on me, may the goddess Sarasvatî, may the two divine Asvins, wreathed with lotus, (bestow) insight (on me).'

KANDIKÂ 5.

1. Here (follows the student's) going the rounds for alms.

2. A Brâhmana should beg, addressing (the woman from whom he begs alms) with the word 'Lady' put at the beginning (of his request),

3. A Râjanya, with the word 'Lady' inserted in the middle,

4. A Vaisya, with the word 'Lady' put at the end.

5. (He should beg) from three women who will not refuse ;

7. See above, Sûtras 2, 3.

5, 2-4. Comp. Âpastamba I, 3, 28 seqq. (S. B. E., II, p. 12) ; Manu II, 49, &c. The Brâhmana says, 'Lady, give alms ;' the Kshatriya, 'Give, lady, alms ;' the Vaisya, 'Give alms, lady.'

5. Âsvalâyana-Grhya I, 22, 7.

6. From six, twelve, or an indefinite number.
7. From his own mother first, according to some (teachers).
8. Having announced the alms received to his teacher, he should stand, keeping silence, through the rest of the day, according to some.
9. Having fetched fire-wood out of the forest without damaging (trees), he should put them on that fire as above, and should abandon his silence.
10. He should sleep on the ground and eat no pungent or saline food.
11. Wearing the staff, worshipping the fire, being obedient to his Guru, going the rounds for alms—(these are the standing duties of students).
12. He should avoid honey or flesh, bathing (for pleasure), sitting on high seats, going to women, falsehood, and taking what is not given to him.
13. Let him live forty-eight years as a student for the (four) Vedas,
14. Or twelve years for each Veda,
15. Or until he has learnt it.
16. The garment (of a student) should be made of hemp, flax, or wool (accordingly as he is a Brâhmana, a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya).
17. The upper garment of a Brâhmana should be an antelope-skin,
18. That of a Râganya the skin of a spotted deer,

8. Âsvalâyaṇa I. l. §§ 10, 11.

9. The meaning is, he should not break off branches, but only gather such as have fallen off. The words 'as above' refer to chap. 4.

12. Gautama II, 13; Âpastamba I, 2, 23. 28-30. 21. 26.

13-15. Comp. Âpastamba I, 2, 12 seqq.; Âsvalâyaṇa I, 22, 3.

19. That of a Vaisya a goat's or cow's skin.
20. Or if (the prescribed sort of garment) is not to be had, a cow's hide (should be worn) by all, because to that belongs the first place (among all kinds of garments).
21. The girdle of a Brâhmana should be of Muñga grass,
22. That of a Kshatriya should be a bowstring,
23. That of a Vaisya, made of Mûrvâ (i. e. Sanseveria Roxburghiana).
24. If there is no Muñga (or the other articles prescribed in §§ 22, 23, the girdles should be made) of Kuśa grass, of the plant Asmantaka, or of Balbaga grass (respectively).
25. The staff of a Brâhmana is of Palâśa wood,
26. That of a Râganya of Bilva wood,
27. That of a Vaisya of Udumbara wood.
28. Or all (sorts of staffs may be used) by all.
29. If the teacher calls him, he shall rise and then answer.
30. If (the teacher calls him) while he is lying down, (he should answer) sitting; if sitting, standing; if standing, walking up (to the teacher); if walking up, running up.
31. If he behaves thus, his fame when he has become a Snâtaka (i. e. when he has taken the bath at the end of his studentship) will be (such that people will say of him), 'To-day he stays there; to-day he stays there.'
32. There are three (kinds of) Snâtakas: a Vidyâ-snâtaka (i. e. a Snâtaka by knowledge), a Vrata-

24. Manu II, 43.

32-35. Comp. Âpastamba I, 30, 1-3; Manu IV, 31. The term of the vows extends through forty-eight (or thirty-six, &c.)

snâtaka (i. e. a Snâtaka by the completion of his vows), and a Vidyâ-vrata-snâtaka (i. e. a Snâtaka both by knowledge and by the completion of his vows).

33. He who performs the Samâvartana ceremony, after having finished the study of the Veda, but before the time of his vows has expired, is a Vidyâ-snâtaka.

34. He who performs the Samâvartana, after his vows have expired, but before he has finished the study of the Veda, is a Vrata-snâtaka.

35. He who performs the Samâvartana, after having finished both, is a Vidyâ-vrata-snâtaka.

36. Until the sixteenth year the time (for being initiated) has not passed for a Brâhmana,

37. Until the twenty-second for a Râganya,

38. Until the twenty-fourth for a Vaisya.

39. After that (time has passed), they become patitasâvitrika (or persons who have lost the right of learning the Sâvitri).

40. No one should initiate such men, nor teach them, nor perform sacrifices for them, nor have intercourse with them.

41. After the time has passed, (they should do) as has been prescribed.

42. A person whose ancestors through three generations have been patitasâvitrikas, is excluded

years; see above, Sûtras 13 and 14, and below, chap. 6, 2. 3. The Samâvartana is the returning home of the student at the end of his studentship.

36-40. Âsvalâyana-Grihya I, 19, 5 seqq. &c.

41. The general rule here alluded to is, according to the commentators, that given by Kâtâyâna, Srauta-sûtra XXV, 1, 12. 13. There it is stated which expiatory oblations have to precede, when a rite that has not been performed, or that has been incorrectly performed, is to be performed for good.

42. Those who have not been initiated in due time, may act as

from the sacrament (of initiation) and from being taught the Veda.

43. Of such persons those who desire to receive the sacrament, may perform the sacrifice of Vrâtyastoma and then study the Veda, if they like. For (of persons who have done that) it is said, 'Inter-course with them is permitted.'

KANDIKÂ 6.

1. When he has finished the Veda, he should take the bath (by which he becomes a Snâtaka);

2. Or when (he has gone through) a studentship of forty-eight years;

3. Or also after (a studentship) of twelve years, according to some (teachers).

4. (Let him take the bath only) if his Guru has given his permission.

5. Rules (regarding the performance of sacrifices), (texts) to be used (at the sacrifices according to those rules), and reasoning (on the meaning of the rites and texts): that is the Veda.

6. Some say (that the Veda should be studied) with its six Ângas;

stated in Sûtra 41. But if the omission has been perpetuated through three generations, the descendant of such persons is subject to the rules stated in Sûtras 42 and 43.

43. Kâtyâyana, after having given the rules on the Vrâtyastoma sacrifice (see Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd edition, pp. 73 seq.), says: 'Intercourse with them (who have performed that sacrifice) is permitted' (Sraut. XXII, 4, 28).

6, 2. See above, chap. 5, 13.

3. See chap. 5, 14.

5. The expressions of the text for the three categories are, vidhi, vidheya, tarka.

6. I.e. with the supplementary treatises on ritual, grammar, astronomy, etymology, pronunciation of the Mantras, and metrics.

7. Not so that he only knows the ceremonial.

8. But optionally by one who knows the sacrifices (the bath may be taken).

9. (The student) after having embraced (the feet of) his teacher, and put the pieces of wood on the fire, places himself northwards of an enclosure, on eastward-pointed Kusa grass, to the east of eight vessels with water.

10. 'The fires that dwell in the waters; the fire which must be hidden, the fire which must be covered, the ray of light, the fire which kills the mind, the unwavering one, the pain-causing one, the destroyer of the body, the fire which kills the organs—those I leave behind. The shining one, that I seize here'—with (this formula) he draws water out of one (of the eight vessels);

11. With that he besprinkles himself with (the words), 'Therewith I besprinkle myself for the sake of prosperity, of glory, of holiness, of holy lustre.'

12. (A second time he draws water out of a second of the eight vessels with the formula given in Sûtra 10, putting instead of the words, 'The shining one, &c.,' the verse): 'By which you have created prosperity, by which you have touched surâ, with which you have anointed the eyes, which is your glory, O Asvins.'

10. As to the names of the eight hostile powers of Agni, comp. *Saṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya* V, 2; *Atharva-veda* XIV, 1, 38; XVI, 1; *Mantrabrâhmaṇa* I, 7, 1.

12. The reading of the Mantra seems to be corrupt. Compare the form in which it is given by Bhavadeva, quoted in Professor Stenzler's note on this Sûtra. Instead of *sriyam* we have probably to read, as Bhavadeva has, *striyam*; instead of *akshyau*, *akshân*. Professor Stenzler very pertinently compares *Atharva-veda* XIV, 1, 35-36. Comp. also *Mantrabrâhmaṇa* I, 7, 5.

13. (And he draws water out of three other vessels) with (the three verses), 'Ye waters are' (Vâg. Samh. XI, 50-52), verse by verse.

14. With (water drawn out of) the three other (vessels he besprinkles himself) silently.

15. Having loosened his girdle with (the verse), 'The highest band' (Vâg. Samh. XII, 12), having put it down, having put on another garment, he worships the sun—

16. With (the formulas), 'Rising, bearing a shining spear, Indra stands with the Maruts; he stands with the gods who walk in the morning. Thou art a tenfold winner; make me a tenfold winner. Make me attain to renown.

'Rising, bearing a shining spear, Indra stands with the Maruts; he stands with the gods who walk in day-time. Thou art a hundredfold winner; make me a hundredfold winner. Make me attain to renown.

'Rising, bearing a shining spear, Indra stands with the Maruts; he stands with the gods who walk in the evening. Thou art a thousandfold winner; make me a thousandfold winner. Make me attain to renown.'

17. Having eaten curds or sesamum seeds, and having had his matted hair, the hair of his body, and his nails cut, he should cleanse his teeth with an Udumbara branch with (the verse), 'Array yourselves for the enjoyment of food. Here has come king Soma: he will purify my mouth with glory and fortune.'

16. In the Mantra the Pâraskara MSS. give *bhrâgabhrîṣṇuḥ* and *bhrâgabhrîṣṇiḥ*, and the Gobhila MSS. (*Grîhya* III, 4) *bhrâgabhrîṣṇiḥ*. Possibly the instrumental case is right. Böhlingk and Roth propose to read *bhrâgadhrîṣṇiḥ*.

18. Having anointed himself and bathed again, he takes up the salve for nose and mouth with (the words), 'Satisfy my up-breathing and down-breathing; satisfy my eye; satisfy my ear!'

19. Having poured out to the south the water with which he has washed his hands, with (the words), 'Ye fathers, become pure,' he should salve himself and murmur, 'May I become well-looking with my eyes, well-shining with my face, well-hearing with my ears.'

20. He then should put on a garment which has not yet been washed, or not been soaked in lie, with (the formula), 'For the sake of putting on, of bringing fame, of long life I shall reach old age. I live a hundred long autumns. For the sake of the increase of wealth I will clothe myself.'

21. Then the upper garment with (the verse), 'With glory (come) to me, Heaven and Earth. With glory, Indra and Bṛhaspati! May glory and fortune come to me! may glory be my lot!'

22. If (he has only) one (garment), he should cover himself (with a part of that garment as if it were an upper garment) with the second part of the former (Mantra; Sûtra 20).

23. He takes flowers with (the formula), '(The

20. Comp. Kâtyâyana, Srauta-sûtra VII, 2, 18, to which Sûtra Professor Stenzler refers.

22. I give this translation merely as tentative. Professor Stenzler translates: Wenn er nur Ein Gewand hat, so bedecke er sich (noch einmal) mit dem oberen Theile des zuerst angelegten. Gayarâma (MS. Chambers 373) says: *ekam ket tatrâpi paridhâna-mantram pashîtvâ vastrârdham paridhâya dvir âkâmya uttarârdhe grhîtvâ uttarîyam* [sic] *mantram pashîtvottariyam krîtvâ punar dvir âkâmed ity arthaḥ*.

23. Hiraṇy.-Grîhya I, 3, 11, 4.

flowers) which Gamadagni has brought for the sake of faith (has brought to Sraddhâ?), of love, of the senses, them I take with glory and with fortune.'

24. He then ties them (to his head) with (the verse), 'The high, wide glory, which Indra has created for the Apsarases, the flowers bound up with that, I tie on to me, to bring me glory!'

25. He binds a turban to his head with (the verse), 'A youth, well attired.'

26. (He puts on) the two ear-rings with (the words), 'An ornament art thou; may more ornaments be mine.'

27. He salves his two eyes with (the formula), 'Vritra's' (Vâg. Samh. IV, 3 b).

28. With (the words), 'Brilliant art thou,' he looks at his image in a mirror.

29. He takes a parasol with (the words), 'Thou art Brîhaspati's covering. Shelter me from evil. Do not shelter me from splendour and glory.'

30. With (the words), 'You are supports; protect me from all sides,' he puts on the two shoes.

31. With (the words), 'From all powers of destruction protect me on all sides,' he takes a bamboo staff.

32. (For) the tooth-cleaner, &c. (the Mantras stated above are to be used) in every case; (for) the garment, the parasol, and the shoes, the Mantra (should only be recited) if they have not been used before.

KANDIKÂ 7.

1. We shall state the rules of conduct for a Snâtaka.

2. Another (may observe those rules) optionally.

25. See above, chap. 2, 9.

3. Dancing, singing, and playing musical instruments, let him neither perform himself nor go (to see or hear it).

4. Sing, however, he may at his pleasure, for there is another saying, 'He sings either or he rejoices in (other people's) singing.'

5. If everything goes well, he shall not go by night to another village, and shall not run.

6. He shall avoid looking into a well, climbing up a tree, gathering fruits, crawling through narrow openings, bathing naked, jumping over uneven ground, using harsh language, looking at the sun while it is rising or setting, and begging. For there is a *Sruti*: 'After he has bathed, he should not beg. For he who bathes, drives away from himself begging.'

7. If it rains, he shall go without an upper garment, and shall say, 'May this, my thunderbolt, drive away evil.'

8. He shall not look at himself in water.

9. *Agâtalomnîm vipumsîm shandham ka nopahaset.*

10. Let him call a pregnant woman 'viganyâ' (one who will give birth to a child);

11. An ichneumon (nakula), sakula;

12. A skull (kapâla), bhagâla;

7, 3. Comp. the similar rule given in the Buddhist Vinaya, *Mahāvagga* I, 56.

4. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* VI, 1, 1, 15.

5. If no accident happens that makes his going to another village necessary.

6. The passage of the *Sruti* quoted is found in the *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* XI, 3, 3, 7. Comp. *Vasishṭha* XII, 2, 10, 25; *Gautama* IX, 32, 61, &c.

12. *Gautama* IX, 21.

13. A rainbow (Indra-dhanu, Indra's bow), *manidhanu* (the jewelled bow).

14. A cow that suckles (her calf) he should not point out to another (person).

15. Let him not void urine or excrements on a ploughed field, on uncovered ground, or while rising up or standing.

16. He shall wipe himself with wood that has fallen off by itself.

17. He should not wear a dyed garment.

18. He should be fixed in his intentions, protect everybody's life, and be everybody's friend, as it were.

KANDIKÂ 8.

1. Through a period of three nights (after the *Samâvartana*) he should keep (the following) observances.

2. He shall eat no flesh and not drink out of an earthen vessel.

3. He shall avoid seeing women, *Sûdras*, dead bodies, black birds, and dogs, and shall not talk to (such beings).

4. He shall not eat funeral food, or food of a

13. Gautama IX, 22; *Vasishtha* XII, 32. 33; *Âpastamba* I, 31, 18.

14. Gautama IX, 23; *Âpastamba* I, 31, 10.

15. Gautama IX, 38; *Vasishtha* XII, 13; *Âpastamba* I, 30, 15.

18. Before easing himself, he shall first cover the ground with grass or the like.

17. Gautama IX, 4; *Âpastamba* I, 30, 10.

8, 1. The words of this *Sûtra* are repeated from *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* XIV, 1, 1, 28 (only for *karati* it is said here *karati*).

2. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* l. l. § 30.

3. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* l. l. § 31. Black birds, according to the commentators, mean crows.

4. Funeral food is such food as described below, III, 10, 26.

Sûdra, or of a woman lying-in (during the period of her impurity).

5. He shall not void urine or excrements, or spit out in the sun-shine, and shall not cover himself against the sun.

6. He shall take warm water for (the rites) in which water is wanted.

7. At night he shall eat by the light (of a lamp or a fire-brand).

8. Or only speaking the truth (suffices instead of the other observances).

9. Also a person who has received the dīkshâ (or inauguration for a Soma sacrifice), should observe these rules beginning from (that which regards) the sun-shine (Sûtra 5), if he performs the Pravargya ceremony.

KANDIKÂ 9.

1. Now (follow) the five great sacrifices.

2. Of the Vaisvadeva food he should, after having sprinkled (water) round (the sacred fire), make oblations, with the word Svâhâ (each time repeated), to Brahman, to Pragâpati, to the (deities) of the house, to Kasyapa, and to Anumati.

3. To the domestic deities (he offers) three

9. The Pravargya ceremony, one of the preparatory ceremonies of the Soma sacrifice (Indische Studien, X, 363), was not performed at every Soma sacrifice, but there were certain restrictions regarding its performance; see Indische Studien, IX, 219 seq.

9, 1. The five Mahâyagñas are, the sacrifice to the gods, the sacrifice to living Beings, the sacrifice to the Fathers, the sacrifice to the Brahman, the sacrifice to men. As to the meaning of the five categories, see Ârvalâyana-Gṛhya III, 1.

2. Compare above, I, 12, 3.

3. Compare above, I, 12, 2.

(Balis) in the water-pot : to Parganya, to the waters, to the Earth ;

4. To Dhâtri and Vidhâtri at the two door-posts ;

5. To the different quarters (of the horizon), to Vâyu and (to the presiding deities) of the quarters ;

6. In the middle three (Balis) to Brahman, to the Air, to the Sun.

7. To the north of those (he offers Balis) to the Visve devâs and to all the beings ;

8. Further on to Ushas and to the Lord of beings ;

9. To the south (to the Fathers) with (the words), 'To the Fathers, Svadhâ ! Adoration !'

10. Having rinsed out the vessel, he should pour it out towards the north-west with (the words), 'Consumption ! this to thee !'

11. Taking the Brâhmana's portion (of the food which he is going to distribute), he should give it to a Brâhmana, after he has made him wash himself, with (the words), 'Well ! (this) to thee !'

12. To (religious) mendicants and to guests they should apportion (food) as due to them.

13. The persons belonging to the house, the young and the old, should eat what is due to them ;

14. Afterwards the householder and his wife.

15. Or the householder (should eat) first, because

11. What I have translated 'the Brâhmana's portion' is *agra*. See on this word the remark of Nîlakantha quoted by Böhlingk-Roth s.v. *agrahâra* : *agram brâhmanabhoganam, tadartham hriyante râgadhanât prâhakkriyante te-grahârâh kshetrâdayah*. According to different commentators and lexicographers one *Agra* is equal to four or to sixteen mouthfuls of food.

15. I cannot indicate any more than Professor Stenzler could, where the passage here quoted occurs in a Brâhmana.

the *Śruti* says, 'Therefore the householder should eat the sweetest food before his guests.'

16. Every day he should sacrifice with the word *svâhâ*. If he has no food (to offer, he should make his offering) with something else, be it even a piece of wood (only), to the gods, or be it (only) a water-pot, to the Fathers and to men.

KANDIKÂ 10.

1. Now (follows) the *Adhyâyopâkarman* (or opening ceremony at the beginning of the annual course of study).

2. When the herbs appear, (when the moon stands in conjunction) with *Śravana*, on the full-moon day of the *Śravana* month, or on the fifth (*Tithi*) of the *Śravana* month under (the *Nakshatra*) *Hasta* ;

3. Having sacrificed the two *Āgya* portions, he offers two *Āgya* oblations, (namely,)

4. To the Earth and to *Agni*, if (he studies) the *Rig-veda*,

5. To the Air and to *Vāyu*, if the *Yagur-veda*,

6. To the Heaven and to the Sun, if the *Sâma-veda*,

7. To the quarters (of the horizon) and to the Moon, if the *Atharva-veda*;

8. (Besides) to the *Brahman*, to the metres in every case,

9. And to *Pragâpati*, to the gods, to the *Rishis*, to Faith, to Insight, to *Sadasaspati*, to *Anumati*.

10. The same (oblations are made) when the

16. Comp. *Sâṅkhâyana-Gṛhya* II, 17, 2 ; *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* XI, 5, 6, 2.

10, 2. Comp. *Āśvalâyana-Gṛhya* III, 5, 2. 3 and my note.

10. On the different *vratas* (observances) connected with the

observances are imposed (on a student) or given up (by him, after having been kept through the prescribed period of time).

11. With (the verse), 'Sadasaspati' (Vâg. Samh. XXXII, 13) (the teacher) three times (sacrifices) fried grains.

12. All should repeat (that verse after him).

13. After each oblation they should each time put on the fire three pieces of Udumbara wood, fresh branches with leaves, anointed with ghee, reciting the Sâvitri.

14. And the students (should put wood on the fire) in the manner stated above.

15. With (the verse), 'Luck may bring us' (Vâg. Samh. IX, 16) they should eat the fried grains without chewing them.

16. With the verse, 'Of Dadhikrâvan' (Vâg. Samh. XXIII, 32) they should eat curds.

17. As many pupils as he wishes to obtain, so many sesamum grains should he sacrifice with a dice-board, with the Sâvitri or with the Anuvâka, 'Bright-resplending' (Vâg. Samh. XVII, 80 seqq.).

18. After they have eaten (the remainder of the sacrificial food, the teacher) should pronounce the word Om and then repeat the Sâvitri three times, and the beginnings of the Adhyâyas to (the students) who are seated facing the west :

study of the Veda, such as the Sukriya-vrata, the Sâkvara-vrata, &c., comp. especially Sâṅkhâya-Grhya II, 11. 12 and the notes there.

14. See above, chap. 4.

17. Âkarshaphalakena. Râmakrishna states that this is a board of Udumbara wood, of the length of an arm, and of the shape of a serpent. (See Professor Stenzler's note.)

18. The following Sûtras clearly show that this rule is intended for students of the Yagur-veda only.

19. The beginnings of the sections belonging to the (different) *Rîshis*, if they are *Bahvrikas* (i. e. if they study the *Rîg-veda*),

20. The *Parvans*, if they are *Khandogas* (i. e. if they study the *Sâma-veda*),

21. The *Sûktas*, if they are *Atharvans*.

22. All murmur: 'May it be ours in common; may it bless us in common; may this Brahman be powerful with us together. Indra knows that through which, and in which way, no hatred may spring up amongst us.'

23. Through a period of three nights they should not study (the *Veda*).

24. And they should not cut the hair of their bodies and their nails.

25. Some say (that this should not be done) till the *Utsarga* (i. e. the concluding ceremony of the annual course of study).

KANDIKÂ 11.

1. If (a strong) wind is blowing, and on the new-moon day there is an entire interruption of study.

2. If one has partaken of a *Srâddha* dinner, if a meteor falls, or distant thundering is heard, or if the earth quakes, or if fiery apparitions are seen, and when a new season begins, (the study shall be interrupted) until the same time next day.

3. If the *Utsarga* ceremony has been performed,

20. On the division of the *Sâma-veda* into *Parvans*, comp. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd edition, p. 72.

11, 1. 'Entire interruption' means, according to the commentators, that not only the study of the *Veda* itself, but also that of the *Vedângas*, or even all sorts of worldly instruction are forbidden.

3. I have left the words *sarvarûpe ka* untranslated. Evidently

if clouds appear, , (it shall be interrupted) through a period of three nights or till twilight has thrice passed.

4. After he has eaten, until he has (washed and) dried his hands; while being in water; at night-time; at the time of the morning and evening twilight; while a dead body or a *Kandâla* is in the village.

5. While running, while seeing a person of bad fame or who has lost his caste, if a miraculous or happy event happens, as long as (that which occasions the interruption of study) endures.

6. If hoar-frost (lies on the ground), if a musical instrument is heard, or the cry of a person in pain, at the border of the village, in a burial ground, or if a dog, an ass, an owl, a jackal, or a *Sâman* song is heard, or if a learned person approaches, as long as (that occasion) endures.

7. If his Guru has died, let him go down into water (for offering water-oblations) and interrupt (the study) for ten nights.

8. If one who has performed with him the *Tânûnaptra* ceremony, or a fellow-pupil (has died), for three nights.

9. If one who is not his fellow-pupil, (has died,) for one night.

sarvarûpa is identical with the doubtful word savarûpa which twice occurs in the *Sânkhâyana-Grîhya*. See the discussion on that word in the note on *Sânkhâyana* II, 12, 10.

4. On *antardivâkîrtye*, comp. *Manu* V, 85. *Gautama* XVI, 19.

8. The *Tânûnaptra* is an invocation directed to *Tanûnaptri* (i.e. the wind) by which the officiating priests and the *Yagamâna* at a Soma sacrifice pledge their faith to do no harm to each other. See *Indische Studien*, X, 362.

10. After having studied five months and a half, they should celebrate the Utsarga,

11. Or six months and a half.

12. They then mutter this *Riṣ*: 'Ye two young sages! The relation which has expired among us, the friendship we dissolve, (turning away) from the condition of friendship.'

13. After having remained together through a period of three nights, they separate.

KANDIKĀ 12.

1. In (the month) Pausha, under (the Nakshatra) Rohinī, or at the middle Ashṭakâ let them celebrate the conclusion of the study (of the Veda).

2. Let them go to the brink of water and make water oblations to the gods, the metres, the Vedas, the *Riṣhis*, the ancient teachers, the Gandharvas, the other teachers, the year with its divisions, and to their own ancestors and teachers.

3. After having four times quickly recited the Sāvitrī, they should say, 'We have finished.'

4. Interruption (of the study) and (continuation of the) teaching as stated above.

12. The reading of the Mantra is doubtful. I think it should stand as Professor Stenzler has printed it, except that I should propose to correct yuvâ into yuvânâ (comp. Âsvalâyana-Srauta VI, 12, 12). It is probable that the gods addressed are the two Āsvins, who are called kavī and yuvânâ in several passages of the Vedas.

12, 1. See Âsvalâyana-Grīhya III, 5, 20; Sâṅkhâyana-Grīhya IV, 6. On the three Ashṭakâs, see below, III, 3, 1.

4. Sâṅkhâyana-Grīhya IV, 5, 17, where the same expression kshapana for interruptions of the study is used. The words 'as above' refer to chap. 10, 23. 24.

KANDIKÂ 13.

1. On an auspicious day the harnessing to the plough. Or under (the Nakshatra) *Gyeshthâ*, (because that rite is) sacred to Indra.

2. To Indra, Parganya, the two Asvins, the Maruts, Udalâkâsyapa, Svâtikârî, Sitâ, and Anumati, he offers curds, rice grains, perfumes, and fried grains, and then makes the bullocks eat honey and ghee.

3. He should put them to the plough with (the verse), 'They harness to the ploughs' (*Vâg. Samh. XII, 67*).

4. With (the verse), 'For luck may us the plough-shares' (*Vâg. Samh. XII, 69*) let him plough or touch the plough-share.

5. Or (he may) not (do so), because (that verse) has been prescribed for (the erection of) the Agni (-altar), and the act of sowing stands in connection (with it).

6. After the front-bullock has been sprinkled (with water), they then should plough unploughed ground.

13, 1. Indra is the presiding deity over the constellation *Gyeshthâ*; see *Sânkhâyana-Grîhya I, 26, 16, &c.*

2. The names of the genius Udalâkâsyapa and of the female genius Svâtikârî occur, as far as I know, only here. Bôhtlingk-Roth propose to read *Sphâtîmkârî* ('the goddess who gives abundance').

5. At the Agni-kayana ceremony furrows are drawn with the plough on the Agni-kshetra with the verses *Vâg. Samh. XII, 69-72*. Afterwards grains of different kinds are sown. See *Kâtyâyana XVII, 2, 12*; 3, 8; *Indische Studien, XIII, 244 seq.* Thus in the Srauta ritual the verse *Vâg. Samh. XII, 69* stands in a connection which does not conform to the occasion for which it would be used here.

7. He should make oblations of cooked sacrificial food to the same deities as above, when sowing both rice and barley, and at the sacrifice to Sītā.

8. Then (follows) feeding of the Brāhmaṇas.

KANDIKĀ 14.

1. Now (follows) the *Sravanā* ceremony,

2. On the full-moon day of the *Srāvana* month.

3. He cooks a mess of sacrificial food, fried grains, and a cake in one dish, pounds the greater part of the grains, sacrifices the two *Āgya* portions, and two (other) *Āgya* oblations (with the following verses):

4. 'Beat away, O white one, with thy foot, with the fore-foot and with the hind-foot, these seven [children] of *Varuṇa* and all (daughters) of the king's tribe. Svāhā !

5. 'Within the dominion of the white one, the Serpent has seen nobody. To the white one, the son of *Vidarva*, adoration ! Svāhā !'

6. He makes oblations of the mess of cooked sacrificial food to *Vishṇu*, to *Sravana*, to the full moon of *Srāvana*, and to the rainy season,

7. (And oblations) of the grains with (the verse), 'Accompanied with grains' (*Vâg. Samh. XX, 29*).

7. 'As above' refers to *Sūtra* 2. On the *Sītā-yagña*, see below, chap. 17.

14, 1 seqq. Comp. *Sāṅkhāyana* IV, 5; *Āsvalāyana* II, 1; *Gobhila* III, 7.

4. *Āsvalāyana* II, 3, 3; *Sāṅkhāyana* IV, 18, 1. For *Vārunaiḥ* and *rāgabāṇḍhavaiḥ* I read *Vārunîḥ*, *rāgabāṇḍhaviḥ*. *Pragâḥ* is an interpolation.

5. *Āsvalāyana*, loc. cit. One is rather tempted to correct *ahir dadamsa kañkana*, but *Rāmakandra's* *Paddhati* on *Sāṅkhāyana* gives the reading *dadarsa*, as the *Pāraskara* MSS. do.

8. He sacrifices flour, over which ghee has been poured, to the serpents (with the following Mantras):

9. 'To the lord of the serpents belonging to Agni, of the yellowish, terrestrial ones, svâhâ !

'To the lord of the white serpents belonging to Vâyu, of the aerial ones, svâhâ !

'To the lord of the overpowering serpents belonging to Sûrya, of the celestial ones, svâhâ !

10. The (cake) in one dish he offers entirely (without leaving a remainder for the sacrificer) with (the formula), 'To the firm one, the son of the Earth, svâhâ !'

11. After he has eaten (of the sacrificial food), he throws a portion of the flour into a basket, goes out, besmears an elevated spot outside the hall (with cowdung), says, while a fire-brand is held (before him), 'Do not step between (myself and the fire),' and without speaking (anything except the Mantras), he causes the serpents to wash themselves, (pouring out water for them, with the formulas:)

12. 'Lord of the serpents belonging to Agni, of the yellowish, terrestrial ones, wash thyself !

'Lord of the white serpents belonging to Vâyu, of the aerial ones, wash thyself !

'Lord of the overpowering serpents belonging to Sûrya, of the celestial ones, wash thyself !'

13. Each time after the washing has been done, he offers to the serpents a Bali of flour, picking out

11. The ceremony with the fire-brand seems to stand in connection with the rule given by Âsvalâyana, II, 1, 13, that before the sacrificer has 'given himself in charge' to the serpents, nobody is allowed to step between him and the Bali destined for the serpents. Comp. also below, Sûtra 23.

13. I have translated upaghâtam by 'picking out.' On the full

(portions of it) with (the spoon called) Darvī (with the formulas) :

14. 'Lord of the serpents belonging to Agni, of the yellowish, terrestrial ones, this is thy Bali !

'Lord of the white serpents belonging to Vāyu, of the aerial ones, this is thy Bali !

'Lord of the overpowering serpents belonging to Sūrya, of the celestial ones, this is thy Bali !'

15. After he has made them wash themselves as above, he combs them with combs (with the formulas) :

16. 'Lord of the serpents belonging to Agni, of the yellowish, terrestrial ones, comb thyself !

'Lord of the white serpents belonging to Vāyu, of the aerial ones, comb thyself !

'Lord of the overpowering serpents belonging to Sūrya, of the celestial ones, comb thyself !'

17. (He offers) collyrium, ointment, and garlands with (the same formulas), putting at their end, respectively, the words, 'Salve thy eyes !' 'Anoint thyself !' 'Put on garlands !'

18. The remainder of the flour he pours out on the elevated spot (mentioned in Sūtra 11), pours water on it out of a water-pot, and worships the

technical meaning of the term, which implies the omission of the upastarāṇa and abhighāraṇa, see Bloomfield's note on *Grihya-samgraha* I, 111 (*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXV, 568).

15. The words 'as above' refer to Sūtra 11. Pralikhati, which I have translated 'he combs them,' is the same act for which Sāṅkhāyana (IV, 15, 7) says, *phareṇa keshayati*. I think Professor Stenzler is wrong in translating : Er scharrt (das Mehl) mit Kämmen zusammen. Gayarāma says : *pralekhanam ka kramena pratimantram balikandūyanam kaṅkataiḥ. tāni ka vaikaṅkatiyāni prādesa-mātrāny ekatodantāni kāshṭhāni bhavanti*.

serpents with the three (verses), 'Adoration be to the serpents' (Vâg. Samh. XIII, 6 seqq.).

19. At that distance in which he wishes the serpents not to approach (the house), he should three times walk round the house, sprinkling an uninterrupted stream of water round it, with the two (verses), 'Beat away, O white one, with thy foot' (Sûtras 4 and 5).

20. He gives away the (spoon called) Darvî (Sûtra 13) and the basket (Sûtra 11), having washed and warmed them.

21. Near the door (of the house) they clean themselves with the three (verses), 'O waters, ye are' (Vâg. Samh. XI, 50 seqq.).

22. Having put away that remainder of flour in a hidden place, he should from that time daily till the Âgrahâyamî, after sunset, when he has performed the service to the fire, offer to the serpents a Bali of flour, picking out (portions of it) with the Darvî (spoon).

23. When he is offering (the Bali), let no one step between (the sacrificer and the Bali).

24. With the Darvî (spoon) he rinses his mouth. Having washed it, he puts it away.

20. According to the commentators he gives these things to the man who holds the fire-brand (Sûtra 11).

22. The Âgrahâyamî is the full-moon day of Mârgasîrsha, on which the Pratyavarohana ceremony is celebrated. See below, III, 2 ; Weber, die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra, II, 332. The expression darvyopaghâtam is the same that has occurred above in Sûtra 13.

23. Comp. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya II, 1, 13, and see above, Sûtra 11.

24. Prakshâlâya seems to me to refer to the Darvî ; see Sûtra 20.

25. They eat the (rice) grains which must not form one coherent mass.

26. Then (follows) the feeding of the Brâhmanas.

KANDIKĀ 15.

1. On the full-moon day of Praushthapada the sacrifice to Indra.

2. Having cooked milk-rice for Indra and cakes, and having put cakes round (the fire), he sacrifices the two Âgya portions and Âgya oblations to Indra, to Indrâni, to Aga Ekapad, to Ahi Budhnya, and to the Proshthapadâs.

3. After he has eaten (his portion of the sacrificial food), he offers a Bali to the Maruts. For the Sruti says, 'The Maruts eat what is not-sacrificed.'

4. (This Bali he offers) in Asvattha leaves, because it is said, 'The Maruts stood in the Asvattha tree.'

25. Asamsyûtâh. Comp. Böhrtlingk-Roth s.v. sam-siv.

15, 2. After these Âgya oblations follows the chief oblation of the whole sacrifice, the oblation of milk-rice to Indra. In one of Professor Stenzler's MSS. there is a special Sûtra inserted after Sûtra 2, 'Of the cooked food he makes an oblation with (the formula), "To Indra svâhâ."' I do not, however, think it right to receive this Sûtra into the text, as the other MSS. do not support it, and the commentators did not find it in the text which they read.

3. Professor Stenzler's translation, 'Die Maruts essen kein Opfer,' seems to me not quite exact. I should prefer to say, 'Die Maruts essen Nicht-Opfer.' This passage, taken from Satapatha Brâhmana IV, 5, 2, 16, is quoted as supporting the rule that a Bali offering should be made to the Maruts; for in the technical language the term ahuta is applied to Bali offerings (Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grihya I, 10, 7, huto-gnihotrahomena, ahuto balikarmasâ).

4. When Indra called them to his help against Vritra. Satapatha Brâhmana IV, 3, 3, 6.

5. (He offers it) with (the texts), 'Brilliantly resplendent' (Vâg. Samh. XVII, 80-85), Mantra by Mantra,
6. And with the (Mantra called) Vimukha.
7. (This Mantra he repeats only) in his mind.
8. For the *Sruti* says, 'These are their names.'
9. He murmurs, 'To Indra the divine' (Vâg. Samh. XVII, 86).
10. Then (follows) the feeding of the *Brâhmanas*.

KANDIKÂ 16.

1. On the full-moon day of *Âsvayuga* the (offerings of) *Prishâtakas* (are made).
2. Having cooked milk-rice for Indra he sacrifices it, mixed with curds, honey, and ghee, to Indra, *Indrâni*, the two *Asvins*, the full moon of *Âsvayuga*, and to the autumn.
3. After he has eaten (his portion of the sacrificial food), he sacrifices with his joined hands a *Prishâtaka* prepared with curds, with the words, 'May what is deficient be made full to me; may what is full not decay to me. *Svâhâ!*'
4. The inmates of the house look at the mixture of curds, honey, and ghee, with the *Anuvâka*,

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5. This *Sûtra* is identical with the last words of *Kâty.* XVIII, 4, 23.
 6. This is the first part of *Vâg. Samh.* XVII, 86.
 8. *Satapatha Brâhmana* IX, 3, 1, 26. There it is said that *sukragyotis* ('brilliantly resplendent') &c. (the words used in *Vâg. Samh.* XVII, 80) are names of the *Maruts*.
 9. This *Sûtra* is identical with *Kâty.* XVIII, 4, 25.
 - 16, 1. *Prishâtaka* means a mixture of curds and butter. Comp. *Sâṅkhâya* IV, 16, 3; *Âsvalâyana* II, 2, 3; *Grîhya-saṃgraha-pariśiṣṭa* II, 59.
 3. *Âsvalâyana* II, 2, 3.

‘May Indra come hither’ (Vâg. Samh. XX, 47 seqq.).

5. They let the calves join their mothers that night and the Âgrahâyant night.

6. Then (follows) the feeding of the Brâhmanas.

KANDIKÂ 17.

1. Now (follows) the sacrifice to Sîtâ.

2. Wherever he sacrifices, be it (on a field) of rice or of barley, of that grain he should prepare a mess of cooked food.

3. One who has sacrificed may, if he likes, prepare elsewhere also a mess of cooked food, either of rice or of barley.

4. (There should be) no doubt (as to whether rice or barley is to be taken), as a rule thereon has been stated above.

5. If it is impossible (to take one of the two species of corn), (that) is excluded.

6. To the east or to the north of the field, on a

5. Sâṅkhâyana IV, 16, 4.

17, 1. The goddess Sîtâ is, as her name indicates, the rustic deity of the furrow.

3. Perhaps the meaning is that a person who has already once performed the Sîtâ-yagña on the field, is allowed, when repeating the sacrifice another time, to celebrate it elsewhere, and to choose at his will between rice and barley.

4. A rule has been given in the Srauta-sûtra (Kâty. I, 9, 1: ‘Rice or barley, if a Havis [is prescribed]’) which shows that it is indifferent whether rice or barley is taken. Thus the sacrificer is free to elect the one or the other. At least this is the traditional meaning of this Sûtra. But possibly we had better understand it otherwise. The sacrificer should offer, according to Sûtra 3, rice or barley. Whether he has to take the one or the other, there can be no doubt, as the rule given above (Sûtra 2) shows that rice should be cooked, if the ceremony is performed for a rice-field, and barley, if for a barley-field.

clean spot that has been ploughed, so that the crop be not damaged,

7. Or in the village, because (there) both (rice and barley) are united, and because no obstacle is there.

8. Where he intends to cook (the sacrificial food), he establishes the fire on a place that has been smeared (with cowdung), which is elevated, and which has been sprinkled (with water), strews (round the fire) Darbha grass mixed with (stalks of) that (sort of corn to which the sacrifice refers), sacrifices the two Âgya portions and Âgya oblations (with the following Mantras) :

9. 'For whom earth and heaven, the intermediate points and the chief points (of the horizon) are veiled with light, that Indra I invoke here. May his weapons be friendly towards us. Svâhâ !

'Whatsoever it be that I wish for at this sacrifice, O killer of Vṛitra, may all that be fulfilled to me, and may I live a hundred autumns. Svâhâ !

'May success, prosperity, earth, rain, eminence, excellence, luck here protect the creatures. Svâhâ !

'In whose substance dwells the prosperity of all Vedic and worldly works, Indra's wife Sitâ I invoke. May she not abandon me in whatever work I do. Svâhâ !

'Her, who rich in horses, rich in cows, rich in delight indefatigably supports living beings, Urvarâ (i. e. the field) who is wreathed with threshing-floors, I invoke at this sacrifice, the firm One. May she not abandon me. Svâhâ !'

10. He makes oblations of the cooked sacrificial food to Sitâ, Yagâ (the goddess of sacrifice), Samâ (the goddess of zealous devotion), Bhûti (the goddess of welfare).

11. Some say that the giving (of the sacrificial food to the deities) accompanies the Mantras.

12. But this is excluded, as the *Sruti* says, 'The giving (of the oblation to the deity) accompanies the word Svâhâ.'

13. On the *Kusa* grass which is left over from the strewing (of grass round the fire), he offers a *Bali* to the protecting demons of the furrow with (the Mantra), 'They who are sitting towards the east with strong bows and quivers, may they protect thee from the east, and be vigilant and not abandon thee. To them I bring adoration, and I offer this *Bali* to them.'

14. Then to the south with (the Mantra), 'They who are sitting towards the south, not winking the eyes, wearing armour, may they protect thee from the south, and be vigilant and not abandon thee. To them I bring adoration, and I offer this *Bali* to them.'

15. Then to the west with (the Mantra), 'The powerful ones, the excellent ones, prosperity, earth, *Pârshni*, *Sunamkuri*, may they protect thee from the west, and be vigilant and not abandon thee. To them I bring adoration, and I offer this *Bali* to them.'

16. Then to the north with (the Mantra), 'The fearful ones, like to *Vâyu* in speed, may they protect

12. The quotation has not been as yet identified in the *Sruti* itself, but the words quoted are found in *Kâty.-Sraut.* I, 2, 7.

14. Some words in the beginning of the Mantra are lost. We should probably write: *atha dakshinâtaḥ. ye dakshinâto = nimishâḥ . . . varmina âsate, &c.* Of course it is impossible to say which is the word that is wanting before (or perhaps after) *varminâḥ*.

15. *Pârshni*, which means 'heel,' stands here, of course, as the name of a protecting demon.

thee from the north, on the field, on the threshing-floor, in the house, on the way, and be vigilant and not abandon thee. To them I bring adoration, and I offer this Bali to them.'

17. Of another (sort of food) as the chief (food used at this sacrifice), and with the remainder of Âgya, he distributes Balis as above.

18. And the women should make accompanying oblations, because such is the custom.

19. When the ceremony is finished, he should feed the Brâhmanas. He should feed the Brâhmanas.

End of the Second Kânda.

17. See above, chap. 13, 2.

KÂNDA III, KANDIKÂ 1.

1. (Now shall be explained) the partaking of the first-fruits (of the harvest), of a person who has not set up the (sacred Srauta) fires.

2. He cooks a mess of fresh sacrificial food, sacrifices the two Âgya portions, and two Âgya oblations, (with the formulas),

‘To the hundredfold armed, hundredfold valiant, hundredfold blissful one, the vanquisher of enemies—he who may create a hundred autumns for us, Indra,—may he lead us across (the gulf of) misfortune. Svâhâ !

‘The four paths that go between heaven and earth, trodden by the gods—of these (paths) lead us to that which may bring us freedom from decay and decline, O all ye gods. Svâhâ !’

3. Having made oblations of the mess of cooked food to the Âgrayana deities, he makes another oblation to (Agni) Svishtakṛit with (the verse), ‘Agni, make this (sacrifice) full, that it may be well offered. And may the god destroy all hostile powers. Come hither, showing us a good path. Bestow on us long life, full of splendour and free from decay. Svâhâ !’

4. He then eats (of the fresh fruits with the

1, 1. The corresponding ceremony of the Srauta ritual is treated of in Kâty. IV, 6.

2. A fresh Sthâlîpâka means probably a Sthâlîpâka prepared from the fresh grain of the new harvest.

3. The deities of the Âgrayana ceremony, which occupies in the Srauta ritual the place corresponding to the rite described here, are Indra and Agni, the Visve devâs, Heaven and Earth.

verses), 'May Agni eat first, for he knows how the Havis (is fit for sacrifice); may he, the friend of all human tribes, make the herbs blessed to us.

'From the good you have led us to the better, ye gods! Through thee, the nourishment, may we obtain thee. Thus enter into us, O potion, bringing refreshment, for the good of our children and of ourselves, and pleasant.'

5. Or with the (verse) sacred to Annapati (the Lord of food).

6. For barley, however, (he uses the Mantra), 'This barley, mixed with honey, they have ploughed through Sarasvatî under Manu. Indra was lord of the plough, the hundredfold wise one; ploughers were the Maruts, the exuberant givers.'

7. Then (follows) the feeding of the Brâhmanas.

KANDIKÂ 2.

1. On the full-moon day of Mârgasîrsha the Âgrahâyani ceremony (is performed).

2. He cooks a mess of sacrificial food, sacrifices two Âgya oblations as at the Sravanâ sacrifice, and other oblations with (the following verses):

'The night whom men welcome like a cow that comes to them, (the night) which is the consort of the year, may that (night) be auspicious to us. Svâhâ!

5. The Annapatiya verse is Vâg. Samh. XI, 83.

6. Comp. manâv adhi, Rig-veda VIII, 72, 2.

2, 2. The two oblations belonging to the Sravanâ ceremony are those stated above, II, 14, 4. 5.

2. The first verses in which the Âgrahâyani night is called the consort of the year, or the image of the year, occur elsewhere with reference to the Ekâshakâ night. See Atharva-veda III, 10; Taitt.

‘The night which is the image of the year, that we worship. May I reach old age, imparting strength to my offspring. Svâhâ!

‘To the *Samvatsara*, to the *Parivatsara*, to the *Idâvatsara*, to the *Idvatsara*, to the *Vatsara* bring ye great adoration. May we, undecayed, unbeaten, long enjoy the favour of these (years) which are worthy of sacrifices. Svâhâ!

‘May summer, winter and spring, the rains be friendly, and may autumn be free of danger to us. In the safe protection of these seasons may we dwell, (and) may (they) last (to us) through a hundred years. Svâhâ!’

3. He makes oblations of the cooked food to Soma, to (the Nakshatra) *Mrigasiras*, to the full moon of *Mârgasrsha*, and to the winter.

4. After he has eaten (of the sacrificial food), he throws the remainder of the flour into a basket, (and then follow the same rites that have been stated above) from (the sacrificer’s) going out down to their cleaning themselves.

5. After the cleaning he says, ‘The Bali offering is finished.’

6. After they have spread out to the west of the fire a layer (of straw) and a garment that has

Samhitâ V, 7, 2, 1. See also below, *Pâraskara* III, 3, 5. *Samvatsara*, *Parivatsara*, *Idâvatsara*, &c. are terms designating the different years of the quinquennial period of the Yuga. See Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 369, 370.

4. See above, II, 14, 11-21 (not 19-21 as indicated by Professor Stenzler).

6. ‘Redescending’ means that they do not sleep any longer on high bedsteads, which they did from the *Śrâvanî* day till the *Āgrahâyanî*, on account of the danger from the snakes, but on the ground. See the notes on *Sâṅkh.-Grîhya* IV, 15, 22; 17, 1.

not yet been washed, they 'redescend,' having bathed, wearing garments which have not yet been washed : the master (of the house) southward, his wife to the north (of her husband, and then the other persons belonging to the house) so that each younger one lies more to the north.

7. Having caused the Brahman to sit down southward, and having placed to the north a water-pot, a Samî branch, an earth-clod taken out of a furrow, and a stone, he murmurs, looking at the fire : ' This Agni is most valiant, he is most blessed, the best giver of a thousand boons, highly powerful. May he establish us both in the highest place.'

8. To the west of the fire he joins his hands (and holds them) towards the east.

9. With the three (verses), 'The divine ship' (*Vâg. Samh.* XXI, 6-8) they ascend the layer (of straw).

10. He addresses the Brahman : 'Brahman, we will redescend.'

11. The Brahman having given his permission, they redescend with (the words), 'Life, fame, glory, strength, enjoyment of food, offspring!'

12. Those who have received the initiation murmur, 'May a good winter, a good spring, a good summer be bestowed on us. Blessed may be to us the rains; may the autumns be blessed to us.'

13. With (the verse), 'Be soft to us, O earth' (*Vâg. Samh.* XXXV, 21), they lie down on their right sides, their heads turned towards the east.

10, 11. See the note on § 6.

12. On upeta, which means a person for whom the Upanayana has been performed, see my note, *Sânkhâyana-Grîhya* II, 1, 1.

14. They arise with (the verse), 'Up! with life, with blessed life. Up! with Parganya's eye, with the seven spaces of the earth.'

15. This (they repeat) two other times, with the Brahman's permission.

16. Let them sleep on the ground four months (after the Pratyavarohana), or as long as they like.

KANDIKÂ 3.

1. After the Âgrahâyanî (full moon follow) the three Ashṭakâs.

2. (The Ashṭakâ is) sacred to Indra, to the Visve devâs, to Pragâpati, and to the Fathers.

3. (The oblations are made) with cakes, flesh, and vegetables, according to the order (of the three Ashṭakâs).

4. The first Ashṭakâ (is celebrated) on the eighth day of the fortnight.

5. Having cooked a mess of sacrificial food and having sacrificed the two Âgya portions, he sacrifices Âgya oblations with (the texts):

(a) 'Thirty sisters go to the appointed place,

14. The verse occurs, with a few differences, in the Kâṇva Sâkhâ of the Vâg. Samhitâ, II, 7, 5.

3, 1. On the Ashṭakâs, celebrated on the eighth days of the three dark fortnights following after the Âgrahâyanî full moon, see Sâṅkhâyana III, 12 seqq.; Âsvalâyana II, 4; Gobhila III, 10.

2. As there are four deities named, I think it probable that they are referred to all Ashṭakâs indiscriminately; comp. Âsvalâyana II, 4, 12. Thus in the Mantras prescribed for the first Ashṭakâ (Sûtras 5 and 6), Indra, the Visve devâs, and Pragâpati are named; to the Fathers belongs the Anvashṭakya ceremony.

3. With regard to the order of these substances the Grîhya texts differ.

5. Comp. Taitt. Samhitâ IV, 3, 11; Atharva-veda III, 10.

(a) The thirty sisters seem to be the days of the month. As to

putting on the same badge. They spread out the seasons, the knowing sages; having the metres in their midst they walk around, the brilliant ones. Svâhâ!

(b) 'The shining one clothes herself with clouds, with the ways of the sun, the divine night: manifold animals which are born, look about in this mother's lap. Svâhâ!

(c) 'The Ekâsh/akâ, devoting herself to austerities, has given birth to a child, to the majesty of Indra. Through him the gods have conquered the hostile tribes; he became the killer of the Asuras through his (divine) powers. Svâhâ!

(d) 'You have made me who am not the younger (sister), the younger; speaking the truth I desire this: may I be in his (i.e. the sacrificer's?) favour, as you are; may none of you supplant the other in her work.

(e) 'In my favour dwelt the omniscient one; he has found a firm standing; he has got a footing. May I be in his (i.e. the sacrificer's?) favour, as you are; may none of you supplant the other in her work.

(f) 'On the five dawns follows the fivefold milking; on the cow with the five names, the five seasons. The five regions (of the sky) are estab-

madhyekhandas, comp. Taitt. Samh. loc. cit. § 1: *khandasvatî* ushasâ pepisânê; § 2: *katushomo* abhavad yâ turîyâ *yagñasya* pakshâv *rîshayo* bhavanti, *gâyatrîm* trishubham *gagatîm* anushubham *brîhad* arkam *yuṅgânâh* suvar âbharann idam.

(d) Probably one Ash/akâ addresses the others, her sisters, as Gayarâma explains this verse.

(f) The explanation by which the 'fivefold milking' is referred to what is called in Taitt. Brâhmana II, 2, 9, 'the milkings of Pragâpati,' seems to me more than doubtful, for 'the milkings

lished through the fifteenfold (Stoma); with one common face (they look over) the one world. Svâhâ!

(g) 'She who shone forth as the first, is the child of truth. One (of them) bears the majesty of the waters; one wanders in the courses of the sun; one (in those) of the heat; Savitri shall govern one. Svâhâ!

(h) 'She who shone forth as the first has become a cow in Yama's realm. Give us milk, thou who art rich in milk, year by year. Svâhâ!

(i) 'She, the owner of bright bulls, has come to us with clouds and with light, she who has all shapes, the motley one, whose banner is fire. Carrying on the common work, leading us to old age, come to us thou who art exempt from old age, Ushas! Svâhâ!

(k) 'The consort of the seasons, the first one has come to us, the leader of days, the producer of offspring. Being one, thou shinest manifold, Ushas. Being free from old age, thou leadest to old age everything else. Svâhâ!'

6. He makes offerings of the mess of cooked food with (the verses):

'May the earth be peaceful, the air friendly to us;

of Pragâpati' are only four: viz. the dark night, the moonlight, the twilight, and the day.

(i) Sukra-rishabhâ cannot be translated, as Professor Stenzler does, 'die schönste unter den Lichtern' (Mâdhava: sukreshu nakshatrâdishu shreshthâ), for this meaning of rishabhâ occurs only in later texts. The word is a Bahuvrîhi compound, as the Petersburg Dictionary explains it.

6. In the first verse I have omitted vyasnavai, which impedes the construction and violates the metre. The word has found its way into the text, no doubt, in consequence of the phrase dîrgham âyur vyasnavai occurring in chap. 2, 2. In the second verse

may the heavens give us bliss and safety. May the points (of the horizon), the intermediate points, the upper points give us bliss, and may day and night create long life for us. Svâhâ!

‘May the waters, the rays protect us from all sides; may the creator, may the ocean turn away evil. The present and the future, may all be safe for me. Protected by Brahman, may I be well guarded. Svâhâ!

‘May all Âdityas and the divine Vasus, may the Rudras and Maruts be our protectors. May Pragâpati, the highest lord, bestow on us vigour, offspring, immortality, long life. Svâhâ!’

7. And with (the formula), ‘To the Ashṭakâ Svâhâ!’

8. The middle Ashṭakâ (is celebrated) with (the sacrifice of) a cow.

9. He sacrifices the omentum of that (cow) with (the verse), ‘Carry the omentum, O Gâtavedas, to the fathers’ (Vâg. Samh. XXXV, 20).

10. On the day following each (Ashṭakâ), the Anvashṭakâ day, (he brings a sacrifice) with the left ribs and the left thigh, in an enclosure, according to (the ritual of) the Pindapitriyagña.

11. Also to the female (ancestors he makes Pinda offerings) and pours (for them) strong liquor and water oblations into pits, and (offers) collyrium, salves, and garlands.

12. (He may also make oblations), if he likes, to the teacher and to the pupils who have no children.

akṛitad is corrupt. I have translated abhayam; comp. Âsvalâyana II, 4, 14. In the third verse I have left out mayi, as Professor Stenzler has done in his translation.

13. And in the middle of the rainy season (there is) a fourth Ashṭakâ on which vegetables are offered.

KANDIKĀ 4.

1. Now the building of the house.
2. Let him have his house built on an auspicious day.

3. Into the pits (in which the posts shall be erected) he pours an oblation with (the words), 'To the steady one, the earth-demon, svâhâ!'

4. He erects the post.

'This navel of the world I set up, a stream of wealth, promoting wealth. Here I erect a firm house; may it stand in peace, dropping ghee.

'Rich in horses and cows, rich in delight be set up, for the sake of great happiness. To thee may the young calf cry, to thee the lowing cows, the milk-cows.

'To thee (may) the young child (go), to thee the calf with its companions, to thee the cup of Parisrut, to thee (may they go) with pots of curds.

13. I have stated in the note on Sâṅkhâya III, 13, 1 my reasons for believing that the true reading of this Sûtra is not madhyâ-varshe (in the middle of the rainy season), but mâghyavarsha (the festival celebrated during the rainy season under the Nakshatra Maghâs). There are no express rules given with regard to the third Ashṭakâ, but I think we should understand this Sûtra as involving a statement on that Ashṭakâ: (The third Ashṭakâ) and the fourth, on the Mâghyavarsha day, are Sâkâshṭakâs (Ashṭakâs on which vegetables are offered). Sâṅkhâya (Grîhya III, 13, 1) declares that the ritual of the fourth Ashṭakâ is identical with that of the second.

4, 3. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya II, 8, 15.

4. On *gagadaiḥ saha* (in the third verse) see my note on Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya III, 2, 9.

‘The consort of Peace, the great one, beautifully attired—bestow on us, O blessed one, wealth and manly power, which may be rich in horses and cows, full of sap like a tree’s leaf. May our wealth increase here, clothing itself with prospering’—with (these four Mantras) he approaches the four (posts).

5. Having established the fire inside (the house), having made the Brahman sit down towards the south, having placed a water-pot to the north, and cooked a mess of sacrificial food, he goes out (of the house), and standing near the door, he addresses the Brahman, ‘Brahman, I enter (the house)!’

6. When the Brahman has given his consent, he enters with (the formula), ‘To right I advance, to luck I advance!’

7. Having prepared Âgya and sacrificed two Âgya oblations with (the two parts of the Mantra), ‘Here is joy’ (Vâg. Samh. VIII, 51 a), he sacrifices other oblations with (the verses):

(a) ‘Vâstoshpati! Receive us (into thy protection); give us good entering and drive away from us evil. For what we ask thee, with that favour us: be a saviour to us, to men and animals. Svâhâ!

(b) ‘Vâstoshpati! Be our furtherer; make our wealth increase in cows and horses, O Indu (i.e. Soma). Free from decay may we dwell in thy friendship; give us thy favour, as a father to his sons. Svâhâ!

(c) ‘Vâstoshpati! Let us be in a fellowship with thee, which may be valiant, joyful, and well proceeding. Protect our wishes when we rest and

when we do our work. Protect us always, ye (gods), and give us welfare. Svâhâ!

(d) 'Driving away calamity, Vâstoshpati, assuming all shapes, be a kind friend to us. Svâhâ!'

8. He makes offerings of the mess of cooked food (with the following Mantras):

(a) 'Agni, Indra, Brîhaspati, the Visve devâs I invoke, Sarasvatî and Vâgî. Give me a dwelling-place, ye vigorous ones. Svâhâ!

(b) 'To all the divine hosts of serpents, to the Himavat, the Sudarsana (mountain), and the Vasus, Rudras, Âdityas, Îsâna with his companions, to all these I apply. Give me a dwelling-place, ye vigorous ones. Svâhâ!

(c) 'To forenoon and afternoon both together with noon, to evening and midnight, to the goddess of dawn with her wide path, to all these I apply. Give me a dwelling-place, ye vigorous ones. Svâhâ!

(d) 'To the Creator and the Changer, to Visvakarman, to the herbs and trees, to all these I apply. Give me a dwelling-place, ye vigorous ones. Svâhâ!

(e) 'To Dhâtṛi and Vidhâtṛi, and to the Lord of treasures together with them, to all these I apply. Give me a dwelling-place, ye vigorous ones. Svâhâ!

(f) 'As a lucky, a happy (place), give me this dwelling-place, Brahman and Pragâpati, and all deities. Svâhâ!'

9. After he has partaken (of the sacrificial food), let him put into a brass vessel the different things which he has brought together, Udumbara leaves with strong liquor, green turf, cowdung, curds,

8 a. Vâgî is, as the name shows, the goddess of quick vigour. Gayarâma explains Vâgî, a name of Sîtâ, as a personification of food.

b. Comp. Âsvalâyana II, 1, 14. On gagada, comp. above, § 4.

honey, ghee, Kusa grass, and barley, and let him besprinkle the seats and shrines (for the images of the gods).

10. He touches (the wall and the posts) at their eastern juncture with (the words), 'May luck and glory protect thee at thy eastern juncture.'

11. He touches (them) at their southern juncture with (the words), 'May sacrifice and sacrificial fee protect thee at thy southern juncture.'

12. He touches (them) at their western juncture with (the words), 'May food and the Brâhmana protect thee at thy western juncture.'

13. He touches (them) at their northern juncture with (the words), 'May vigour and delight protect thee at thy northern juncture.'

14. He then goes out (of the house) and worships the quarters (of the horizon, the east) with (the formulas), 'May Ketâ (i.e. will?) and Suketâ (i.e. good-will?) protect me from the east.

'Agni is Ketâ; the Sun is Suketâ: to them I apply; to them be adoration; may they protect me from the east.'

15. Then to the south: 'May that which protects and that which guards, protect me from the south.

'The Day is that which protects; the Night is that which guards; to them I apply; to them be adoration; may they protect me from the south.'

16. Then to the west: 'May the shining one and the waking one protect me from the west.

'Food is the shining one; Breath is the waking one; to them I apply; to them be adoration; may they protect me from the west.'

17. Then to the north: 'May the sleepless one and the not-slumbering one protect me from the north.

‘The Moon is the sleepless one; the Wind is the not-slumbering one; to them I apply; to them be adoration; may they protect me from the north.’

18. When (the house) is finished, he enters it with (the formulas),

‘Law, the chief post! Fortune, the pinnacle! Day and night, the two door-boards!

‘Indra’s house is wealthy, protecting; that I enter with my children, with my cattle, with everything that is mine.

‘Hither is called the whole number (of relatives), the friends whose coming is good. Thus (I enter) thee, O house. May our dwellings be full of inviolable heroes from all sides!’

19. Then (follows) feeding of the Brāhmanas.

KANDIKĀ 5.

1. Now (follows) the putting up of the water-barrel.

2. To the north-east he digs a pit like (the pit for) a sacrificial post, strews into it Kusa grass, fried grains, fruits of the soap-tree, and other auspicious things, and therein he establishes the water-barrel with (the words), ‘The sea art thou.’

3. He pours water into it with (the verse), ‘Ye

18. Comp. Sāṅkhâyana-Gr̥hya III, 3, 7 seq.; chap. 4, 10. The comparison of Sāṅkhâyana shows that we have to divide *saha pragayâ parubhiḥ*, *saha yan me kiññid asty*, *upahûtaḥ*, &c. *Sâdhusamvritāḥ* (if the reading is correct) seems to me to be the nom. plur. of *sâdhusamvrit*. I understand this to be a Bahuvrīhi compound, in which *samvrit* means ‘the approaching.’ In Atharva-veda VII, 60, 4 we have *sakhâyāḥ svâdusammudaḥ*. After *sâle* a verb meaning ‘I enter,’ or something like that, has been lost.

5, 3. Rig-veda X, 30, 12.

waters, rich in wealth, ye possess goods. Ye bring us good insight and immortality. Ye are the rulers over wealth and blessed offspring. May Sarasvatî give strength to him who praises her!—

4. And with the three (verses), ‘O waters, ye are’ (Vâg. Samhitâ XI, 50 seqq.).

5. Then (follows) feeding of the Brâhmanas.

KANDIKÂ 6.

1. Now the cure for headache.

2. Having moistened his hands, he passes them over his eye-brows with (the verse), ‘From the eyes, from the ears, from the whiskers, from the chin, from the forehead, I drive away this disease of the head.’

3. If (only) one side (of the head aches, he recites the verse), ‘Cleaver! Thou with the disfigured eyes! White-wing! Renowned one! And thou with the various-coloured wing! Let his head not ache.’

4. Then it will get better.

KANDIKÂ 7.

1. (Now will be declared) the making water round about a servant who is disposed to run away.

2. While (the servant) is sleeping, he should discharge his urine into the horn of a living animal, and should three times walk round him, turning his left side towards him, and sprinkle (the urine) round him,

7, 1. Utûla-parimehah. It is probable that utûla, as meaning a slave who habitually runs away, is connected with the use of that word as the name of a tribe in the north-west of India.

with (the verse), 'From the mountain (on which thou art born), from thy mother, from thy sister, from thy parents and thy brothers, from thy friends I sever thee.

'Run-away servant, I have made water round thee. Having been watered round, where wilt thou go?'

3. Should he run away (nevertheless, his master) should establish a fire that has been taken from a wood that is on fire, and should sacrifice (in that fire) Kusa plates (used for protecting the hands when holding a hot sacrificial pan) that have been anointed with ghee, with (the formula), 'May the stumbler stumble round thee, . . . may he tie thee with Indra's fetter, loosen thee for me, and may he lead another one up (to me).'

4. Then he will quietly remain (in his master's house).

KANDIKĀ 8.

1. The spit-ox (sacrificed to Rudra).
2. It procures (to the sacrificer) heavenly rewards, cattle, sons, wealth, renown, long life.
3. Having taken the sacred domestic fire to the

3. Ukhâ yâbhyâm gr̥hyate tâv indvau. Comm. on Kâtyâyana, Sraut. XVI, 4, 2.

In the Mantra I propose to read, *pari tvâ hvalano*, &c. *Nivrit-tendravîrudhaḥ* seems to be corrupt; it seems to be a compound of *nivṛitta*, a second member which is doubtful, and *vîrudh* (the plant). The meaning may have been 'giving it up to consume the plants.'

4. This Sûtra is word for word identical with chap. 6, 4.

8, 1. Âsvalâyana-Gr̥hya IV, 8.

2. Âsvalâyana, loc. cit. § 35.

3. The 'outspreading' is the establishing of the three sacred Srauta fires, so that the Gr̥hya fire is considered as the Gârhapatya, and the Âhavaniya and Dakshinâgni are taken from it.

forest, and having performed the 'outspreading,' he should sacrifice the animal to Rudra.

4. One that is not gelded.

5. Or (it may be) a cow, on account of the designation.

6. Having cooked the omentum, a mess of sacrificial food, and the portions cut off (of the victim), he sacrifices the omentum to Rudra, the fat to the Air, and the cut-off portions together with the mess of cooked food to Agni, Rudra, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Asani, Bhava, Mahâdeva, Îsâna.

7. (Then follows a sacrifice to) Vanaspati.

8. (To Agni) Svishṭakṛit at the end.

9. Then (follows) the sprinkling round to the different quarters (of the horizon).

10. After the sprinkling has been performed, they sacrifice the Patnî-samyâga offerings to Indrâni, Rudrâni, Sarvânt, Bhavânt, and Agni Grîhapati.

11. The blood he offers in leaves, on (grass-) bunches, as a Bali to Rudra and to his hosts, with (the Mantras),

'The hosts, Rudra, which thou hast to the east, to them this Bali (is given). To them and to thee be adoration!

'The hosts, Rudra, which thou hast to the south . . . to the west . . . to the north . . . upwards . . .

5. On account of the designation of the sacrifice as sūla-gava.

6. Âsvalâyana, loc. cit. § 19.

9. Gayarâma : disâm vyâghâranam kartavyam iti sūtrashaḥ. taḥ ka vasayâ bhavati yathâgnishomiye.

10. On the Patnî-samyâga offerings, so called because they are chiefly directed to the wives of the gods, see Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, pp. 151 seqq.

11. Âsvalâyana, loc. cit. § 22.

downwards, to them this Bali (is given). To them and to thee be adoration !'

12. The contents of the stomach and of the entrails, besmeared with blood, he throws into the fire or buries them in the earth.

13. Having placed the animal so that the wind blows from himself to it, he approaches it with the Rudra hymns, or with the first and last Anuvāka.

14. They do not take anything of that animal to the village.

15. Thereby (also) the cow-sacrifice has been declared.

16. (It is combined) with (the offering of) milk-rice ; (the rites) not corresponding (to that special occasion) are omitted.

17. The sacrificial fee at that (sacrifice) is a cow of the same age (as the victim).

KANDIKĀ 9.

1. Now the letting loose of the bull.

2. (The ceremony) has been declared in the cow-sacrifice.

3. (It is performed) on the full-moon day of Kārttika, or on the (day on which the moon stands in conjunction with) Revatī in the Āsvayuga month.

4. Having set a fire in a blaze in the midst of the

12. As to ūvadhya, comp. Āsvalāyana, § 28.

13. The Rudra hymns form the sixteenth Adhyāya of the Vāgasaneyi Saṃhitā. Either that whole Adhyāya or the first and last Anuvāka of it is recited.

15. Gobhila III, 6.

9, 1 seqq. Comp. Sāṅkhāyana III, 11.

2. See above, chap. 8, 15.

3. Sāṅkhāyana, loc. cit. § 2.

4. Sāṅkhāyana, § 3. Of course, in Professor Stenzler's translation, 'in der Mitte der Küche' is a misprint for 'in der Mitte der Kühe.'

cows, and having prepared Âgya, he sacrifices six (oblations) with (the Mantras), 'Here is delight' (Vâg. Samh. VIII, 51).

5. With (the verses), 'May Pûshan go after our cows; may Pûshan watch over our horses; may Pûshan give us strength'—he sacrifices of (the sacrificial food) destined for Pûshan.

6. After murmuring the Rudra hymns they adorn a one-coloured or a two-coloured (bull) who protects the herd or whom the herd protects. Or it should be red, deficient in no limb, the calf of a cow that has living calves and is a milk-giver; and it should be the finest (bull) in the herd. And besides they should adorn the best four young cows of the herd and let them loose with this (verse), 'This young (bull) I give you as your husband; run about sporting with him, your lover. Do not bring down a curse upon us, by nature blessed ones. May we rejoice in increase of wealth and in comfort.'

7. When (the bull) stands in the midst of the cows, he recites over it (the texts beginning with) 'Bringing refreshment,' down to the end of the Anuvâka (Vâg. Samh. XVIII, 45-50).

8. With the milk of all (the cows) he should cook milk-rice and give it to the Brâhmanas to eat.

5. Rig-veda VI, 54, 5; Sâṅkhâyaṇa, § 5.

6. Sâṅkhâyaṇa, §§ 6-14. On the Rudra hymns, see above, chap. 8, § 13. Perhaps the words *mâ naḥ sâpta* are corrupt; the correct reading may possibly be, *mâ-vasthâta*.

7. Sâṅkhâyaṇa, § 15. There is no Mantra in the Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ beginning with the word *mayobhûh*, but this word occurs in the middle of XVIII, 45 a; the texts which he recites begin at that word and extend down to the end of the Anuvâka. It is clear that *mayobhûh* was intended in the original text, from which both Sâṅkhâyaṇa and Pâraskara have taken this Sûtra, as the *Rîk-Pratîka*, Rig-veda X, 169, 1.

9. Some also sacrifice an animal.
10. The ritual thereof has been declared by the (ritual for the) spit-ox.

KANDIKÂ 10.

1. Now the water libations (which are performed for deceased persons).
2. When (a child) that has not reached the age of two years dies, his father and mother become impure.
3. The other (relations) remain pure.
4. (The impurity lasts) through one night or three nights.
5. They bury the body without burning it.
6. If (a child dies) during the impurity of his mother (caused by the child's birth), the impurity lasts till the (mother's) getting up (from child-bed), in the same way as the impurity caused by a child's birth.
7. In this case (of the child being younger than two years) no water libations (are performed).
8. If a child of more than two years dies, all his relations should follow (the corpse) to the cemetery—
9. Singing the Yama song and murmuring the Yama hymn, according to some (teachers).
10. If (the dead person) has received the initiation,

9. According to the commentators, a goat is sacrificed.

10. See chap. 8.

10, 2. Manu V, 68; Yâgñavalkya III, 1.

7. Manu V, 68; Yâgñavalkya III, 1.

9. The Yama song is stated to be the second verse of Taittiriya Âranyaka VI, 5, 3 ('He who day by day leads away cows, horses, men, and everything that moves, Vivasvat's son Yama is insatiable of the five human tribes'); the Yama hymn is Rig-veda X, 14. Comp. Yâgñavalkya III, 2.

10. The bhûmīgoshana (election of the site for the Smaśāna) is

(the rites) from the election of the site (for the Smaśāna) down to their descending into water (in order to bathe themselves) are the same as those prescribed for persons who have set up the (sacred Srauta) fires.

11. They burn him with his (sacred) domestic fire, if he has kept that;

12. Silently, with a common fire, other persons.

13. They should ask one who is related (to the deceased person) by blood or by marriage, for (his permission to perform) the water-libation, in the words, 'We shall perform the libation.'

14. (He replies), 'Do so now and never again,' if the deceased person was not a hundred years old.

15. (He says) only, 'Do so,' if he was.

16. All relations (of the deceased), to the seventh or to the tenth degree, descend into water.

17. If dwelling in the same village, (all) as far as they can trace their relationship.

18. They wear (only) one garment, and have the sacred cord suspended over the right shoulder.

19. With the fourth finger of the left hand they spirt away (the water) with (the words), 'May he drive evil away from us with his splendour' (Vâg. Samh. XXXV, 6).

20. Facing the south, they plunge (into the water).

21. They pour out with joined hands one libation of water to the deceased person with (the words), 'N. N. ! This water to thee !'

22. When they have come out (of the water) and

treated of in Satapatha Brâhmaṇa XIII, 8, 1, 6 seqq.; Kâtyâyana Srauta-sûtra XXI, 3, 15 seqq. On the bath taken after the ceremony, see Satapatha Brâhmaṇa XIII, 8, 4, 5; Kâtyâyana XXI, 4, 24.

16. Yâgñavalkya III, 3.

22. Yâgñavalkya III, 7: apavadeyus tân itihâsaiḥ purâtanaiḥ.

have sat down on a pure spot that is covered with grass, (those who are versed in ancient tales) should entertain them (by telling such tales).

23. They return to the village without looking back, in one row, the youngest walking in front.

24. In the doors of their houses they chew leaves of the *Pikumanda* (or *Nimba*) tree, sip water, touch water, fire, cowdung, white mustard seeds, and oil, tread upon a stone, and then they enter.

25. Through a period of three nights they should remain chaste, sleep on the ground, do no work and charge nobody (to do it for them).

26. Let them eat food which they have bought or received (from others); (they should eat it) only in the day-time, (and should eat) no meat.

27. Having offered to the deceased person the *Pinda*, naming his name at the washing, at the offering (of the *Pinda*), and at the second washing—

28. They should that night put milk and water in an earthen vessel into the open air with (the words), 'Deceased one, bathe here!'

29. The impurity caused by death lasts through three nights;

30. Through ten nights, according to some (teachers).

31. (During that period they) should not perform *Svâdhyâya* (or study the Vedic texts for themselves).

23. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 12.

24. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 12. 13.

25, 26. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 16; *Manu* V, 73; *Vasishtha* IV, 15.

27. See on the washing and on the offering of the *Pinda*, *Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra* IV, 1, 10. 11. Comp. Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 82.

28. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 17.

29, 30. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 18; *Manu* V, 59.

32. They should intermit the standing rites, except those performed with the three (Srauta) fires,

33. And (with the exception of those performed) with the (sacred) domestic fire, according to some (teachers).

34. Others should perform (those rites for them).

35. Those who have touched the dead body should not enter the village until the stars appear.

36. If (they have touched it) in the night-time, (they should not enter) till sunrise.

37. The entering and what follows after it is the same (for these persons) as for the others.

38. (Their) impurity lasts through one or two fortnights.

39. The same (rites should be performed) when the teacher (has died),

40. Or the maternal grandfather or grandmother,

41. Or unmarried females.

42. For those who were married, the others should do it,

43. And they for the (others).

44. If one dies while being absent on a journey, (his relations) shall sit (on the ground, as prescribed for impure persons) from the time when they have heard (of his death), performing the water libation

37. The position of this Sûtra after 35, 36 seems to me to indicate that it refers to those who have touched the dead body; comp. Yâgñavalkya III, 14 : *pravesanâdikam karma pretasamsparsinâm api*. I believe that the same persons are concerned also in Sûtra 38.

42. I.e. the husband and his relatives. Comp. Vasishṭha IV, 19.

43. A married female should perform the rites for her husband and his relatives. See Professor Bühler's note on Vasishṭha IV, 19; S. B. E., XIV, 28.

44. Yâgñavalkya III, 21; Manu V, 75, 76. Comp. Gautama XIV, 37; Vasishṭha IV, 14.

(at that time), until the period (of their impurity) has expired ;

45. If (that period has already) elapsed, through one night or three nights.

46. Optional is the water libation for an officiating priest, a father-in-law, a friend, for (distant) relations, for a maternal uncle, and for a sister's son ;

47. And for married females.

48. On the eleventh day he should give to an uneven number of Brâhmanas a meal at which meat is served.

49. Some also kill a cow in honour of the deceased person.

50. When the *Pindas* are prepared, the deceased person, if he has sons, shall be considered as the first of the (three) Fathers (to whom *Pindas* are offered).

51. The fourth one should be left out.

52. Some (make *Pinda* offerings to a deceased person) separately through one year (before admitting him to a share in the common *Pitriyagña*).

53. But there is a rule, ' There can be no fourth *Pinda* '—for this is stated in the *Sruti*.

54. Every day he shall give food to him (i.e. to the deceased person), and if he was a Brâhmana, a vessel with water.

55. Some offer also a *Pinda*.

47. See above, § 42.

51. See Sâṅkhâyaṇa-*Grihya* IV, 2, 8.

52. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-*Grihya* VIII, 2. Comp. the description of the *Sapindâkarana*, *ibid.*, chap. 3.

53. There would be four *Pindas*, if one were to be offered to the recently deceased person, and three others to those Fathers who had received *Pinda* offerings before his death. Therefore one of these three Fathers is omitted ; see § 51.

54. Comp. *Âpastamba* I, 13, 1 ; *Baudhâyaṇa* II, 11, 3.

KANDIKÂ 11.

1. If an animal (is to be sacrificed), let him wash it, if it is not a cow; let him walk round the fires and drive in front (of them) a Palâsa branch into the ground.

2. The winding (of a Kusa rope) round (that branch), the touching (of the animal with the grass-blade), the binding (of it to the branch), and the sprinkling (of the animal with water) should be performed in the way prescribed (in the *Srauta-sûtra*), and whatever else (is to be done).

3. After he has sacrificed the two oblations before and after the killing of the animal, (he) silently (sacrifices) five other (oblations, directed to *Pragâpati*).

4. And the omentum is taken out (of the killed animal). He should besprinkle it (with water) and name the deity (to whom the sacrifice is directed).

5. (He should name that deity also) at the touching (of the animal with the grass-blade), at (its) being bound (to the branch), at its being sprinkled (with water), and at (the preparation and oblation) of the mess of cooked food.

6. After he has sacrificed the omentum, he cuts off the *Avadâna* portions,

11, 1. The branch replaces the sacrificial post (*yûpa*) of the *Srauta* ritual. As to *agrena*, comp. *Kâty.-Sraut. VI, 2, 11* and the commentary.

2. See *Kâty.-Sraut. VI, 3, 15* on the *parivyayana*, *ibid. §§ 19, 26* on the *upâkarana*, § 27 on the *niyogana*, § 33 on the *prokshana*.

3. *Kâtyâyana VI, 5, 22* : He sacrifices (*Âgya*) with the words, 'Svâhâ to the gods.' § 24 : He sacrifices (*Âgya*) with the words, 'To the gods svâhâ.' In the commentary on § 25 these two oblations are called *pariparavyâhuti*.

4. See *Kâtyâyana VI, 6, 13* ; *Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 11, 10*.

5. See above, *Sûtra 2*.

7. All of them, or three, or five.
8. He sacrifices the Avadâna portions together with the mess of cooked food.
9. A limb of the animal is the sacrificial fee.
10. At (a sacrifice) directed to a special deity he should sacrifice (an animal) belonging to that deity, should make a portion for that (god), and should say to him (i.e. to the messenger who is to convey that offering to a place sacred to that deity): 'Take care that this may reach that (god).'
11. If there is a river between (the sacrificer and that sacred place), he may have a boat made, or he may dispense with this.

KANDIKĀ 12.

1. Now (follows) the penance for a student who has broken the vow of chastity.
2. On a new-moon day he shall sacrifice an ass on a cross-road (to the goddess Nirrîti).
3. (And) he shall offer a mess of cooked food to Nirrîti.
4. The Avadâna portions are sacrificed into water (and not into fire).

7. The complete number of the Avadânas (i.e. the portions of the killed animal which have to be cut off, such as the heart, the tongue, &c.) is eleven; see Kâty.-Sraut. VI, 7, 6; Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 11, 12.

8. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya, loc. cit. § 13.

10, 11. The way for interpreting these Sûtras is shown by Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 12. I do not think that they have anything to do, as Gayarâma states, with reference to Sûtra 11, with the offering due to a relative who has died while being absent on a journey (chap. 10, 44).

12, 1. See the parallel passages quoted by Professor Bühler in his note on Âpastamba I, 26, 8 (S. B. E., II, 85), and besides, Kâtyâyana I, 1, 13 seqq.; Gautama XXIII, 17 seqq., &c.

4. This Sûtra is identical with Kâtyâyana I, 1, 16.

5. The Puroḍāsa (or sacrificial cake), which belongs to the animal sacrifice, is cooked on the ground (and not in the Kapālas).

6. (The guilty person) should put on the skin (of the ass),

7. With the tail turned upwards, according to some (teachers).

8. He should through one year go about for alms, proclaiming his deed.

9. After that time he sacrifices two Āgya oblations with (the formulas), 'O Lust, I have broken my vow of chastity. I have broken my vow of chastity, O Lust. To Lust svâhâ!'—'O Lust, I have done evil. I have done evil, O Lust. To Lust svâhâ!'

10. He then approaches (the fire) with (the verse), 'May the Maruts besprinkle me, may Indra, may Bṛihaspati, may this Agni besprinkle me with offspring and with wealth.'

11. This is the penance.

KANDIKÂ 13.

1. Now the entering of a court of justice.

2. He approaches the court with (the words), 'Court! Thou that belongest to the Aṅgiras! Trouble art thou by name; vehemence art thou by name. Thus be adoration to thee!'

3. He then enters (the court) with (the words), '(May) the court and the assembly, the two unani-

5. This Sûtra is identical with Kâtyâyana I, 1, 15.

9. Baudhâyana II, 1, 34.

10. Baudhâyana II, 1, 35.

13, 2. The regular Sandhi would be sabha (for sabhe) âṅgirasi, instead of which the text has sabhâṅgirasi.

3. In Sanskrit the words sabhâ (court) and samiti (assembly) are of feminine gender. I have translated upa mâ sa tish/het in the sense indicated by Pânini I, 4, 87.

mous daughters of Pragâpati (protect me). May one who does not know me, be below me. May (all) people be considerate in what they say.'

4. When he has arrived at the assembly, he should murmur, 'Superior (to my adversaries) I have come hither, brilliant, not to be contradicted. The lord of this assembly is a man insuperable in his power.'

5. Should he think, 'This person is angry with me,' he addresses him with (the verses), 'The destroying power of wrath and anger that dwells here on thy forehead, that the chaste, wise gods may take away.'

'Heaven am I and I am Earth; we both take away thy anger; the she-mule cannot bring forth offspring; N. N. !'

6. But if he should think, 'This person will do evil to me,' he addresses him with (the words), 'I take away the speech in thy mouth, I take away (the speech) in thy heart. Wheresoever thy speech dwells, thence I take it away. What I say, is true. Fall down, inferior to me.'

7. The same is the way to make (a person) subject (to one's self).

KANDIKÂ 14.

1. Now the mounting of a chariot (is declared).

2. After he has given the order, 'Put the horses to it,' and it has been announced, 'They are,' he goes to (the chariot, saying), 'This is the Virâg,' and touches the two wheels,

5. Perhaps we should read garbhenâsvataryâh saha: we take away thy anger together with the offspring of the she-mule (that cannot foal). Comp. *Kullavagga* VII, 2, 5; S. B. E., XX, 238.

6. It is impossible to give a sure restoration of this corrupt Mantra. Perhaps we should read something like this: â te vâkam âśya â te hrîdaya âdade. Comp. *Hirany.-Grîhya* I, 4, 15, 6.

3. The right (wheel) with (the words), 'The Rathantara art thou'—

4. The left with (the words), 'The Brîhat art thou'—

5. The pole with (the words), 'The Vâmadevya art thou.'

6. He touches the interior of the chariot with his hand (saying), 'The two Aṅkas, the two Nyaṅkas which are on both sides of the chariot, which move forward with the rushing wind, the far-darting one with keen senses, the winged one, may these fires, the promoters, promote us.'

7. With (the words), 'Adoration to Mânikara,' he drives on the beast on the right side.

8. (If going in his chariot) toward (images of) gods, let him descend (from the chariot) before he has reached them; if toward Brâhmanas, just before (reaching them); if toward cows, when amid them; if toward fathers, when he has reached them.

9. A woman or a Vedic student shall not be charioteers.

14. 6. The meaning of aṅkau and nyaṅkau cannot be determined, as far as I can see. The commentators explain the words as the two wheels and the two sides of the chariot, or as the two right wheels and the two left wheels of a four-wheeled chariot. Professor Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, pp. 251 seq.) compares aṅka with *ἀντὶς*, and says, 'Mit aṅkau (resp. aṅkû) wäre daher die obere Einfassung des Wagenkastens (kosa, vandhura) bezeichnet, mit nyaṅkau (resp. nyaṅkû) ein zu grösserer Befestigung etwas weiter unten (ni) herumlaufender Stab.' To me it seems that aṅkau and nyaṅkau are to be understood both as designations of certain parts of the chariot and as names of different forms of Agni dwelling in the chariot.—Comp. *Taittirîya Samhitâ* I, 7, 7, 2; *Pañtaviṃśa Brâhmana* I, 7, 5.

7. The name of the demon Mânikara occurs, as far as I know, only here.

10. Having driven a moment beyond (the point to which he intends to go) he should murmur, 'Here is rest, rest here' (Vâg. Samh. VIII, 51).

11. Some add (the words), 'Here shall be no rest.'

12. If the chariot is weak, he should murmur, after he has mounted it, 'May this your chariot, O Asvins, suffer no damage on bad ways or by being overthrown.'

13. If the horses run away with the chariot, he should touch the post (?) or the earth and should murmur, 'May this your chariot, O Asvins, suffer no damage on bad ways or by being overthrown.'

14. Thus he will suffer no harm and no damage.

15. When he has finished his way, and has unyoked the horses, let him have grass and water given to them. 'For thus satisfaction is given to the beast that draws (the cart)'—says the *Sruti*.

KANDIKÂ 15.

1. Now how he should mount an elephant.

2. He goes to the elephant and touches it (saying), 'The elephants' glory art thou. The elephants' honour art thou.'

3. He then mounts it with (the words), 'With Indra's thunder-bolt I bestride thee. Make me arrive safely.'

4. Thereby it has also been declared how he should mount a horse.

11. If the reading of the text is correct, the meaning would seem to be: We will rest here for a while, but then we will go further.

13. I cannot say what 'the post' (*stambha*) here means; it may be a part of the chariot. *Gayarâma* has *dhvaga* *stambha*, i.e. the staff of a flag, which we are to suppose was carried on the chariot. This may be the right explanation.

15. *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* I, 8, 2, 9.

5. When he is going to mount a camel, he addresses it: 'Thou art the son of *Tvashtri*; *Tvashtri* is thy deity. Make me arrive safely.'

6. When he is going to mount a he-ass, he addresses it: 'A *Sûdra* art thou, a *Sûdra* by birth. To Agni thou belongest, with twofold sperm. Make me arrive safely.'

7. A path he addresses: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells on the paths. Make me arrive safely.'

8. A cross-road he addresses: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells at the cross-roads. Make me arrive safely.'

9. When he intends to swim across a river, he addresses it: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells in the waters. Make me arrive safely.'

10. When going on board a ship, he addresses her: 'The good ship' (*Vâg. Samh. XXI, 7*).

11. When going to cross (the river), he addresses (the ship): 'The well-protecting' (*Vâg. Samh. XXI, 6*).

12. A forest (through which he is wandering) he addresses: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells in the forests. Make me arrive safely.'

13. A mountain (which he is going to cross) he addresses: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells on the mountains. Make me arrive safely.'

14. A burial-ground he addresses: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells among the Fathers. Make me arrive safely.'

15. A cow-stable he addresses: 'Adoration to Rudra who dwells among the dung-heaps. Make me arrive safely.'

6. The he-ass has twofold sperm, because he begets both asses and mules. *Taittirîya Samhitâ VII, 1, 1, 2*.

16. And wheresoever else it be, let him always say, 'Adoration to Rudra.' For the Śruti says, 'Rudra is this universe.'

17. If the skirt (of his garment) is blown upon him (by the wind), he addresses (that skirt): 'A skirt art thou. Thou art not a thunder-bolt. Adoration be to thee. Do no harm to me!'

18. The thunder he addresses: 'May the rains be friendly to us; may (Indra's) darts be friendly to us—may they be friendly to us which thou throwest, O killer of Vṛitra.'

19. A howling jackal he addresses: 'Friendly by name' (Vâg. Samh. III, 63).

20. A shrieking bird he addresses: 'Golden-winged bird who goest where the gods send thee! Messenger of Yama, adoration be to thee! What has the Kârkârîṇa told thee?'

21. A tree that serves as a mark (of a boundary, &c.), he addresses: 'May neither the flash of lightning (destroy thee), nor axe nor wind nor punishment which the king sends. May thy shoots grow up; may rain fall on thee, in safety from the wind. May fire not destroy thy root. Blessing on thee, O lord of the forest! Blessing on me, O lord of the forest!'

22. If he receives something (given to him), he accepts it with (the formula), 'May Heaven give thee; may the Earth accept thee.' Thus (the thing given) does not decrease to him who gives it, and what he receives increases.

19. The play on words is untranslatable; 'jackal' is sīvâ, 'friendly,' sivâḥ.

20. I do not know the meaning of kârkârîṇaḥ. Gayarâma takes it for a genitive standing instead of an accusative, and explains it by asmadbâdhakam.

23. If boiled rice is given to him, he accepts it with (the formula), 'May Heaven, &c.,' and he partakes thereof twice with (the formulas), 'May Brahman eat thee!'—'May Brahman partake of thee!'

24. If gruel is given to him, (as above) . . . three times with (the formulas), 'May Brahman eat thee!'—'May Brahman partake of thee!'—'May Brahman drink thee!'

KANDIKÂ 16.

1. Now each time after a lesson (of the Veda) is finished, in order to prevent his forgetting (the texts he has studied, the following prayer should be recited):

'May my mouth be skilful; my tongue be honey-sweet speech. With my ears I have heard much; do not take away that which I have heard, which dwells in me.

'The Brahman's word art thou; the Brahman's stand art thou; the Brahman's store-house art thou. Fulfilment art thou; peace art thou; unforgetfulness art thou; enter into my store-house of the Brahman. With the voice I cover thee! With the voice I cover thee! May I be able to form the vowels, to produce, to hold fast and to utter the guttural, pectoral, dental, and labial sounds. May my limbs grow strong, my voice, breath, eye, ear, honour, and power. What I have heard and studied, may that be fixed in my mind; may that be fixed in my mind.'

End of the Third Kânda.

End of Pâraskara's Gr̥hya-sûtra.

16, 1. As to anirâkarava, comp. anirâkarishnu above, II, 4, 3. Possibly we should read, gihvâ me madhumad vatah.

KHÂDIRA-GR/HYA-SÛTRA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

KHÂDIRA-GRÎHYA-SÛTRA.

AMONG the Grantha MSS. collected by the late Dr. Burnell and now belonging to the India Office Library, there are some MSS. (numbers CLXXII and following of the Catalogue) of a *Grîhya-sûtra* hitherto unpublished, which is ascribed to Khâdirâkârya. It belongs to the Drâhyâyana school of the Sâma-veda, which prevails in the south of the Indian peninsula¹, and it is based on the Gobhiliya-sûtra, from which it has taken the greater number of its aphorisms, just as the Drâhyâyana-Srauta-sûtra, as far as we can judge at present, is nothing but a slightly altered redaction of Lâtyâyana². Like the Gobhila-Grîhya it very seldom gives the Mantras in their full extent, but quotes them only with their Pratikas, and it is easy to identify these quotations in the Mantrabrâhmaṇa (published at Calcutta, 1873), which contains the texts prescribed by Gobhila for the Grîhya ceremonies.

The Khâdira-Grîhya has evidently been composed with the intention of abridging Gobhila's very detailed and somewhat lengthy treatise on the domestic rites. Digressions, such as, for instance, that introduced by the words *tatraihad âhuḥ*, Gobhila I, 2, 10-27, or such as Gobhila's explication of the terms *paurṇamâsî* and *amâvâsyâ*, I, 5, 7 seqq., or most of the regulations concerning the Sakvaryas, III, 3, or the Slokas, IV, 7, are invariably left

¹ See Dr. Burnell's Catalogue, p. 56.

² Weber, *Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte* (2nd edition), p. 87 : 'Almost the entire difference between this Sûtra and that of Lâtyâyana lies in the arrangement of the matter treated of, which is in itself very nearly the same in both texts, and is expressed in the same words.' Comp. Ânandatandra Vedântavâgîśa's Introduction to his edition of Lâtyâyana (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*), pp. 2, 3, and his statements on Drâhyâyana in the notes of that edition.

out, and in the descriptions of the single ceremonies throughout the principal points only are given, with the omission of all words and of all matter that it seemed possible to dispense with. On the other hand, the arrangement of the Sûtras has undergone frequent changes, in which the compiler clearly shows his intention of grouping together, more carefully than was done in the original text, the Sûtras which naturally belong to each other. Of the Sûtras of the Khâdira-Grîhya which cannot be identified in Gobhila, several are to be traced back to Lâtyâyana, or we should perhaps rather say, to Drâhyâyana. Thus Khâd. I, 1, 14 *mantrântam avyaktam parasyâdigraha-nena vidyât* evidently corresponds to Lâtyâyana I, 1, 3, *uttarâdih pûrvântalakshanam*, and Khâd. I, 1, 24 *avyâvrittîm yagñângair avyavâyam kekhet* is identical with Lâty. I, 2, 15, *avyavâyo-vyâvrittis ka yagñângaih*.

Upon the whole, though certainly the Khâdira-Grîhya does not contain much matter which is not known to us from other sources, it notwithstanding possesses a certain interest, since it shows by a very clear example how a Sûtrakâra of the later time would remodel the work of a more ancient author, trying to surpass him by a more correct arrangement, and especially by what became more and more appreciated as the chief accomplishment of Sûtra composition, the greatest possible succinctness and economising of words. To an interpreter of Gobhila the comparison of the Khâdira-Grîhya no doubt will suggest in many instances a more correct understanding of his text than he would have been likely to arrive at without that aid, and perhaps even readings of Gobhila which seemed hitherto subject to no doubt, will have to give way to readings supplied by the Grantha MSS. of the Khâdira-Grîhya. Thus, Gobhila III, 8, 16, I do not hesitate to correct *asamsvâdam*, on the authority of Khâd. III, 3, 13, into *asamkhâdam* or *asamkhâdan*¹.

¹ Comp. Pârasara II, 10, 15, and the quotations given by Böhlingk-Roth s. v. *sam-khâd*. Forms derived from the two roots, *khâd* and *svad*, are frequently interchanged in the MSS.; see the two articles in the Dictionary.

As the text of the *Khâdira-Grihya* is very short and has not yet been published, it has been printed at the foot of the page, together with references to the parallel passages of *Gobhila*. For further explanations of the single *Sûtras*, I refer to my translation of *Gobhila* which will form part of the second volume of the *Grihya-sûtras*, where I shall also hope to give some extracts from *Rudraskanda's* commentary on the *Khâdira-Grihya*.

KHÂDIRA-GRÎHYA-SÛTRA.

PATALA I, KHANDA 1.

1. Now henceforth the domestic sacrifices (will be explained).

2. During the northern course of the sun, at the time of the increasing moon, on auspicious days, before noon: this is the time at which the constellations are lucky, unless a special statement is given.

3. At the end (of the ceremonies) he should give to the Brâhmanas to eat according to his ability.

4. The sacrificial cord is made of a string or [of Kusa grass.

5. If he suspends it round his neck and raises the right arm (so as to wear the cord on his left shoulder), he becomes *yagñopavitin*.

6. (If he raises) the left (arm and wears the cord on his right shoulder, he becomes) *prâkînâvîtin*.

7. After having sipped water three times, let him wipe off the water twice.

I, 1, 1. *athâto grîhyâkarmâny.* 2. *udagayanapûrvapakshapunyaâheshu prâg âvartanâd anubhañ kâlô-nâdese.* 3. **pavarge ya-thotsâham brâhmanân âsayed.* 4. *yagñopavitam sautram kauram vâ.* 5. *grîvâyâm pratimukhya dakshinam bâhum uddhrîtya yagñopavitî bhavati.* 6. *savyam prâkînâvîti.* 7. *trir âtamyâpo dviñ parimrigîti.*

I, 1, 1=Gobhila I, 1, 1. 2=I, 1, 3. 3=I, 1, 6. 4-6=I, 2, 1 seqq. 7-10=I, 2, 5 seqq.

8. Having besprinkled his feet (with water), let him besprinkle his head.

9. Let him touch the organs of his senses (i.e. his eyes, his nose, and his ears) with water (i.e. with a wet hand).

10. When he has finally touched (water) again, he becomes pure.

11. (If) sitting, standing, or lying down (is prescribed), he should understand (that it is to be done) on northward-pointed Darbha grass, with the face turned to the east, to the west of the fire with which the sacrifice is performed.

12. If the word *Snâna* (or bathing) is used, (this refers to the whole body) with the head.

13. (The different ceremonies are) performed with the right hand, if no special rule is given.

14. If it is not clear where a Mantra ends, one should discern it by (adverting to) the beginning of the next Mantra.

15. The Mantras have the word *svâhâ* at their end, when offerings are made.

16. The term *Pākayagñā* is used of every sacrifice that is performed with one fire.

17. There the Brahman is (present as) officiating priest, with the exception of the morning and evening oblations.

8. *pādāv abhyukshya siro-bhyukshed.* 9. *indriyāny adbhīḥ samsprīḥ.* 10. *antataḥ pratyupasprīḥ sūtir bhavaty.* 11. *āsanasthānasamvesanāny udagagreshu darbheshu prāṇmukhasya pratyāt parśād agner yatra homa syāt.* 12. *sahasirasam snānasabde.* 13. *dakṣhiṇena pāṇinā krīyam anādeḥ.* 14. *mantrāntam avyaktam parasyādigrāhaṇena vidyāt.* 15. *svâhântā mantrâ homeshu.* 16. *pākayagñā ityākhyā yāḥ kaḥ kaikāgnau.* 17. *tatra r̥tvig brahmā sāyamprātarhomavargam.*

11-14 desunt. 15=I, 9, 25. 16 deest. 17, 18=I, 9, 8, 9.

18. The Hotri's place is filled by (the sacrificer) himself.

19. To the south of the fire the Brahman sits facing the north, silently, until the oblation has been performed, on eastward-pointed (Darbha grass).

20. But if he likes, he may speak of what refers to the sacrifice.

21. Or if he has spoken (words) which are unworthy of the sacrifice, let him murmur the Mahâ-vyâhritis,

22. Or (the verse), 'Thus has Vishnu' (Sv. I, 222).

23. If he does himself the work both of the Brahman and of the Hotri, let him sit down on the Brahman's seat, and (leave that seat) placing a parasol on it, or an outer garment, or a water-pot, and then let him perform his other duties.

24. Let him take care not to turn his back to, or become separated (by any person or thing interposed) from what belongs to the sacrifice.

KHANDA 2.

1. In the eastern part of his dwelling he should besmear (the place on which the sacrifice will be

18. *svayamhautram*. 19. *dakshinato-gner udānmukhas tūshnīm āste brahmā homāt prâgagreshu*. 20. *kāmam tv adhiyagñam vyâhared*. 21. *ayagñiyâm vâ vyâhritya mahâvyâhritr gaped*. 22. *idam vishnur ita vâ*. 23. *hautrabrahmatve svayam kurvan brahmâsanam [sic] upavisya khattram uttarâsaṅgam kamandalum vâ tatra krîtvâthânyat kuryâd*. 24. *avyâvrittîm yagnânṅair avyavâyam kekhet*.

2, 1. *pûrve bhâge vesmano gomayenopalipya tasya madhyadesa lakshanam kuryâd*.

19=I, 6, 13 seqq. 20-22=I, 6, 17 seqq. 23=I, 6, 21. 24 deest. 2, 1 seqq.=Gobhila I, 1, 9 seqq.

performed) with cowdung, and should draw in the middle of it the lines.

2. To the south he should draw a line from west to east.

3. From the beginning of that line (he should draw a line) from south to north; from the end (of the last-mentioned line) one from west to east; between (the first and the third line) three (lines) from west to east.

4. He besprinkles that (place) with water,

5. Establishes the fire (thereon),

6. Wipes along around (the fire) with the three verses, 'This praise' (MB. II, 4, 2-4).

7. To the west of the fire he touches the earth with his two hands turned downwards, with (the verse), 'We partake of the earth's' (MB. II, 4, 1).

8. In night-time (he pronounces that Mantra so that it ends with the word) 'goods' (vasu).

9. Having strewn Darbha grass to the west (of the fire), let him draw (some grass) from the south-end and from the north-end (of what he has strewn), in an eastern direction.

10. Or let him omit this drawing (of Darbha grass to the east),

11. And let him strew (the grass) beginning in the east, so as to keep his right side turned to the

2. dakshinātāḥ prākīm rekhām ullikhya. 3. tadārambhād udiṭīm tadavasānāt prākīm tistro madhye prākīs. 4. tad abhyukshyā. 5. agnim upasamādhāya. 6. imam stomam iti parisamūhya trikēna. 7. paskād agner bhūmau nyāṅkau pāṇi kṛtvedam bhūmer iti. 8. vasvantam rātrau. 9. paskād darbhān āstīrya dakshinātāḥ prākīm prakarshed uttaratāḥ kā. 10. prakriṣhya vā. 11. pūrvopakramam pradakṣinam agnim strinuyān mūlāny agrais khādayan trivritam pañkavritam vo.

6-8=IV, 5, 3 seqq. 9-11=I, 7, 9 seqq.

fire, covering the roots (of the Darbha blades) with the points, in three layers or in five layers.

12. Sitting down he cuts off two span-long Darbha points, not with his nail, with (the words), 'Purifiers are ye, sacred to Vishnu.'

13. He wipes them with water, with (the words), 'By Vishnu's mind are ye purified.'

14. Holding them with his two thumbs and fourth fingers so that their points are turned to the north, he three times purifies the Âgya (with them), with (the words), 'May the god Savitri purify thee with this uninjured purifier, with the rays of the good sun.'

15. Having sprinkled them (with water) he should throw them into the fire.

16. Having put the Âgya on the fire he should take it (from the fire) towards the north.

17. Bending his right knee he should pour out to the south of the fire his joined hands full of water with (the words), 'Aditi! Give thy consent!'

18. To the west with (the words), 'Anumati! Give thy consent!'

19. To the north with (the words), 'Sarasvatî! Give thy consent!'

12. *pavisya darbhâgre prâdesamâtre prakṣinatti na nakhena pavitre stho vaishnavyâv ity. 13. adbhir unmrîgya Vishnor manasâ pûte stha ity. 14. udagagre *ngushthâbhyâm anâmikâbhyâm ka samgrîhya trir âgyam utpunâti devas tvâ Savitotpunâtv akhidrena pavitre vasos sūryasya rasmibhir ity. 15. abhyukshyâgnâv anuprahared. 16. âgyam adhisrityottarataḥ kuryâd. 17. dakshinagânvakto dakshinenâgnim Adite *numanyasvety udakâṅgalim prasiṅked. 18. Anumate *numanyasveti pasât. 19. Sarasvate [sic, comp. Hiranyakesi-Grîhya I, 1, 2, 9] *numanyasvety uttarataḥ.

12-16=I, 7, 21-27. 17-21=I, 3, 1 seqq.

20. With (the words), 'God Savitri! Give thy impulse!' (MB. I, 1, 1) he should sprinkle (water) round the fire so as to keep his right side turned towards it, encompassing what he is going to offer (with the water).

21. (This he does) once or thrice.

22. He puts a piece of wood on (the fire).

23. He should murmur the Prapada formula (MB. II, 4, 5), hold his breath, fix his thoughts on something good, and should emit his breath when beginning the Virûpâksha formula (MB. II, 4, 6).

24. At ceremonies for the attainment of special wishes (he should do so) for each of the objects (which he wishes to attain).

25. He should do so always at sacrifices.

KHANDA 3.

1. A student after he has studied the Veda and has offered a present to his teacher, should, with permission (of his parents), take a wife.

2. And (he should take) the bath (which signifies the end of studentship).

3. Of these two (acts the taking of) the bath comes first.

20. deva Savita^h prasuveti pradakshinam agnim paryukshed abhipariharan havyam. 21. sakrit trir vâ. 22. samidham âdhâya. 23. prapadam gapitvopatâmya kalyânam dhyâyan vairûpâksham ârabhyo^{kkh}vaset. 24. pratikâmam kâmyeshu. 25. sarvatraitad dhomeshu kuryât.

3, 1. brahma^{kârî} vedam adhîtyopanyâhritya gurave nug^hâtô dârân kurvîtâ. 2. âplavana^ñ ka. 3. tayor âplavanam pûrvam.

22=I, 8, 26. 23=IV, 5, 6 seqq. 24, 25 desunt.

3, 1=Gobhila III, 4, 1. 2=III, 4, 7. 3, 4 desunt.

4. As, however, in the (collection of) Mantras marriage is treated of (first), it is explained (here) before (the bath).

5. A Brâhmana with a water-pot, wrapped in his robe, keeping silence, should step in front of the fire and should station himself (to the south of it) with his face to the north.

6. After (the bride) has taken a bath, (the bridegroom) should dress her in a garment that has not yet been washed, with (the verse), 'They who spun' (MB. I, 1, 5). While she is led up (to him), the bridegroom should murmur (the verse), 'Soma gave her' (l. 1. 7).

7. To the south of the bridegroom he (who has led her to him) should make her sit down.

8. While she touches him, (the bridegroom) should make oblations of Âgya with the Sruva, picking out (portions of it [comp. Pâraskara II, 14, 13]), with the Mahâvyâhr̥tis.

9. A fourth (oblation) with (the three Mahâvyâhr̥tis) together.

10. The same at the ceremonies of the tonsure (of the child's head), of the initiation (of the Brahmakârin), and of the cutting of the beard.

4. mantrâbhivâdât tu pâñigrahanasya (correct, pâñigrahanam?) pûrvam vyâkhyâtam. 5. brâhmanas sahodakumbhañ prâvr̥ito vâgyato greñâgnim gatvodañmukhas tishthet. 6. snâtâm ahatenâ-khâdya yâ akr̥intann ity âñiyamânâyâm pâñigrâho gapet Somo dadad iti. 7. pâñigrâhasya dakshinata upavesayed. 8. anvârabdhâyâm sruvenopaghâtam mahâvyâhr̥tibhir âgyam guhuyât. 9. samastâbhis katurthim. 10. evam kaulopanayanagodâñeshv.

5=II, 1, 13. 6=II, 1, 17-19. 7 seqq.=II, 1, 23 seqq.; I, 9, 26 seqq.

11. And at the marriage (he makes oblations) with the six verses, 'May Agni go as the first' (MB. I, 1, 9 seqq.).

12. At *Āgya* oblations, unless a special rule is given, the two *Āgya* portions and the *Svishṭakṛit* oblation (are) not (offered).

13. After (the chief oblations he should) always (make oblations) with the *Mahāvyaḥṛitis*,

14. And with the (verse) sacred to *Pragâpati*.

15. He should make an expiatory oblation.

16. After the sacrifice they both arise.

17. (The bridegroom) should pass behind (the bride's) back, station himself to the south, and seize the bride's hand.

18. Her mother who has, towards the east, put fried grain mixed with *Samī* leaves into a basket,

19. Should make the bride tread with the tip of her right foot on an upper mill-stone, to the west of the fire, with (the verse which the bridegroom repeats), 'On this stone' (MB. I, 2, 1).

20. Her brother, filling once his joined hands

11. Agnir etu prathama iti shad̐bhis ka pāmigrahane. 12. nāgya-
bhāgau na svishṭakṛid āgyāhutishv anādere. 13. sarvatroparishān
mahāvyaḥṛitibhiḥ¹. 14. prāgâpatyayâ ka. 15. prāyaskittam gu-
huyād. 16. dhutvopottish/hato. 17. nuprishṭham gatvâ dakshi-
nato vasthāya vadhvañgalim grīhṇīyāt. 18. pūrvā mâtâ samīpalā-
samisrān (var. lect. °misrāl) lāgāñ kḥūrpe krīvā. 19. paskād agner
drishatputram ākramayed vadhūm dakshinena prapadenemam as-
mānam iti. 20. sakṛidgrīhītam aṅgalim lāgānām vadhvañgalāv
āvaped bhrātā.

14, 15 desunt. 16-31=II, 2, 1 seqq.

¹ Possibly the Sūtras 12 and 13 should be divided thus: 12. nāgyabhāgau na svishṭakṛid āgyāhutishv. 13. anādere sarvatro &c. Comp. Gobhila I, 9, 26. 27; Sāṅkhāyana I, 12, 13; 9, 10.

with fried grain, should pour it into the bride's joined hands.

21. Or some friend (instead of the brother).

22. That she should sacrifice over the fire without opening her joined hands with (the verse which the bridegroom repeats), 'This woman' (MB. I, 2, 2).

23. (The verses), 'Aryaman' and 'Pûshan' (l. 1. 3, 4) (are repeated) at the two following (oblations of fried grain).

24. After that sacrifice he should go back in the same way (see Sûtra 17), and should lead her round the fire, so that their right sides are turned towards it with (the formula), 'The maid from the fathers' (l. 1. 5).

25. (These rites), beginning from his stationing himself (to the south, Sûtra 17), (are performed) thrice.

26. After (she) has poured the remnants (of the fried grain) into the fire, he should make her step forward in a north-eastern direction with (the formula), 'For sap with one step' (l. 1. 6, 7).

27. The looking at the lookers-on, the mounting of the chariot, the reciting (of Mantras) at places difficult to pass (on the way of the bridegroom and the bride, is performed) with (verses) suited (to those different occasions).

21. *suhrid vâ kaskit.* 22. *tam sâgnau guhuyâd avikṛidyâṅgalim iyam nârity.* 23. *Aryamanam Pûshanam ity uttarayor.* 24. *hute tenaiva gatvâ pradakshinam agnim parinayet kanyalâ pitribhya ity.* 25. *avasthânaprabhrity evam tris.* 26. *sûrpena sishân agnâv opya prâgudîkîm utkramayed ekam isha itî.* 27. **kshakâvekshavarathârohanadurgânumantranâny abhirûpâbhir.*

(21 and a part of 27 desunt.)

28. Walking forward behind the fire, the water-carrier (see Sûtra 5) should besprinkle the bridegroom on his forehead.

29. So also the bride.

30. When he has thus been besprinkled, (he should repeat the verse), 'May (the Visve devâs) anoint (or, unite)' (MB. I, 2, 9).

31. He should seize her right hand, together with the thumb, with the six (verses), 'I seize thy hand' (MB. I, 2, 10 seqq.).

KHANDA 4.

1. He should carry her away in a north-eastern direction.

2. In a Brâhmana's house he should establish the (nuptial) fire, should spread out to the west of the fire a red bull's hide with the hair outside and with the neck to the east, and should make her, who has to keep silence, sit down (thereon).

3. When (somebody) has said that a star has appeared, he should, while she touches him, make oblations (of Âgya) with the Sruva, picking out (portions of it), with the six (verses) commencing with (the verse), 'In the lines' (MB. I, 3, 1 seqq.). The remnants he should pour out over the bride's head.

28. *aparenâgnim auduko gatvâ pâni-grâham mûrdhany avasiñked.*
29. *vadhûm ka.* 30. *samañgantv ity avasikto.* 31. *dakshinam pânim sân-gush/ham grîhnyâd grîbhñâmi ta iti shadbbhih.*

4, 1. *prâgudîkîm udvahed.* 2. *brâhmanakule-agnim upasam-âdhâya pasâd agner lohitam karmânañduham uttaraloma prâggrîvam âstîrya vâgyatâm upavesayet.* 3. *prokte nakshatre-nvârabdhâyâm sruvenopaghâtam guhuyât shadbbhir lekhâprabhrîtibhih sampâtân avanayan mûrdhani vadhvâh.*

4, 1-11 = Gobhila II, 3, 1 seqq.

4. Having circumambulated the fire so that their right sides are turned towards it, he shows her the polar star (literally, the firm one), with the verse, 'Firm is the sky' (l. 1. 7).

5. She should break her silence by respectfully calling her Gurus by their Gotra names.

6. A cow constitutes the sacrificial fee.

7. Here the Arghya ceremony should be performed.

8. (Or rather it should be performed) when they have come (to their house), according to some (teachers): [comp. Sâṅkh. I, 12, 10.]

9. Through a period of three nights they should avoid eating saline food and drinking milk, and should sleep together without having conjugal intercourse.

10. Having murmured over food which is fit for sacrifice, the (verses), 'With the tie of food' (MB. I, 3, 8-10), he should pronounce the wife's name, 'N. N. !'

11. After he has sacrificed (or, eaten ?) he should give the rest to the wife.

12. After the lapse of that period of three nights, he should make oblations of Âgya with the four

4. pradakshinam agnim parikramya dhruvam darsayati dhruvâ dyaur ity. 5. abhivâdya gurûn (gurum, Gobhila) gotrena visriged vâtam. 6. gaur dakshinâ. 7. trârghyam. 8. âgateshv ity eke. 9. trirâtram kshâralavane dugdham iti vargayantau (vargayânu the MSS.) saha sayîyâtâm (sayyâtâm, saryyatâm the MSS.) brahma-kârinau. 10. havishyam annam parigapyânnapâsenety asâv iti vadhvâ nâma brûyâd. 11. hutvokkshisham (bhuktv°?) vadhvai dadyâd. 12. ūrdhvam trirâtrâk katasribhir âgyam guhuyâd Agne prâyaskittir iti samasya pañkamîm sampâtân avanayann udapâtre.

verses, 'Agni, thou art expiation' (MB. I, 4, 1 seqq.). A fifth (oblation) combining (the names of the four gods invoked in those verses). The remnants (of Āgrya) he should pour into a water-pot.

13. With that (Āgrya) he should wash her, including her hair and nails.

14. Thenceforward he should behave as required by circumstances.

15. At the time of her courses he should touch with his right hand her secret parts with (the verse), 'May Vishnu make thy womb ready' (MB. I, 4, 6).

16. When (that verse) is finished, he should cohabit with her, with (the verse), 'Give conception' (l. 1. 7).

KHANDA 5.

1. The fire used at his wedding (is kept as) his (sacred) domestic fire.

2. Or that on which he (as a student) puts the last piece of wood.

3. Or (a fire) kindled by attrition: that is pure, but it does not bring prosperity.

4. Or he may get it from a frying-pan.

5. Or from the house of one who offers many sacrifices, with the exception of a Sûdra.

13. *tenainâm sakesanakhâm âplāvayet.* 14. *tato yathârtham syâd.* 15. *ritukâle dakshinena pâninopastham âlabhed Vishnur yonim kalpayatv iti.* 16. *samâptâyâm sambhaved garbhan dhehiti.*

5, 1. *yasminn agnau pânim grîhîyât sa grîhyo.* 2. *yasmin vântiyâm samidham âdadhyân.* 3. *nirmanthyô vâ puryas so-nardhuko.* 4. *mbarîshâd vânyed.* 5. *bahuyâgino vâgârâk kshûdra-vargam.*

14=II, 4, 11. 15, 16=II, 5, 9, 10.

5, 1-9=Gobhila I, 1, 20-28.

6. The service (at that sacred domestic fire) begins with an evening oblation.

7. After (the fire) has been set in a blaze before sunset or sunrise—

8. The sacrifice (is performed) after sunset;

9. (And) after sunrise or before sunrise.

10. He should with his hand make oblations of food which is fit for sacrifice, having washed it, if it is raw.

11. If it consists in curds or milk, with a brazen bowl,

12. Or with the pot in which the oblations of cooked rice are prepared.

13. (In the evening the first oblation with the formula), 'To Agni Svâhâ!' in the middle (of the sacred fire);

14. The second (oblation) silently in the north-eastern part (of the fire).

15. In the morning the first (oblation with the formula), 'To Sûrya (Svâhâ)!'

16. The wiping round the fire and the similar acts, with the exception of the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), are omitted here.

17. Some (teachers say) that his wife may offer these oblations, for the wife is (as it were) the house, and that fire is the domestic fire.

6. sâyamâhutyupakramam parikaranam. 7. prâg astamayodayâ-bhyâm prâdushkrityâ. 8. *stam ite homa. 9. udite kânudite vâ. 10. havishyasyânnasyâkrîtam ket prakshâlyâ guhuyât pâninâ. 11. dadhi ket payo vâ kamsena. 12. karusthâlyâ vâ. 13. *gnaye svâheti madhye. 14. tûshnim prâgudîkîm uttarâm. 15. Sûryâyeti prâtaḥ pûrvâm. 16. nâtra parisamûhanâdîni paryukshanavargam. 17. patnî guhuyâd ity eke grîhâḥ patnî grîhyo-gnir esha iti.

18. When (the meal) is ready, in the evening and in the morning, (the wife) should say, 'It is ready!' and (the husband) with loud voice, 'Om!'

19. Then in a low voice: 'May it not fail! Adoration to thee!'

20. Of food which is fit for sacrifice he should make oblations to Pragâpati and to (Agni) Svishṭakṛit.

21. Then he should make the Bali offerings.

22. He should put down (a Bali) at four places, inside or outside (the Agnyagâra);

23. (Another Bali) near the water-barrel;

24. (Another) at the middle door;

25. (Another) in the bed,

26. Or in the privy;

27. Another on the heap of sweepings.

28. He should sprinkle each (Bali with water) before and afterwards.

29. The remnants he should pour out together with water towards the south.

30. Of chaff, of water, and of the scum of boiled rice (he should offer a Bali) when a donation has been made.

18. siddhe sâyamprâtar bhûtam ity ukta om ity ukkair brûyât.
 19. mâ kshâ namas ta ity upâmsu. 20. havishyasyânnasya guhuyât prâgâpatyam sauvishtakṛitam ka. 21. balim nayed. 22. bahir antar vâ katur nidhâya. 23. manikadese. 24. madhye dvâri. 25. sayyâm anu. 26. varṣam [sic] vâ. 27. s̥tha sastûpam. 28. ekaikam ubhayataḥ parishiñṣek. 29. kṣesham adbhis sârdham dakshinâ ninayet. 30. phalîkaranânâm apâm âkâmasveti (read, âkâmasyeti) visrânite.

31. The gods to whom the Bali offerings belong, are, the Earth, Vâyu, Pragâpati, the Visve devâs, the Waters, the Herbs and Trees, the Ether, Kâma or Manyu, the hosts of Rakshas, the Fathers, Rudra.

32. He should do so silently.

33. He should do so (i.e. offer Balis) of all food.

34. If for one meal the food gets ready at different times, he should do so only once.

35. If (food is prepared) at different places, (he should take) that which belongs to the householder.

36. Of all food he should offer (something) in the fire, and give the due portion to a Brâhmaṇa; he should do so himself.

37. From the rice(-harvest) till the barley(-harvest), or from the barley(-harvest) till the rice(-harvest) he should offer (the Balis) himself. He should offer (the Balis) himself.

End of the First Pātala.

31. Prithivî Vâyuh Pragâpatir Visve devâ Âpa Oshadhipanaspataya Âkâśaḥ Kâmo Manyur vâ Rakshoganaḥ Pitara Rudra iti balidaivatâni. 32. tûshnîm tu kuryât. 33. sarvasya tv annasyaitat kuryâd. 34. asakrîḥ kēd ekasmin kâlē siddhe sakrîd eva kuryâd. 35. bahudhâ kēd yad grîhapateḥ. 36. sarvasya tv annasyâgnau krîtvâgram brâhmaṇâya dadyât; svayam kuryâd. 37. vrîhiprabhrîty â yavebhyo yavebhyo vâ vrîhibhya svayam haret svayam haret. prathamapātalaḥ.

PATALA II, KHANDA 1.

1. Of the sacrifices of the new and full moon, the full-moon sacrifice should be performed first.

2. If (the term for the sacrifice) of the new moon comes first, he should first celebrate the full-moon sacrifice and then perform that.

3. Some say that he should not perform it, and wait till the day of the full moon.

4. In the afternoon, husband and wife, after having bathed, should eat fast-day food.

5. Mānadantavya has said: 'He who eats fast-day food, obtains offspring better than himself; he gains favour; hunger will not attack him.'

6. Therefore one should eat (fast-day food) which he likes.

7. He should do nothing unholy (such as cohabiting with his wife).

8. After he has sacrificed the morning oblation,

9. He should pour out the sacrificial food with (the formula), 'Agreeable to such and such (a deity) I pour thee out:' (this formula) referring to the

II, 1, 1. *paurṇamāsopakramau darsapaurṇamāsau*. 2. *dārsam ket pūrvam upapadyeta paurṇamāsenesh/vātha tat kuryād*. 3. *akurvan paurṇamāśm ākânkshed ity eke*. 4. *aparāhne snâtvaupavasathikam dampatî bhuñgîyâtâm*. 5. *Mānadantavya uvāka: sreyasîm pragâm vindate kâmyo bhavaty akshodhuko ya aupavasathikam bhuñkte*. 6. *tasmād yat kâmayeta tad bhuñgîta*. 7. *nâvratyam âkaret*. 8. *prâtârâhutim hutvâ* 9. *havis nirvaped amushmai tvâ gusham nirvapâmiti devatâsrayam sakrîd yagur vâ dvis tûshnîm*.

II, 1, 1-3 desunt. 4=Gobhila I, 5, 26. 5-8=I, 6, 1-13. 9-16 (15 deest)=I, 7, 2-19.

deity, or a Yagus, (is repeated) once; twice (it is done) silently.

10. He should wash (the food) thrice, (if it is destined) for gods;

11. Twice, if for men;

12. Once, if for the Fathers.

13. Stirring it up with the pot-ladle from the left to the right he should cook it.

14. When he has cooked it, he should sprinkle (Âgya) on it, should take it from the fire towards the north, and should again sprinkle (Âgya) on it.

15. Thus all kinds of Havis (are prepared).

16. Having put (the Havis) on the sacrificial grass,

17. He should sacrifice the two Âgya portions (in the following way): Having taken four portions of Âgya—five portions are taken by the Bhrigus (or at least?) by the Gâmadagnyas [see Indische Studien, 10, 95]—(he should make two oblations), to the north with (the formula), 'To Agni Svâhâ!' to the south with (the formula), 'To Soma Svâhâ!'

18. Others (do it) conversely.

19. Having 'spread under' Âgya, he should cut off with the pot-ladle (portions) of the Havis from the middle and from the eastern side;

10. trir devebhyaḥ prakshâlayed. 11. dvir manushyebhyaḥ.
 12. sakṛit pitṛibhyo. 13. mekshaṇena pradakṣiṇam udâyuvañ
 srapayeḥ. 14. kṛitam abhighâryodag udvâsya pratyabhighârayet.
 15. sarvâny evam havîṃshi. 16. barhishy âsâdyâ. 17. gyabhâgau
 guhuyâḥ katurgrîhitam âgyam grîhitvâ pañcâvattam Bhrigûnâm
 Gâmadagnyânâm Agnaye svâhety uttarataḥ Somâyeti dakṣiṇato.
 18. viparîtam itara. 19. âgyam upastîrya havisho vadyen me-
 kshaṇena madhyât purastâd iti.

17-27 (18, 23 desunt)=I, 8, 3-29.

20. One who takes five cut-off portions (see Sūtra 17), also from the western side.

21. After he has sprinkled (Āgrya) on (the cut-off portions), he anoints the places from which he has cut them off, (with Āgrya).

22. (This anointing) is omitted at the Svishṭakṛit oblation.

23. He should sacrifice with (the formula), 'To N. N. Svāhā!'—according to the god to whom the oblation belongs.

24. At the Svishṭakṛit oblation he 'spreads under' once—twice if he is a Bhṛigu—, (cuts off) once (a portion) of the Havis, sprinkles (Āgrya) on it twice, and sacrifices it in a north-eastern direction with (the formula), 'To Agni Svishṭakṛit Svāhā!'

25. Having put a piece of wood (on the fire),

26. He should dip Darbha-blades (of the sacrificial grass strewn round the fire) three times, the points, the middle, and the roots, into the Āgrya or into the Havis with (the words), 'May the birds come, licking what has been anointed.' Then, after having sprinkled (those Darbha-blades with water), he should throw them into the fire, with (the verse), 'Thou who art the lord of cattle, Rudra, who walkest with the lines (of cattle), the manly one: do no harm to our cattle; let this be offered to thee. Svāhā!'

20. paśāk ka pañkāvatty. 21. abhigārya pratyanakty avadānasthānāni. 22. na svishṭakṛito. 23. smushmai svāheti guhuyād yaddevatyam syāt. 24. svishṭakṛita sakṛid upastīrya dvir Bhṛigūnām sakṛid dhavisho [sic] dvir abhigāryāgnaye svishṭakṛite svāheti prāgudīkṛyām guhuyāt. 25. samidham ādhāya. 26. darbha āgye havishi vā trir avadhāyāgramadhyamūlāny aktam rihānā viyantu vaya ity abhyukshyāgnāv anuprahared yaś paśūnām adhipatī Rudras tantiṭaro vṛishā paśūn asmātam mā himsīr etad astu hutan tava svāheti.

27. This (ceremony is called) *Yagñavâstu*.
28. He should perform it at all (sacrifices).
29. The remnants of the Havis he should take away in a northern direction, and should give them to the Brahman.
30. A full vessel constitutes the fee for the sacrifice ;
31. Or as much as he can afford.

KHANDA 2.

1. By one who has not set up the sacred fires, a mess of cooked food, sacred to Agni, is offered at the festivals of the full and new moon ;
2. By one who has set them up, one sacred to Agni and Soma at the full moon ;
3. One sacred to Indra, or to Mahendra, or to Indra and Agni, at the new moon ;
4. Or as (the sacrifice is performed) by one who has not set up the sacred fires.
5. The time at which the morning oblation may be offered, is the whole day ;
6. For the evening oblation the night ;
7. For the sacrifice of the full moon the whole second fortnight (of the month) ;

27. tad *yagñavâstu*. 28. sarvatra *kuryâd*. 29. dhavir *ukkhish-tam* udag udvâsya *brahmane* dadyât. 30. *pûrnapâtram* dakshinâ. 31. *yathotsâham* vâ.

2, 1. Âgneya sthâlpâko-nâhitâgner darsapûrnamâsayor. 2. agni-shomiya/*h* paurnamâsyâm âhitâgner. 3. aindro mâhendro vaindrâgno vâmâvâsyâyâ*m*. 4. yathâ vâ-nâhitâgnes. 5. sarvam aha/*h* prâtârâ-hute sthân*m*. 6. râtris sâyamâhutes. 7. sarvo-parapaksha/*h* paurnamâsasya.

28 deest. 29-31=I, 9, 1. 6. 11.

2, 1-4=Gobhila I, 8, 22-25. 5-14=I, 9, 14 seqq.

8. For the sacrifice of the new moon the first fortnight.

9. Some say that he should keep his vow (until the sacrifice is performed) by abstaining from food.

10. If (the proper) sacrificial food is wanting, let him offer fruits of sacrificially pure (plants or trees);

11. Or leaves (of such plants or trees);

12. Or water.

13. For (even if he offers water) the sacrifice has been performed.

14. A penance (is prescribed) for one who does not perform the sacrifice.

15. If no Havis is indicated, one should offer Āgrya.

16. The deity (only should be named), if no Mantra is indicated.

17. In the third month of the first pregnancy (of the sacrificer's wife he should perform) the Pumsavana (i.e. the ceremony to secure the birth of a son).

18. After she has bathed, her husband should put on her a (new) garment that has not yet been washed, and after having sacrificed he should stand behind her.

19. Grasping down over her right shoulder he

8. pūrvapaksho dārsasyā. 9. bhoganena santanuyād ity eke. 10. vidyamāne havye yagñīyānām phalāni guhuyāt. 11. palāsāni vā. 12. po vā. 13. hutam hi. 14. prāyaskittam ahutasyā. 15. gyañ guhuyād dhavisho nādese. 16. devatā [corr. devatām?] mantrānādese. 17. prathamagarbhe tritiye māsi pumsavanam. 18. snātām ahatenākādyā hutvā patiḥ prishṭhatas tishṭhed. 19. dakṣiṇam amsam anvabhimrīṣyānantarhitam (hitām, hitān, the MSS.) nābhidesam abhimrīret pumāmsāv ity.

15, 16 desunt. 17-23=II, 6.

should touch the uncovered place of her navel with (the verse), 'The two men' (MB. I, 4, 8).

20. Then another (ceremony). Having bought for three times seven barley corns or beans, a Nyagrodha-shoot which has fruits on both sides, which is not dry, and not touched by worms, he should set that up with (the formula), 'Ye herbs everywhere, being well-minded, bestow strength on this (shoot); for it will do its work.'

21. He then should take it and place it in the open air.

22. A girl, or a (wife) addicted (to her husband), or a student, or a Brâhmanî should pound (that Nyagrodha-shoot) without moving backward (the stone with which she pounds it).

23. (The husband) should make (the wife) who has bathed, lie down, and should insert (that pounded substance) into her right nostril with (the verse), 'A man is Agni' (MB. I, 4, 9).

24. Then in the fourth or sixth month (of her pregnancy) the Simantonnayana (or parting of the hair is performed) for her.

25. After she has bathed, her husband should put on her a garment that has not yet been washed,

20. athâparam nyagrodhasuṅgâm ubhayataḥphalâm asrāmâm akrîmiparisrîptâm trissaptair yavaiḥ parikrîyothâpayen mâshair vâ sarvatraushadhayas sumanaso bhûtvâ (hutvâ, hutvâm the MSS.) aśyâm vîryam samâdhatteyam karma karishyaty. 21. âhrîtya vaihâyasîm kuryât. 22. kumârî vratavatî brahmakâri brâhmanî vâ peshayed apratyâharantî. 23. snâtâm samvesya dakshine nâsikâ-srotasy âsiṅket pumân Agnir ity. 24. athâsyâs katurthe mâsi shashthe vâ simantonnayanam. 25. snâtâm ahatenâkṛtâdyâ hutvâ patih prîshthatas tishthann anupûrvayâ phalavrikshasâkṣhayâ sakrî simantam unnayet trisvetayâ salalyâyam ūrgâvato vriksha iti.

and after having sacrificed, he should stand behind her and should part her hair once with a well-proportioned (?) branch of a tree, on which there are fruits, (and) with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, with (the verse), 'Rich in sap is this tree' (MB. I, 5, 1).

26. While she looks at a mess of boiled rice with sesamum seeds, covered with ghee, he should ask her, 'What dost thou see?'

27. He should make her reply, 'Offspring!'

28. When the child is appearing, the sacrifice for the woman in labour (is to be performed)—

29. With the two verses, 'She who athwart' (MB. I, 5, 6 seq.).

30. He should give a name to the child, 'N.N.!''

31. That (is his) secret (name).

32. Before the navel-string is cut off and the breast is given (to the child, the father) should have rice and barley grains pounded in the way prescribed for the Nyagrodha-shoot (see Sūtra 22).

33. He should take thereof with his (right) thumb and fourth finger and give it to the child to eat, with (the formula), 'This order' (MB. I, 5, 8).

34. And butter with (the verse), 'May intelligence to thee' (MB. I, 5, 9).

26. *krīsarasthālīpākam uttaraghrītam aveksha[n]tīm prikkhet kim paryasīti.* 27. *pragām iti vākayet.* 28. *pratishṭhite vastau soshyantīhomaḥ.* 29. *yā tīrasakīti dvābhyām.* 30. *aśāv iti nāma dadhyāt.* 31. *tad guhyam.* 32. *prāṇ nābhikrīntanāt stanadānāk ka vrīhiyavau peshayek kṣuṅgāvritā.* 33. *śṅgush/ḥenānāmikayā kādāya kumāram prāsayed iyam āgñeti.* 34. *sarpis ka medhānta iti.*

28-34=II, 7, 13 seqq.

KHANDA 3.

1. On the third (Tithi) of the third bright fortnight after his birth, the father should have the child

bathed in the morning, and after sunset he should, holding up his joined hands, towards the auspicious directions (of the horizon), worship the moon.

2. The mother, having dressed (the son) in a clean (garment), should hand him, with his face turned to the north, to the father.

3. She then should pass behind (her husband's) back, and should station herself towards the north.

4. After he has performed worship (to the moon) with the three (verses), 'Thy heart, O thou with the well-parted hair' (MB. I, 5, 10 seqq.), and has handed over the son, turning him towards the north, to his mother, he should pour water out of his joined hands with (the verse), 'What in the moon' (l. l. 13).

5. (He should do the same) twice silently.

6. After a period of ten nights, or of a hundred nights, or of one year after (the child's birth) he should give him a name.

7. He who is going to perform (that ceremony—the father or a representative of the father), after he

3, 1. *gananâg gyautsne trîtiye trîtiyâyâm prâta snâpya kumâram astam ite sântâsu dikshu pitâ kândramasam upatish/het prâñgalih.*
 2. *sukinâkhhâdya mâta prayakhed udaksirasam.* 3. *anuprish/ham gatvottaratas tish/hed.* 4. *yat te susîma iti tisr/bhir upasthâyodañkam mâtire pradâya yad ada ity apâm añgalim avasîñked.*
 5. *dvis tûshnim.* 6. *gananâd ûrdhvam dasarâtrâk khatarâtrât samvatsarâd vâ nâma kuryât.* 7. *snâpya kumâram karishyata upavish/asya sukinâkhhâdya mâta prayakhed udaksirasam.*

3, 1-5 = Gobhila II, 8, 1-7. 6-12 = II, 8, 8-17.

has had the boy bathed, should sit down, and the mother, having dressed him in a clean (garment), should hand him, with his face turned to the north, to the performer (of the ceremony).

8. She then should walk around behind (his) back and should sit down towards the north.

9. He should sacrifice and should touch the sense-organs at (the boy's) head with the (Mantra), 'Who art thou?' (MB. I, 5, 14, 15.)

10. 'N. N.!'—(at the place thus indicated in the Mantra) he should give him a name.

11. The same (he should pronounce) at the end of the Mantra.

12. He should tell it to the mother first.

13. (The father) when returning from a journey, should grasp (with his two hands) his son round the head, with (the verses), 'From limb by limb' (MB. I, 5, 16-18).

14. With (the formula), 'With the cattle's' (I. 1. 19), he should kiss him.

15. Silently (he should do the same) with a daughter.

16. In the third year the tonsure (of the child's head is performed).

17. There the barber, warm water, a mirror, or a

8. anupriṣṭham gatvottarata upaviśed. 9. dhutvā ko-sīti tasya mukhyān prāṇān abhimriśed. 10. asāv iti nāma kuryāt. 11. tad eva mantrānte. 12. mātṛe prathamam ākhyāya. 13. viproshyāṅgād aṅgād iti putrasya mūrdhānam parigṛhṇīyāt. 14. parūnām tvety abhigīghret. 15. tūṣṇīm striyas. 16. tṛītiye varshe kaulan. 17. tatra nāpita ushnodakam ādarsaḥ kshuro vaudumbaraḥ piṅgūlya iti dakṣiṇata.

razor of Udumbara-wood, and (Darbha)-blades (are placed) towards the south.

18. A bull's dung and a mess of boiled rice with sesamum seeds which may be more or less cooked, to the north ;

19. And the mother with the son in her lap.

20. (The performer of the ceremony), after having sacrificed, should look, with (the Mantra), 'Hither has come' (MB. I, 6, 1), at the barber, fixing his thoughts on (the god) Savitrî.

21. With (the Mantra), 'With warm water' (l. l. 2), he should look at the warm water, fixing his thoughts on Vâyu.

22. With (the Mantra), 'May the waters' (l. l. 3), he moistens (the boy's hair).

23. With (the Mantra), 'Vishnu's' (l. l. 4), he should look at the mirror or at the razor of Udumbara-wood.

24. With (the Mantra), 'Herb!' (l. l. 5) he puts seven Darbha-blades, with their points upwards (i. e. towards the boy's head ?), into (his hair).

25. With (the formula), 'Axe!' (l. l. 6) (he presses them down) with the mirror or with the razor of Udumbara-wood.

26. With (the Mantra), 'With which Pûshan' (l. l. 7), he should move forward (the razor) three

18. ânadûho gomaya^h k^ris^rasthâlîpâko v^rithâpakva ity uttarato.
 19. mâ^tâ ka kumâram âdâya. 20. hutvâyam agâd iti nâpitam
 prekshet Savitâram dhyâyann. 21. ushⁿenety ushⁿodakam prekshed
 Vâyum dhyâyann. 22. âpa ity untte (ante, umde, unⁿte, unⁿte
 the MSS.). 23. Vishⁿor ity âdarsam prekshetaudumbaramⁿ vai.
 24. shadha iti darbhapîngûlîs saptordhvâgrâ abhinidhâya. 25. sva-
 dhita ity âdarsena kshureⁿaudumbareⁿa vâ. 26. yena Pûsheti da-
 kshinatâs tri^h prâñⁿam prohet.

times towards the east on the right side (of the boy's hair).

27. Cutting (the hair) once with a razor of metal he should throw the hair on the bull's dung.

28. The same rites, beginning from the moistening (of the hair, are repeated) on the left side and on the back side (of the child's head).

29. Grasping (with his two hands) the boy round his head he should murmur (the verse), 'The three-fold age' (l. 1. 8).

30. Walking away (from the fire) in a northern direction he should have the arrangement of (the boy's) hair made according to the custom of his Gotra and of his family.

31. Let them bury the hair in the forest.

32. Some throw them on a bunch (of grass or the like).

33. A cow constitutes the sacrificial fee.

KHANDA 4.

1. Let him initiate a Brāhmaṇa in his eighth year.

2. For him the time (for being initiated) has not passed until his sixteenth (year).

3. In the eleventh a Kshatriya.

27. sakṛid āyasena prakṛhidyānāduhe gomaye keśān kuryād. 28. undanaprabhrīty evaṃ paśād uttaratas ka. 29. tryāyusham iti putrasya mūrdhānam parigrīhya gaped. 30. udānā utsrīpya kusalikārayed yathāgotrakulakalpam. 31. aranye keśān nikhaneyuh. 32. stambe nidadhaty eke. 33. gaur dakṣhinā.

4, 1. aśvame varshe brāhmaṇam upanayet. 2. tasyā shodasād anatītaḥ kāla. 3. ekādase kshatriyam.

4. For him (the time has not passed) until the twenty-second.

5. In the twelfth a Vaisya.

6. For him (the time has not passed) until the twenty-fourth.

7. After (the student's) hair has been arranged, and he has been adorned, and dressed in a garment which has not yet been washed, (the teacher) should sacrifice with (the Mantras which the student recites), 'Agni! Lord of the vow!' (MB. I, 6, 9-13.)

8. He should cause (the student) to stand northwards of the fire, facing the west, and to join his hands.

9. And he should himself join his hands above (the student's hands).

10. A Brâhmana versed in the Mantras who stands towards the south, should fill the teacher's joined hands with water.

11. While (the student?) looks at him, (the teacher) should murmur (the Mantra), 'With him who comes to us' (MB. I, 6, 14).

12. (The student) to whom (the teacher) has said, 'What is thy name?' should pronounce a name which he is to use at respectful salutations, derived from (the name of) a deity or a Nakshatra, 'I am N. N. !' (l. l. 17.)

4. tasyâ dvâvimsâd. 5. dvâdase vaisyam. 6. tasyâ katurvimsât. 7. kusalîkrîtam alamkrîtam ahatenâkâdya hutvâgne vratapata ity. 8. uttarato-gneḥ pratyaṇmukham avasthâpyâñgalim kârayet. 9. svayam kopari kuryâd. 10. dakshinatas tishṭhan mantravân brâhmana âkâryâyodakâñgalim pûrayed. 11. âgantreti gapet prekshamâne [sic]. 12. ko nâmâsîty ukto devatâsrayam nakshatrâsrayam vâbhivâdanîyam nâma brûyâd asāv asmîty.

13. Having let the water run (out of his joined hands over the student's hands) the teacher should seize with his two hands, holding the right uppermost, (the student's) joined hands, with (the formula), 'By the impulse of the god Savitri' (l. l. 18).

14. With (the formula), 'Move in the sun's course' (l. l. 19) he should make him turn round from left to right.

15. Grasping down over his right shoulder he should touch his uncovered navel with (the formula), '(Thou art the knot) of all breath' (l. l. 20).

16. He then should give him in charge (to the gods) with the Antaka and the other formulas (l. l. 20 seqq.).

17. (He touches) his right shoulder with (the formula), 'To Pragâpati (I give) thee (in charge)' (l. l. 23),

18. His left shoulder with his left (hand) with (the formula), 'To the god Savitri (I give) thee (in charge)' (l. l. 24).

19. Having directed him (to observe the duties of Brahmaçarya, by the formula), 'A student art thou' (l. l. 25, 26), (the teacher) sitting down should from left to right tie round the student, who bends his right knee and clasps his hands, the girdle made of Muñga grass, and should cause him to repeat (the verse), 'Protecting us from evil word' (l. l. 27).

13. utsrigyâpo devasya ta iti dakshinottarâbhyâm hastâbhyâm aṅgalim grihñiyâd âkâryas. 14. Sūryasyeti pradakshinam âvartayed. 15. dakshinam amsam anvavamrīṣyānantarhitām nābhim ālabhet prāṇānām ity. 16. athainam paridadyâd antakaprabhṛtibhir. 17. dakshinam amsam Pragâpataye tveti. 18. savyena savyam devâya tveti. 19. brahmakârya asīti sampreshyopavisya (sampprekshy°, samprokshy° the MSS.) dakshinagânvaktam aṅgalikṛitam pradakshinam muṅgamekhalâm âbadhnan vâṭayed iyam duruktâd ity.

20. With (the words), 'Recite, sir!' (the student) should respectfully sit down near (the teacher).

21. He then recites the Sâvitṛī (l. l. 29) to him, Pâda by Pâda, hemistich by hemistich, (and finally) the whole—thus he should teach him the Sâvitṛī,

22. And the Mahâvyâhr̥tis, one by one,

23. And the word Om.

24. He hands over to him the staff, which should be made of (the wood of) a tree—

25. With (the formula which the student has to recite), 'O glorious one, make me glorious' (l. l. 31).

26. Let him put a piece of wood (on the fire) with (the verse), 'To Agni a piece of wood' (l. l. 32).

27. Let him go to beg food ;

28. First of his mother,

29. Then of other women friends.

30. He should announce the alms (received) to his teacher.

31. He should stand silently till sunset.

32. Through a period of three nights he should avoid eating saline food and drinking milk.

KHANDA 5.

1. At the Godâna (or cutting of the beard) the

20. adhîhi bho ity upasîdet. 21. tasmâ anvâha sâvitṛīm pakṣho
 22. mahâvyâhr̥tis kai-
 kaikasa. 23. omkâraṁ ka. 24. prayakṣaty asmai vârksham
 dandam. 25. susravas susravasam meti. 26. samidham âdadhyaḍ
 Agnaye samidham iti. 27. bhaiksham karen. 28. mâtaram agre.
 29. thânyâs suhrîda. 30. âkâryâya bhaikshan nivedayet. 31.
 tish/hed âstamayât tûshnîm. 32. trirâtram kshâralavane dugdham
 iti vargayet.

5, 1. atha godâne kaulavat kalpaḥ.

5, 1-21 = Gobhila III, 1.

rite is identical with the *Kaula* (cutting of the hair ; see above, chap. 3, 16 seqq.).

2. He should have (his beard) and the hair of his body shaven.

3. The sacrificial fee consists of an ox and a cow, or of a pair of horses, or of sheep, for the (three) castes respectively,

4. Or of a cow for all (castes).

5. A goat (is given) to the person who catches up the hair.

6. The initiation (connected with the *Godānakarman*, &c.) has been declared.

7. (One should) not initiate one who does not intend to keep the vow through one year.

8. (The use of) a garment, however, which has not yet been washed (see chap. 4, 7), is not prescribed (here),

9. Nor the adornment (chap. 4, 7).

10. (The observances prescribed for the *Godānavrata* are the following :)

He should sleep on the ground.

11. He should avoid eating honey and flesh.

12. He should avoid sexual intercourse, shaving, (luxurious) bathing, combing his head, and cleansing his teeth and his feet (in a luxurious way).

13. *nāśya kâme reta skandet*.

14. Let him not mount a chariot yoked with cows,

2. *salomam vâpayed*. 3. *go-svâvimithunâni dakshinâh prâthag varnânâm*. 4. *sarveshâm vâ gaur*. 5. *agah kerapratigrahâyo*. 6. *aktam upanayanam*. 7. *nâkarishyantam samvatsaram*. 8. *aniyuktan tv ahatam*. 9. *athâlamkâro*. 10. *dhassamvesy*. 11. *amadhumâmsâsî syân*. 12. *maithunakshurakrityasnânâvalekhanadantadhâvanapâdadhâvanâni vargayen*. 13. *nâśya kâme reta skanden*. 14. *na goyuktam ârohen*.

15. Nor (wear) shoes in the village.
16. Wearing the girdle, going the rounds for alms, (carrying) a staff, putting fuel (on the fire), touching water, reverentially saluting (the teacher) in the morning : (these are the) standing (duties).
17. The Godâna-vrata, the Vrâtika-vrata, the Âditya-vrata, the Upanishad-vrata, and the Gyeshthasâma-vrata (last) one year (each).
18. The Âditya-vrata some (do) not (undergo).
19. They who undergo it, wear one garment.
20. They allow nothing to be between (themselves and) the sun.
21. And they do not descend into water.
22. For the Sakvarî verses, twelve, nine, six, or three (years through which the Vrata is to be kept) make up the various possibilities.
23. He (who keeps the Sâkvara-vrata) wears dark clothes.
24. He eats dark food.
25. He is entirely addicted to his teacher.
26. He should stand in day-time.
27. He should sit at night.
28. According to some (teachers, the Vrata may last only) one year, if the ancestors (of the student) have learnt (the Sakvarî verses).

15. na grâma upânahau. 16. mekhalâdhâranabhaikshâkarana-dandasamidâdhânopasparsanaprâtarabhivâdâ nityam. 17. godâna-vrâtikâdityavratopanishaggyeshthasâmikâs samvatsarâ. 18. nâditya-vratam ekeshâm. 19. ye karanty ekavâsaso bhavanty. 20. âditya^ñ ka nântardadhate. 21. na kâpo-bhyupayanti. 22. sakvarî^{nâm} dvâdasa nava sha/ traya iti vikalpâh. 23. krîshnavastra^h. 24. krîshnabhaksha. 25. âtâryâdhînas. 26. tish/ed divâ. 27. sîta naktam. 28. samvatsaram ekeshâm pûrvais srutâs ked.

29. (The teacher) should sing (those verses) to (the student) who has fasted and veiled his eyes (thinking), 'May (the teacher) not burn me (with the Sakvari verses).'

30. In the morning they make (the student) look at such things as they expect will not burn him, viz. water, fire, a calf, the sun.

31. At water (he should look) with (the words), 'Water have I beheld!' At fire with (the words), 'Light have I beheld!' At the calf with (the words), 'Cattle have I beheld!' At the sun with (the words), 'The sky have I beheld!'—thus he should break his silence.

32. A cow is the fee (for the teacher),

33. A brazen vessel, a garment, and a golden ornament.

34. At the Anupravakāṇīya ceremonies (see Āsva-lāyana-Grihya I, 22, 12) he should sacrifice Āgnya with (the two verses), 'To the *Rik*, to the Sāman we sacrifice' (Sāma-veda I, 369), and, 'The lord of the seat' (Sv. I, 171).

35. If he has touched a fire-altar or a sacrificial post, if he has humming in his ears, or if his eye

29. uposhitāya parinaddhākshâyânugâpayed yathâ mâ na pradhakshyatîti. 30. tam prâtar abhivîkshayanti yâny apradhakshyanti manyante+po+gnim vatsam âdityam. 31. apo+bhiviyakhyam ity apo gyotir abhiviyakhyam ity agnim parûn abhiviyakhyam iti vatsam sur [sic] abhiviyakhyam ity âdityam visriged vâkam. 32. gaur dakshinâ. 33. kamso vâso rukmas kâ. 34. +nupravakāṇīyeshv rikam sâma Sadasaspatim iti kâgyam guhuyât. 35. kitya-yûpopasparsanakarnakrosâkshivepaneshu sûryâbhyuditas sûryâbhinimrukta indriyais ka pâpasparsaiḥ punar mām ity etâbhyâm âhutîr (correct, âhutî?) guhuyâd.

palpitates, or if the sun rises or sets while he is sleeping, or if his organs of sense have been defiled by something bad, he should sacrifice two oblations of Âgya with the two (verses), 'May (my strength) return to me;'

36. Or two pieces of wood anointed with Âgya.

37. Or he may murmur (those verses) at light (offences). Or he may murmur (those verses) at light (offences).

End of the Second Paṭala.

36. âgyalipṭe vâ samidhau.
laghushu. dvitīyapaṭalaḥ.

37. gaped vâ laghushu, gaped vâ

PATALA III, KHANDA 1.

1. When (the student) is going to take the bath (at the end of his studentship), he seats himself in an enclosure to the east of his teacher's house.
2. The teacher (sits) facing the north,
3. On eastward-pointed (Darbha-grass).
4. Thus one (should act) who is desirous of holy lustre.
5. (The student should sit) in a cow-stable, if he is desirous of cattle,
6. In an assembly-hall, if desirous of renown.
7. Let him boil water with all kinds of herbs,
8. And with scents.
9. With that water, which must be lukewarm, the teacher should besprinkle (the student).
10. Or (the student should do so) himself, because that is signified by the Mantra.
11. Some say that both (should do so).
12. The teacher should say (in the Mantra), 'Therewith (I besprinkle) him,' (instead of, 'Therewith I besprinkle myself').
13. With (the verses), 'Which in the waters' (MB. I, 7, 1) (the student) should pour out his joined hands full of water ;

III, 1, 1. âplavane purastâd âkâryakulasya parivṛita âsta. 2. udanmukha âkâryaḥ. 3. prâgagreshv. 4. evaṁ brahmavarṇasakâmo. 5. goshthe parukâmas. 6. sabhâyâm yasaskâmaḥ. 7. sarvaushadhenâpaḥ phâṇayet. 8. surabhibhis ka. 9. tâbhis sitoshnâbhir âkâryo-bhishiket. 10. svayaṁ vâ mantrâbhivâdât. 11. ubhâv ity eke. 12. tenemam ity âkâryo brūyât. 13. ye apsv ity apâm aṅgalim avasiṅked.

III, 1, 1-32 = Gobhila III, 4, 7 seqq. (4-6, 11, 12, 15, 20 desunt).

14. And with (the formula), 'What (is dreadful) in the waters' (l. l. 2);

15. And silently.

16. With (the formula), 'The shining one' (l. l. 3), he should draw (some water) and should besprinkle himself (therewith);

17. And with (the verse), 'By which the wife' (l. l. 5);

18. And silently.

19. With (the formulas), 'Rising' (l. l. 6-8), he should worship the sun.

20. He may repeat (the sections of that Mantra) continuously.

21. If he repeats them separately, he should add at the end (of each section), 'The eye art thou' (l. l. 9).

22. With (the verse), 'Loosen the highest' (l. l. 10), he should take off the girdle.

23. After he has eaten something, he should have his hair, his beard, the hair of his body, and his nails cut, so as to leave the lock of hair (as required by the custom of his family).

24. Having adorned himself and put on clothes which have not yet been washed, he should put a garland (on his head) with (the formula), 'Luck' (l. l. 11).

25. The two shoes (he puts on) with (the formula), 'Leaders are you' (l. l. 12).

14. yad apâm iti ka. 15. tûshnîñ ka. 16. yo rokana iti grihyâtmânam abhishîñked. 17. yena striyam iti ka. 18. tûshnîñ ko. 19. dyann ity âdityam upatishhet. 20. samasyed vâ. 21. viharann anusamharek kakshur asity. 22. ud uttamam iti mekhalâm avamuñket. 23. prâsya vâpayek kîikâvargam kesasma-srulomanakhâny. 24. alamkrîto hatavâsasâ srîr iti sragam prati-muñken. 25. netryau stha ity upânahau.

26. With (the formula), 'The Gandharva art thou' (l. l. 13), he takes a bamboo staff.

27. He should approach the teacher and look at the assembly (of pupils, &c.) with (the formula), 'Like an eye-ball' (l. l. 14).

28. Sitting down, he should touch the sense-organs at his head with (the Mantra), 'Covered by the lips' (l. l. 15).

29. Let him touch a chariot yoked with oxen, with (the verse), 'O tree' (l. l. 16).

30. With (the words), 'He who stands on thee' (l. l. 16), he should mount it.

31. Having driven (some distance) in an eastern or northern direction, he should turn round from left to right.

32. Some say that when he has come back, (his teacher should offer to him) the Argha reception.

33. From that time he shall assume a dignified demeanour.

34. *nâgâtalomnyopahâsam ikkhet.*

35. Nor (should he wish for sport) with a girl who is the only child of her mother,

36. Nor with a woman during her courses,

37. Nor with (a woman) who descends from the same *Rishis*.

38. Let him not eat food which has been brought

26. *vainavam dandam âdadyâd Gandharvo'sity.* 27. *upetyâ-kâryam parishadam prekshed yaksham ivety.* 28. *upavisyaush/hâ-pidhâneti mukhyân prânân abhimrised.* 29. *goyuktam ratham âlabhed vanaspata ity.* 30. *âsthâtâ ta ity ârohet.* 31. *prâkîm prayâyodîkîm vâ gatvâ pradakshinam âvartayet.* 32. *pratyâgatâ-yârghyam ity eke.* 33. *vriddhasîlî syâd ata ûrdhvam.* 34. *nâgâ-talomnyopahâsam ikkhen.* 35. *nâyugyâ* (read, *nâyugvâ*). 36. *na ragasvalayâ.* 37. *na samânarshyâ.* 38. **parayâ dvârâ prapanna/* (read, *prapanna-*) *dvihpakvaparyushitâni nâsnîyâd.*

by another door (than the usual), or which has been cooked twice, or which has stood over-night—

39. Except such as is prepared of vegetables, flesh, barley, or flour—

40. Or of milk.

41. He shall avoid gathering fruits, looking into wells, running while it is raining, and taking his shoes in his hands.

42. He should not wear a scentless wreath,

43. If it is not a wreath of gold.

44. He should not use the word 'blessed' without a reason.

45. If he is desirous of thriving (in his cattle), he should with (the Mantra), 'May these' (MB. I, 8, 1) have his cows driven out.

46. When they have come back, (he should recite the Mantra), 'These which are rich in sweet' (l. l. 2).

47. If he is desirous of thriving (in his cattle), he should lick the forehead of the first-born calf, before it is licked by its mother, and should gulp with (the formula), ('Thou art the phlegm) of the cows' (l. l. 3).

48. When the cows have calved, he should at night sacrifice in the cow-stable churned curds with drops of ghee, with (the verse), 'Seizer' (l. l. 4).

39. anyatra sâkamâmsayavapish/avikârebhyaḥ. 40. pâyasâḥ ka.
41. phalapraśayanodapânâvekshanavarshatidhâvanôpânatsvayamha-
razâni na kuryân. 42. nâgandhâm sragam dhârayen. 43. na
ked dhiranyasrag. 44. bhadram iti na vrîthâ vyâharet. 45. push-
hikâmo gâḥ prakâlayed imâ ma iti. 46. pratyâgatâ imâ madhu-
matîr iti. 47. pushhikâma eva prathamagâtasya vatsasya prân
mâtuh pralehanâl lalâ/am ullihya nigired gavâm iti. 48. sampra-
gâtâsu gosh/the nirâyâṃ vilayanaḥ guhuyât samgrahanety.

49. Now another (ceremony). He should make marks on the ears of a male and of a female calf with (the formula), 'The world art thou' (l. l. 5, 6).

50. First on the male.

51. He should recite over them (the Mantra), 'With metal' (l. l. 7).

52. When the rope (to which the calves are bound) is spread out, (let him recite over it the Mantra), 'This rope' (l. l. 8).

KHANDA 2.

1. On the full-moon day of (the month) *Srāvana*, let him carry forward fire from his house, and let him besmear (the place around it) to the extent of more than one prakrama (i. e. step) towards the different directions (of the horizon).

2. Having once taken a quantity of flour, and having put it into (the spoon called) *Darvi*, he should pour out water on the besmeared place to the east (of the fire), and should offer a *Bali* with (the formula), ('O king of serpents) dwelling towards the east' (MB. II, 1, 1).

3. He should pour out the rest of the water.

4. Having touched water, he should do the same

49. *athâparam vatsamithunayoḥ karne lakṣaṇam kuryād bhuvanam iti.* 50. *pumsaḥ gre.* 51. *lohitenety anumantṛayeta.* 52. *tantīm prasāritām iyan tantīti.*

2, 1. *srāvanyām paurṇamāsyām grīhād agnim atipranīya pratiḍisam upalimped adhike prakrame.* 2. *sakṛdgrīhāt saktūn darvyām kṛtvā pūrvopalipṭe ninīyāpo yaḥ prākṛyām iti balim nirvāpen.* 3. *ninayed apām sesham.* 4. *apa upasprīṣyaivam pratiḍisam yathāliṅgam.*

towards the other directions (of the horizon) according as they are mentioned in the Mantras.

5. Between (the besmeared surface) towards the south and that towards the east and the fire (there should be) a passage.

6. After he has thrown the remnants (of flour) out of the basket into the fire, he should go from (the fire) which has been carried forward, to that (fire) which has not (been carried forward), and should turn his hands downwards (so as to touch the earth with them) and should murmur (the Mantra), 'Adoration to the earth's' (l. l. 3).

7. Thence rising he should place (to the north of the fire) a bunch of Darbha-grass with (the Mantra), 'The king Soma' (l. l. 4), and should fix his thoughts on the serpents that are in that bunch.

8. Taking a portion of fried grain, he should go out of the village in a northern or eastern direction, and should sacrifice it with his joined hands with the four (verses), 'Hearken, Râkâ!' (MB. II, 6, 2 seqq.).

9. Walking eastwards he should murmur, 'Be a giver of wealth' (l. l. 6).

10. Thus three times to the different quarters and intermediate quarters (of the horizon).

5. dakshinapasktime antarenâgniñ ka samkarañ. 6. sūrpēna sish-
ân agnāv opyâtipranîtâd anatipranîtasyârdham gatvâ nyañkau pânî
krîtvâ namañ Prîthivyâ iti gapet. 7. tata utthâya Somo râgeti
darbhastambam upasthâya (correct, upasthâpya) stambasthân sarpân
manasâ dhyâyann. 8. akshatân âdâya prân vodañ vâ grâmân nish-
kramya guhuyâd aṅgalinâ haye Râka iti katasrîbhiñ. 9. prân
utkramya gaped vasuvana edhîti. 10. tris triñ pratidisam avân-
taradeseshu ko.

8-13=IV, 8, 1 seqq. (10 deest).

11. Looking upwards (he should offer a Bali) to the hosts of divine beings,

12. (Looking) towards the side, to the hosts of other beings ;

13. Looking downwards, he should go back (to the fire) without looking back, and should eat the fried grain.

14. On the following day he should prepare flour of fried grain, should put it into a new vessel, and after sunset he should offer Balis.

15. (The same is repeated every day) till the Âgrahâyana day.

16. On the full-moon day of Praushthapada (or) under (the Nakshatra) Hasta they should begin the Veda-study ;

17. On the full-moon day of Srâvana, according to some (teachers).

18. Having sacrificed as at the Upanayana—

19. He should cause (the students) to recite the Sâvitri,

20. (The verse), 'Soma, the king' (Sâma-veda I, 91), and the first verses of the Parvans.

21. Let them eat grain and curds with two appropriate (verses).

22. On the following day in the morning let them repeat (the Veda) to their pupils.

11. *rdhvam* prekshan devayaganebhyas (correct, devaganebhyas). 12. *tiryann* itaraganebhyo. 13. *vân* prekshan pratyetânavekshann akshatân prâsniyâk. 14. *khvobhûte* kshatasaktûn *krîtvâ* nave pâtre nidhâyâstam ite balîn hared. 15. *âgrahâyanyâk*. 16. *praushthapadîm* hastenâdhyâyân upâkuryuḥ. 17. *srâvanîm* ity eke. 18. *hutvopanayanavat*. 19. *sâvitriṁ* anuvâkayet. 20. *Somam râgânam* parvâdîms *ka*. 21. *dhânâ* dadhi *ka* prâsniyur abhirûpâbhyâm. 22. *svobhûte* prâtar adhiyîraṇ *khishyebhyo*.

16-33=III, 3 (22, 25, 29, 33 desunt).

23. (After each section of the text) they should repeat (as a sort of index ?) the beginnings of the *Rikas* and the *Prastâvas* (of the *Sâmans*).

24. Then the *Rahasya* texts are chanted,

25. Except when lightning is seen or thunder heard.

26. When they have studied four months and a half, they finish on the full-moon day of *Pausha*.

27. From that time studying is forbidden when clouds appear,

28. And when lightning is seen, or thunder heard, or when it is drizzling.

29. When these three things happen together, (studying is forbidden) till the twilight has thrice passed.

30. On an *Ashṭakâ*, on a new-moon day, on the (three) festivals which come once in four months, and at (the beginning of) the northern course of the sun, (studying is forbidden) for one night with one day before and one day after it.

31. And if a fellow-pupil has died.

32. On the falling of a meteor, or after an earthquake, or an eclipse of the sun or of the moon, on these occasions one should know (that studying is forbidden) until the same time next day.

33. The *Katḥas* and *Kauthumas*, however, state

23. *nuvâkyâḥ kuryur *rigâdibhiḥ* *prastâvais kâ*. 24. *nugânam *rahasyânâm*. 25. *vidyutstanayitnuvargam*. 26. *ardhapañkamân mâsân adhitya paushîm utsargas*. 27. *tata ūrdhvam mantrânâdhyaô* (correct, *abhrânâdhyaô*). 28. *vidyutstanayitnuvrîshhîteshu* (correct, °*prushhîteshu* or °*prîshhîteshu*; see Ludwig's note on *Rig-veda* VIII, 1, 12) *kâ*. 29. *trisannipâte trisandhyam*. 30. *ashṭakâm amâvâsyâm kâturmâsîr udagayane kâ pakshinîm râtrîm*. 31. *sabrahmaṭârini kâ preta*. 32. *ulkâpâte bhûmikâle gyoṭishos kopa-sarga eteshv âkâlikam vidyât*. 33. *kârshvan tu Kaṭhakauthumâḥ*.

that (when rain has fallen, studying is forbidden) as long as the water stands in the ditches.

KHANDA 3.

1. On the full-moon day of *Āsvayuga* milk-rice sacred to Rudra (is prepared).

2. He should offer it with (the Mantra), 'Not to our children.'

3. Let him pour *Āgya* into milk; this is called a *Prishâtaka*.

4. Therewith he should besprinkle the cows when they have come home, with (the Mantra), 'May Mitra and Varuna' (*Sâma-veda* I, 220).

5. That night he should let the calves join their mothers.

6. At the sacrifice of the first-fruits, milk-rice sacred to Indra and Agni (is prepared).

7. Let him sacrifice *Āgya* with the four (verses), 'To the bearer of the hundred weapons' (MB. II, 1, 9 seqq.),

8. And afterwards with (the verse), 'May Agni eat' (I. I. 15).

9. All of them who have received the initiation, should eat the remainder of that (sacrificial food).

10. Having 'spread under' water, he should cut off two portions of the new fruits.

3, 1. *âsvayugîm Rudrâya pâyaso*. 2. *mâ nas toka iti guhuyât*.
 3. *payasy avanayed âgyam tat prishâtakam*. 4. *tenâbhyâgatâ gâ ukshed â no Mitrâvaruneti*. 5. *vatsâms ka mâtrîbhis saha vâsayet tâm râtrîm*. 6. *navayagñe pâyasa aindrâgnah*. 7. *satâyudhâyeti katasrîbhir âgyam guhuyâd*. 8. *uparishâd Agniñ prâsnâtv iti ka*. 9. *tasya sesham prâsnîyur yâvanta upetâ*. 10. *upastîryâpo dvir navasyâvadayet*.

3, 1-15 = Gobhila III, 8 (3 deest).

11. Three (portions are cut off) by descendants of Bhrîgu.

12. Over (these portions) water (is poured).

13. He should swallow (some part of that food) three times without chewing it, with (the Mantra), 'From the good' (l. l. 13);

14. Or at (the partaking of) barley with (the Mantra), 'This barley' (l. l. 16).

15. With (the Mantra), 'This art thou' (l. l. 14), let him touch the different sense-organs at his head.

16. The Âgrahâyana ceremony has been explained by the Srâvâna (ceremony).

17. Let him (not?) murmur (the Mantra), 'Adoration to the Earth' (see chap. 2, 6).

18. In the evening let him make an oblation of milk-rice with (the verse), 'As the first' (MB. II, 2, 1).

19. Turning downwards his two hands (so as to touch the sacrificial grass) he should murmur (the Mantra), 'In worldly strength' (l. l. 2, 3).

20. Having spread out to the west of the fire a layer of northward-pointed grass, so that it is inclined towards the north, the householder sits down on that layer,

21. (And) the other persons in due order.

22. Then, without an interval, their wives,

11. trîr Bhrîgûnâm. 12. apâñ koparishâd. 13. bhadran na ity asamkhâdya pragiret tris trîr. 14. etam u tyam iti vâ yavânâm. 15. amo-sîti mukhyân prânân abhimrîsed. 16. âgrahâyana kârma srâvânaiva vyâkhyâtam. 17. namañ Prithivyâ iti gapet (read, iti na gapet?). 18. pradoshe pâyasasya guhuyât prathameti. 19. nyañkau pâñi krîtvâ prati kshatra iti gapet. 20. parâd agne svastaram udagagrais trinair udakpravanam âstîrya tasminn âstarañe grîhapatir âste. 21. nupûrvam itare. 22. nantarâ bhâryâñ.

16-31 = III, 9 and 10, 1-17 (29 deest).

23. And their children.
 24. The householder, turning his hands downwards (so as to touch the layer of grass), should murmur (the Mantra), 'Be soft' (l. l. 4).
 25. When he has finished that (verse), they should lie down on their right sides. They should turn round three times, turning themselves towards themselves (i. e. turning round forwards, not backwards, and thus returning to their former position ?).
 26. Let them repeat the auspicious hymns.
 27. Then let them do what they like.
 28. The eighth days of the three dark fortnights after the *Āgrahāyaṇī* are called the *Ashṭakās*.
 29. On (each of) these a mess of cooked food (is sacrificed),
 30. And eight cakes on the first.
 31. These he should bake in a dish without turning them round.
 32. On the last (*Ashṭakā*) vegetables (are offered). (So also) at the *Anvāhārya* (*Śrāddha*).
 33. Let him sacrifice with (the formula), 'To the *Ashṭakā Svāhā*!'

KHANDA 4.

1. On the middle (*Ashṭakā*) a cow (is sacrificed).

23. *putrās ka.* 24. *nyañkau pānī krītvā syoneti grīhapatir gapet.* 25. *samāptāyām dakṣiṇaiḥ pārsvaiḥ samviseyus tris trir abhyātmam āvrītya.* 26. *svastyayanāni kuryus.* 27. *tato yathārtham syād.* 28. *ūrdhvam āgrahāyaṇyās tisras tāmīsrāshṭamyo 'shṭakā ity āśakshate.* 29. *tāsu sthālīpākā.* 30. *ashṭau kâpûpâḥ prathamāyām.* 31. *tān aparivartayan kapāle śrapayed.* 32. *uttamāyām sākam anvāhārye.* 33. *'shṭakāyai svāheti guhuyāt.*
 4, 1. *madhyamāyām gaus.*

32, 33=IV, 4, 17. 21.

4, 1-13=Gobhila III, 10, 18 seqq.

2. He should place that (cow) to the east of the fire, facing the west, and should sacrifice (Âgya) with (the verse), 'What, O beasts' (MB. II, 2, 5).

3. After having made that oblation he should recite over (the cow the verse), 'May to thee' (l. l. 6).

4. Let him sprinkle it with water in which barley is, with (the formula), 'Agreeable to the Ashvakâ I sprinkle thee!'

5. Having sprinkled it and carried a fire-brand round it, he should give the Prokshant water (to the cow) to drink.

6. Going in a northern direction (from the fire) he should kill (the cow), the head of which is turned to the west, the feet to the north.

7. After it has been killed, he should sacrifice (Âgya) with (the verse), 'If the beast' (l. l. 8).

8. His wife should wash the apertures of its body.

9. After (the cow's body) has been opened, so that two purifiers (i. e. grass-blades) have been put under (the knife), he should have the omentum drawn out.

10. Seizing it with one branch and with another forked branch of a sacrificially pure tree he should roast it.

11. When it has ceased to drop, he should hew (the cow) to pieces.

2. tām purastād agneḥ pratyānmukhīm avasthāpya guhuyād yat paśava iti. 3. hutvā kânumantrayetānu tveti. 4. yavama-tībhīr adbhīḥ prokshed ashvakāyai tvā gushṭam (correct, gushṭām) prokshāmiti. 5. prokshyolmukena parihṛitya prokshantī pāyayed. 6. udanī utsrīpya pratyaksirasam (°sim, °sīm the MSS.) udakpadīm samgñāpayet. 7. samgñāptāyām guhuyād yat paśur iti. 8. tasyāḥ patnī srotāmsi prakshālayet. 9. pavitre antardhāyotkrītya vapām uddhārayed. 10. yagñiyasya vṛkshasya visākhāsākhābhīyām parihīyāgnau śrapayet. 11. prasrītāyām visased.

12. The 'spreading under' and sprinkling (of *Āgya*) on (the omentum) has been described. (It is done) as at the *Svishtakṛit* oblation (see II, 1, 24).

13. He should sacrifice with (the formula), 'To the *Ashṭakā Svāhā*!'

14. The *Avadānas* (or portions which have to be cut off) he should have taken from all its limbs.

15. Not from the left thigh and the lungs.

16. The left thigh he keeps (for the *Anvashṭakya*).

17. He should cook the *Avadānas* and a mess of sacrificial food, (stirring up the ones and the other) with two different pot-ladles.

18. The juice he lets drop into a brazen vessel.

19. The *Avadānas* he puts on branches of the *Plaksha* tree.

20. From each (*Avadāna*) he should cut off (the prescribed portions, and should put them) into a brazen vessel;

21. And from the mess of cooked food.

22. Let him take four portions or eight portions of *Āgya* (?) and let him sacrifice it with (the verses), 'Into *Agni*' (MB. II, 2, 9 seqq.).

23. Let him make oblations out of the brazen vessel, each oblation with two of the following (verses).

12. uktam upastaranābhīghāraṇam yathā svishṭakṛito. 13. śhā-kāyai svāheti guhuyāt. 14. sarvāṅgebhyo vadānāny uddhārayen. 15. na savyāt sakthno na klomnaḥ. 16. savyam sakthi nidhāya. 17. prīthaṁ mekshaṇābhyām avadānāni sthālīpākāḥ ka śrapayitvā. 18. kamse rasam prasrāvya. 19. plakshasākhāsv avadānāni kṛitvai. 20. kaikasmāt kamse vadyet. 21. sthālīpākāḥ ka. 22. katurgrīhītam aśhāgrīhītam vātra (vāgyam? vātram, vātra the MSS.) guhuyād Agnāv iti. 23. kamsāt parābhir dvābhyām dvābhyām ekaikām āhutim.

24. The oblation to (Agni) *Svishtakṛit* with the eighth (verse).

25. At a sacrifice to the Fathers the omentum is sacrificed with (the verse), 'Carry the omentum' (MB. II, 3, 16).

26. At one to the gods with (the verse), '*Gāta-vedas!*' (l. 1. 17.)

27. If (the deity is) unknown, (in the formula for) assigning (the oblation, instead of the name of a deity the name of) that (ceremony is put)—

28. As (for instance), 'To the *Ashṭakâ*.'

29. An animal is the sacrificial fee at (the sacrifice of) an animal;

30. A full vessel at (that of) a mess of cooked food.

KHANDA 5.

1. On the ninth or tenth (of the dark fortnight) the *Anvashṭakya* (ceremony is performed).

2. To the south-east (of the house) they partition off (a place with mats or the like), and to the northern part of that (place) he should carry a fire which has been kindled by attrition.

3. Let him take one portion of rice, let him remove the husks once, and let him cook it, stirring it up from right to left.

24. *sauvishṭakṛitam ash/amyâ*. 25. *vaha vapâm iti pitrye vapâ-homo*. 26. *Gâtaveda iti daivatye*. 27. *tadâdesam anâgṛhâte*. 28. *yathâshṭakâyâ iti*. 29. *pasur eva pasor dakshinâ*. 30. *sthâlipâ-kasya pûrnâpâtram*.

5, 1. *navamîm dasamîm vânvashṭakya*m. 2. *dakshinâpûrva-bhâge parivârya tatrottarârdhe mathitvâgnim prapayet*. 3. *sakṛid-grhîtân vrîhîn sakṛtphalîkṛitân prasavyam udâyuvāṣṭrapayed*.

25-28=IV, 4, 22-24 (29 deest). 30=I, 9, 6. 10.

5, 1-12=Gobhila IV, 2.

4. And some flesh of that thigh (see above, chap. 4, 16).

5. He should take it from the fire in a southern direction, and should omit the second sprinkling (of *Āgrya*) on it.

6. To the west of the fire he should dig, in the southern part (of the place mentioned in *Sûtra* 2) three pits, four inches in depth and breadth.

7. He should carry the fire to the east of them.

8. He should strew (*Darbha*-grass round the fire),

9. And (into) the pits.

10. Having spread out to the west of the fire a layer of southward-pointed grass so that it is inclined towards the south, he should put (a mat) on it.

11. On that (grass) he should place the sacrificial implements, one by one.

12. Cutting off (the prescribed portions of the sacrificial food, and putting those portions) into the brazen vessel he should sacrifice, picking out (portions of the *Havis*) with the pot-ladle, with (the formulas), '*Svâhâ to Soma Pitṛimat! Svâhâ to Agni Kavyavâhana!*' (*MB.* II, 3, 1, 2.)

13. With his left hand he should lay down a fire-brand on the southern side of the pits (*Sûtra* 6), with

4. amushmâk ka sakthno mâmsam iti. 5. dakshinodvâsya na pratyabhigârayet. 6. parâd agner dakshinâs tisraḥ karshûḥ khanyât katurāṅgulaṁ adhas tiryak ka. 7. tâsâm purastâd agnim pranayet. 8. strimuyât. 9. karshûs ka. 10. parâd agne svastaram dakshinâgrais trinair dakshinâpravanam âstîrya brîśim upari nidadyât. 11. tasminn ekaikam âharet. 12. kamse samavadâya mekshanenopaghâtam guhuyât svâhâ Somâya pitṛimate svâhâgnaye kavyavâhanâyeti. 13. savyenolmukam dakshinataḥ karshûr nidadyât apahatâ iti.

(the formula), ' (The Asuras have been) driven away' (MB. II, 3, 3).

14. (He should perform the different rites) in the eastern pit for his father,

15. In the middle for his grandfather,

16. In the last for his great-grandfather.

17. Let him pour out vessels of water, from right to left, into the pits, pronouncing the name of each one (of his ancestors), with (the formula), ' N. N. ! Wash thyself, and they who follow thee here, and they whom thou followest. To thee Svadhâ !'

18. In the same way he should put down the *Pindas* for them and should murmur, ' Here, O Fathers, enjoy yourselves ; show your manly vigour each for his part ' (MB. II, 3, 6).

19. After he has spoken thus, he should turn to the north, doubling his left arm, turning round from right to left.

20. Holding his breath and fixing his thoughts on something good he should, while turning back (in the same way), murmur : ' The Fathers have enjoyed themselves ; they have shown their manly vigour each for his part ' (MB. II, 3, 7).

21. He should sprinkle collyrium on three *Darbha*-

14. *pûrvasyâm karshvâm pitur.* 15. *madhyamâyâm pitâmahasyo.* 16. *uttamâyâm prapitâmahasyo.* 17. *apâtrâny apasalavi karshûshu ninayed ekaikasya nâmoktvâsâv avanenikshva ye kâtra tvânu yâms ka tvam anu tasmai te svâheti (correct, svadheti).* 18. *tathaiva pindân nidhâya gaped atra pitaro mâdayadhvam yathâ-bhâgam âvrishâyadhvam ity.* 19. *uktvodaññ âvarteta savyam bâhum upasamhrîtya prasavyam âvrîtyo.* 20. *patâmya kalyânam dhyâyann abhiparyâvartamâno gaped amîmadanta pitaro yathâ-bhâgam âvrishâyishateti.* 21. *tisro darbhapiñgûlir aṅganena nighrîshya karshûshu nidadhyâd yathâpindam.*

blades, and should put them down into the pits in the same way as the *Pindās*,

22. And sesamum oil and perfumes.

23. For the *Pindās* and the following offerings he should alter the formula (Sūtra 17) accordingly.

24. Now (follows) the deprecation.

25. On the eastern pit he lays his hands, turning the inside of the right hand upwards, with (the formula), 'Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of life! Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of vital breath!' (MB. II, 3, 8.)

26. On the middle, turning the inside of the left hand upwards, with (the formula), 'Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of terror! Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of sap!' (MB. I. 1.)

27. On the western, turning the inside of the right hand upwards, with (the formula), 'Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of comfort (svadhâ)! Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of wrath!' (MB. II, 3, 9.)

28. Joining his hands—

29. (He should murmur the formula), 'Adoration to you' (MB. II, 3, 9).

30. He should lay down threads into the pits in the same way as the *Pindās*, with (the formula), 'This (garment) to you.'

22. tailam surabhi ka. 23. pindaprabhriti yathârtham ūhed.
 24. atha nihnavanam. 25. pûrvasyâm karshvâm dakshinottânau
 pânî krîtvâ namo vah pitaro gîvâya namo vah pitaras sûshâyeti.
 26. savyottânau madhyamâyâm namo vah pitaro ghorâya namo
 vah pitaro rasâyeti. 27. dakshinottânau paskimâyâm namo vah
 pitara svadhâyai namo vah pitaro manyava ity. 28. aṅgalim
 krîtvâ 29. namo va iti. 30. sūtratantûn karshûshu nidadhyâd
 yathâpindam etad va ity.

31. He should recite over the pits (the verse), 'Bringing strength' (MB. II, 3, 13).

32. The middle *Pinda* he should give to his wife to eat, if she is desirous of a son, with (the verse), 'Give fruit.'

33. With (the verse), '(Gâtavedas) has been our messenger' (MB. II, 3, 15), he should throw the fire-brand into the fire.

34. They should take the sacrificial vessels back two by two.

35. The same is the rite of the *Pindapitriyagña*.

36. Let him cook the Havis in the (sacred) domestic fire.

37. From that fire (let him take the fire which) he carries forward (see above, Sûtra 2).

38. (Here is only) one pit.

39. No layer of grass (Sûtra 10).

40. Of the mess of cooked food sacred to *Indrâni* he should sacrifice with (the verse), 'The *Ekâshṭakâ*' (MB. II, 3, 19). He should sacrifice with (the verse), 'The *Ekâshṭakâ*.'

End of the Third *Paṭala*.

31. *ûrgam vahantîr iti karshûr anumantrayeta.* 32. *madhyamam pindam putrakâmâm prâsayed âdhattety.* 33. *abhûn no dûta ity ulmukam agnau prakshiped.* 34. *dvandvam pâtrâny atihareyur.* 35. *esha eva pindapitriyagñakalpo.* 36. *grîhyeagnau havis srapayet.* 37. *tata evâtipranayed.* 38. *ekâ karshûr.* 39. *na svastara.* 40. *Indrânyâ sthâlîpâkasyaikâshṭaketi guhuyâd ekâshṭaketi guhuyât.* *trîtiyapaṭalâh.*

35-39=IV, 4, 1 seqq. 40=IV, 4, 32. 33.

PATALA IV, KHANDA 1.

1. When undertaking ceremonies for the obtainment of special wishes, let him omit six meals or three.

2. At such ceremonies as are repeated daily, (let him do so only) in the beginning ;

3. After (the ceremony), if it is performed on account of a prodigy.

4. Thus also at the performances of the sacrificial day (i. e. of the first day of the fortnight).

5. One who keeps the vow (of fasting) through one fortnight, (may avail himself of the following indulgence) :

6. If he is not able (to subsist entirely without food, let him drink) rice-water once a day.

7. Let him murmur the Prapada formula (MB. II, 4, 5), sitting in the forest on eastward-pointed grass-blades.

8. Thus one who is desirous of holy lustre.

9. One who is desirous of cattle, as stated above (III, 1, 5?).

10. One who desires that his stock of cattle

IV, 1, 1. kâmyeshu shad bhaktâni trîni vâ nâsnîyân. 2. nitya-prayuktânâm âdita. 3. uparishât sânnipâtika. 4. evam yaganî-yaprayogeshv. 5. ardhamâsavraty. 6. araktau peyam (read, peyâm) ekam kâlam. 7. aranye prapadam gaped âsinaḥ prâg-agreshv. 8. evam brahmavarṇasakâmo. 9. yathoktam pasu-kâmaḥ. 10. sahasrabâhur iti pasusvastyayanakâmo vrihiyavau guhuyâd.

IV, 1, 1-18=Gobhila IV, 5, 1, 9, 10, 11, 13, 12, 27, 24, 25, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 27, 28, 22, 23, 30-34 (9 deest).

may increase, should sacrifice rice and barley, with (the verse), 'He who has a thousand arms' (MB. II, 4, 7).

11. To one with whom he wishes to become associated, he should give fruits of a big tree, over which he has murmured the Kautomata verse (MB. II, 4, 8).

12. Having kept the vow (of fasting) through one fortnight, he should in the full-moon night plunge up to his navel into a pool which does not dry up, and should sacrifice with his mouth fried grain into the water, with the five (verses), 'Like a tree' (MB. II, 4, 9-13).

13. This ceremony procures (property on) the earth.

14. One who is desirous of the enjoyment (of riches), should worship the sun with the first (of those five verses), while one who is rich in wealth should look at him.

15. One who desires that his stock of horses and elephants may increase, (should sacrifice) fried grain with the second (of those verses), while the sun has a halo.

16. One who desires that his flocks may increase, (should sacrifice) sesamum seeds with the third (verse), while the moon has a halo.

11. *yenekhet sahakâram kautomatenâsya mahâvrikshaphalâni parigapya dadyâd.* 12. *ardhamâsavratî paurṇamâsyâm râtrau nâbhimâtram pragâhyâvidâsini hrade kshatatandulân âsyena guhuyâd udake vriksha iveti pañkabhih.* 13. *pârthivam karma.* 14. *prathamayâdityam upatishhed bhogakâmo rthapatau prekshamâne.* 15. *dvitîyayâkshatatandulân âditye parivishyamâne bṛihatpattrasvastyayanakâmas.* 16. *trîtiyayâ kandramasi tilatandulân kshudrapasusvastyayanakâmas.*

17. Having worshipped the sun with the fourth (verse), let him try to gain great wealth.

18. Having worshipped the sun with the fifth, let him return home.

19. In order to avert involuntary death let him murmur every day (the formula), 'Bhûh!' (MB. II, 4, 14.)

20. On the sacrificial day (i. e. the first day of the fortnight) let him make oblations with the six verses, 'From the head' (MB. II, 5, 1 seqq.), with the Vâmadevya verses, with the Mahâvyâhr̥itis, and with the verse sacred to Pragâpati (l. l. 8).

21. Thus he will drive away misfortune.

22. On an unsafe road let him murmur the verse, 'Go away' (Rig-veda X, 164, 1).

23. One who is desirous of glory should worship the sun in the forenoon, at noon, and in the afternoon, with (the formula), 'I am glory' (MB. II, 5, 9).

24. Let him change (the word), 'Of the forenoon,' according (to the different times of the day).

25. Worshipping (the sun) at twilight with the formula, 'O sun! the ship' (MB. II, 5, 14), procures happiness.

26. At the morning twilight (he says), 'When thou risest' (l. l. 15).

17. *katurthyâdityam upasthâya gurum artham abhyuttish/het.*
 18. *pañkamyâdityam upasthâya gr̥ihân eyâd.* 19. *anakâmamâram nityam gaped bhûr iti.* 20. *yaganîye guhuyân mûrdhno-dhi ma iti shad̥bhir vâmadevyargbhir mahâvyâhr̥itubhih prâgâpatyayâ kâ.*
 21. *lakshmn̥irnod.* 22. *ksheme pathy apehiti gaped.* 23. *yasoham ity âdityam upatish/hed yaraskâmaḥ pûrvâhnamadhyandinâ-parâh̥neshu.* 24. *prâtarah̥nasyeti yathârtham ūhed.* 25. *âditya nâvam iti sandhyopasthânam svastyayanam.* 26. *udyantam tveti pûrvâm.*

19-27=IV, 6, 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 3, 10-12 (22 deest).

27. At the evening twilight, 'When thou goest to rest' (l. 1. 16).

KHANDA 2.

1. Having kept the vow (of fasting) through one fortnight, he should, on the first day of the dark fortnight, feed the Brâhmanas with boiled milk-rice prepared of one *Kamsa* of rice.

2. The small grains of that (rice) he should sacrifice (day by day) at the evening twilight to the west of the village, on a place which he has besmeared (with cowdung), with the formula, 'To Phala' (MB. II, 5, 17).

3. And with (the formula), 'To Phalla!' The same on the first day of the next dark fortnight.

4. He shall observe chastity till the end (of the rite).

5. A hundred cart-loads (of gold) will be his.

6. A Brâhmana should elect the site for building his house on white ground, a Kshatriya on red, a Vaisya on black, which should be even, covered with grass, not salinous, not dry—

7. Where the water flows off to the north-west.

8. (Plants) with milky juice or with thorns or acrid plants should not be there.

27. pratishthantam tveti paschimâm.

2, 1. ardhmâsavrati tâmisrâdau brâhmanân âsayed vrîhikamsaudanam. 2. tasya kanân aparâsu sandhyâsu pratyag grâmât sthandîlam upalipya Phalâyeti guhuyât. 3. Phallâyeti taivam evâparasmims tâmisrâdau. 4. brahmaṣṭryam â samâpter. 5. âkîtasatam bhavati. 6. gaure bhûmibhâge brâhmano lohite kshatriyâḥ kṛishne vaisyo vasânâṃ goshayet samam lomâsam anîrinam asushkam. 7. yatrodakam pratyagudîkîm pravartate. 8. kshîrinâḥ kantakînâḥ [sic] ka/ukâs kâtraushadhayo na syur.

2, 1-5=Gobhila IV, 6, 13-16. 6-23=IV, 7.

9. (Soil) on which Darbha-grass grows, brings holy lustre ;

10. Big sorts of grass, strength ;

11. Tender grass, cattle.

12. Or (the site of the house) should have the form of bricks (?) or of (?)

13. Or there should be natural holes (in the ground) in all directions.

14, 15. (A house) with its door to the east brings wealth and fame ; with its door to the north, children and cattle. By one with its door to the south all wishes (are obtained). The back-door should not face (?) the house-door.

16. Milk-rice should be offered,

17. And a black cow,

18. Or a white goat. Or only milk-rice.

19. In the middle of the house he should sacrifice the fat (of the animal) and the milk-rice, mixed with *Āgya*, taking eight portions (of that mixture), with (the verse), 'Vāstoshpati!' (MB. II, 6, 1.)

20. And with the seven last (texts) used at the driving away of misfortune (see above, chap. 1, 20, 21).

21. After he has sacrificed, he should distribute Balis in the different directions (of the horizon).

9. *darbhasammitam brahmavarkasyam*. 10. *brihatttrinair balyam*. 11. *mridutrinaiḥ paravyam*. 12. *sâtâbhir* (corr. *sâdâbhir?*) *mandaladvîpibhir vâ*. 13. *yatra vâ svayamkrîṭâḥ svabhrâḥ sarvato-bhimukhâ syuḥ*. 14. *prâgdvâram dhanyam yasasyam kodagdvâram putryam paravyam ka dakshinadvâre sarve kârnâ. anudvâram gehadvâram* 15. *asamlôkî (asamlôki?) syât*. 16. *pâyaso haviḥ*. 17. *krîṣṇâ ka gaur*. 18. *ago vâ svetaḥ pâyasa eva vâ*. 19. *madhye vesmano vasâm pâyasam kâgyena misram ashtagrîhîtam guhuyâd Vâstoshpata iti*. 20. *yâs ka parâs saptâlakshminirnode tâbhis ka*. 21. *hutvâ disâm balim nayed*.

22. And towards the intermediate points, and upwards and downwards.

23. This (he should repeat) every year, or at the two sacrifices of the first-fruits (of rice and barley).

24. With the two (formulas), 'Obeying the will' (MB. II, 6, 7, 8), he should sacrifice two oblations.

25. He should pronounce the name of the person whom he wishes to subdue to his will, 'N. N. ;' then that person will obey him.

KHANDA 3.

1. Keeping the observance (of fasting) through one fortnight, let him sacrifice in a full-moon night one hundred pegs with the Ekâksharyâ verse (MB. II, 6, 9), if he is desirous of having (a large) family.

2. (Those pegs should be) of Khâdira wood, if he is desirous of long life.

3. Now another (ceremony performed with the same verse). He should go out of the village in an eastern or northern direction, should brush up an elevated surface, or (should raise it) on a mountain with the dung of beasts of the forest, should set it on

22. *avântaradisâm kordhvâvâkîbhyâm kai.* 23. *śvam samvatsare samvatsare navayagñayor vâ.* 24. *vasamgamâv ity etâbhyâm âhutî guhuyâd.* 25. *yam ikhêd vasam âyântam tasya nâma grîhîtvâsâv iti vasî hâsya bhavati.*

3, 1. *ardhamâsavratî paurnamâsyâm râtrau saṅkusatam guhuyâd ekâksharyâyâ sânvayakâmaḥ.* 2. *khâdirân âyushkâmo.* 3. *sthâparam. prân vodaṇ vâ grâmân nishkramya sthândîlam samûhya parvate vâran̄yair gomayai sthâpayitvâ (read, gomayais tâpayitvâ?) śngârân apohyâsyena guhuyâd.*

24=IV, 8, 7 (25 deest).

3, 1-5=Gobhila IV, 8, 10-16. 6=IV, 9, 15.

fire, should sweep the coals away (from that surface), and should make an oblation (of butter) with his mouth.

4. If (the butter) catches fire, twelve villages (will be his).

5. If smoke rises, at least three.

6. Let him sacrifice in the evening and in the morning the fallings-off of rice-grains. Thus his means of livelihood will not be exhausted.

7. Of articles of trade let him make an oblation with (the formula), 'Here (this Visvakarman),' (MB. II, 6, 10.)

8. On the sacrificial day (i. e. on the first day of the fortnight) let him sacrifice a full oblation (with the verse MB. II, 6, 11, 'A full oblation I sacrifice,' &c.).

9. One who is desirous of companions (should sacrifice) with (the formula), 'Indrāmavadât' (?), (MB. II, 6, 12.)

10. He should fast through a period of eight nights, and then should kindle a fire to the east or to the north of the village, at a place where four roads meet. The fuel should be Udumbara wood, and the Sruva and the cup (for water should be of the same wood). Let him sacrifice (Āgrya) with (the formulas), 'Food indeed,' and 'Bliss indeed' (MB. II, 6, 13, 14).

11. A third (oblation) in the village with (the formula), 'The food's' (l. l. 15).

4. dvādasa grāmā gvalite. 5. tryavarā dhūme. 6. kambūkān sâyamprâtar guhuyān nâsya vr̥ttih kshīyata. 7. idam aham imam iti panyahomam guhuyât. 8. pūrnahomam yaganīye guhuyâd. 9. Indrāmavadâd iti sahâyakâmo. 10. śhārâtroposhito param prân vodañ vâ grāmâk katuspathē samidhyâgnim audumbara idhma syât sruvakamasau ka guhuyâd annam vâ iti sr̥ir vâ iti. 11. grāme tr̥itīyām annasyety.

7-9=IV, 8, 19 seqq. 10-16=IV, 9, 1 seqq.

12. Then he will become a ruler.
 13. When (his cows) are sick, let him sacrifice milk-rice in the cow-stable.
 14. On a dangerous road let him make knots in the skirts of the garments (of those who travel together). This will bring a prosperous journey to (himself) and his companions.
 15. With the two (formulas), 'To Hunger Svâhâ !' (MB. II, 6, 16, 17), let him sacrifice a thousand oblations, if he desires to obtain a thousand cart-loads (of gold).
 16. One who is desirous of cattle (should sacrifice one thousand oblations) of the excrements of a male and a female calf. Of a male and a female sheep, if he is desirous of flocks.
 17. Let him make oblations of fresh cowdung in the evening and in the morning; then his means of livelihood will not be exhausted.

KHANDA 4.

1. One who has been bitten by a venomous animal, he should besprinkle with water, murmuring (the verse), 'Do not fear' (MB. II, 6, 18).

12. âdhipatyam prâpnoty. 13. upatâpinîshu goshthe pâyasam guhuyâd. 14. aksheme pathi vastradasânâm granthîn kuryât sahâ-yinâm (sahâyânâm?) ka svastyayanâni. 15. kshudhe svâhety etâ-bhyâm âhutisahasram guhuyâd âkîtasahasrakâmo. 16. vatsa-mithunayoḥ purîshena pasukâmo vimithunayoḥ kshudrapasukâmo. 17. haritagomayena sâyamprâtar guhuyân nâsya vrîttiḥ kshîyate.
 4, 1. vishavatâ dasham adbhir abhyukshan gapen mâ bhaishîr iti.

17=IV, 8, 18.

4, 1-4=Gobhila IV, 9, 16 seqq.

2. A Snâtaka should, when lying down to sleep, put his bamboo staff near (his bed) with (the formula), 'Strong one, protect' (l. l. 19). This will bring him luck.

3. A place where he has a worm he should besprinkle with water, murmuring (the verses), 'Thy worm is killed' (MB. II, 7, 1-4).

4. (If doing this) for his cattle, let him fetch in the afternoon an earth-clod taken out of a furrow, and let him in the morning strew the dust of it (on the place attacked by worms), murmuring (the same texts).

5. (A guest) who is going to accept the Madhuparka should come forward murmuring, 'Here I tread on this' (MB. II, 8, 2).

6. They announce three times (to the guest) each (of the following things which are brought to him): a bed (of grass), water for washing the feet, the Argha water, water for sipping, and the Madhuparka;

7. And the cow.

8. Having spread out the bed (of grass, so that the points of the grass are) turned to the north, he should sit down thereon with (the verse), 'The herbs which' (MB. II, 8, 3).

9. With the feet (he treads on another bundle of

2. snâtakas samvisan vainavam dandam upanidadyât tura gopâyeti svastyayanam. 3. hata ta (hastata, haṣṭa, hasta, vitasta, the MSS.) iti kṛimimantam devam adbhir abhyukshaṇ gapet. 4. paśūnām ked aparāhne sītāloṣṭam āhrīya tasya prātaḥ pāmsubhiḥ pratishkiraṇ gapen. 5. madhuparkam pratigrahīshyann idam aham imām iti pratitishṭhaṇ gaped. 6. vishṭarapādyârghyâkamanīyamadhuparkânām ekaikam trir vedayante. 7. gām ko. 8. dañṭam vishṭaram âstūrya yâ oshadhîr ity adhyâsīta. 9. pādāyor dvitīyayâ dvau ked.

5-23=IV, 10.

[29]

F f

grass), if there are two, with the second (verse) (l. l. 4).

10. Let him look at the water with (the formula), 'From which side I see the goddesses' (l. l. 5).

11. Let him wash his left foot with (the formula), 'The left' (l. l. 6), the right with, 'The right' (l. l. 7); both with the rest (8).

12. Let him accept the Arghya water with (the formula), 'Thou art the queen of food' (l. l. 9).

13. The water which he is to sip, (he accepts) with (the formula), 'Glory art thou' (l. l. 10).

14. The Madhuparka with (the formula), 'The glory's glory art thou' (l. l. 11).

15. Let him drink three times with (the formulas), 'The glory's,' 'The might's,' 'The fortune's' (l. l. 12).

16. Having drunk more of it a fourth time silently he should give the remainder to a Brâhmaṇa.

17. Over the cow, when it has been announced to him, he should recite (the formula), 'Let loose the cow.'

18. Instead of 'and of N. N.' (in that formula) he should put the name of the person who offers the Arghya reception.

19. Thus if it is no sacrifice (by which the Arghya ceremony has been occasioned).

20. 'Make it (ready),' if it is a sacrifice.

10. apaḥ paryed yato devîr iti. 11. savyam pâdam avasiṅked savyam iti dakshinam dakshinam ity ubhau seshenâ. 12. nṇasya râshṭrîr asîty arghyam pratigrhṇîyâd. 13. yasoḥsîty âkamanîyam. 14. yasaso yasoḥsîti madhuparkam. 15. triḥ pibed yasaso mahâsa sriyâ iti. 16. tûshnîm katurtham bhûyoḥbhipâya brâhmaṇâ-yokkḥishṭam dadyâd. 17. gâm veditâm anumantrayeta muṅka gâm ity. 18. amushya kety arhayitur nâma brûyâd. 19. evam ayagñe. 20. kuruteti yagñâ.

21. The six persons to whom the Arghya reception is due are, a teacher, an officiating priest, a Snâtaka, a king, the father-in-law, a friend.

22. He should honour them (with the Arghya reception) once a year ;

23. But repeatedly in the case of a sacrifice and of a wedding. But repeatedly in the case of a sacrifice and of a wedding.

End of the Fourth Patala.

End of the *Grîhyakhanda*.

21. âkârya ritvik snâtako râgâ vivâhyah priya iti shad arghyâh.
 22. pratisamvatsarân arhayet. 23. punar yagñavivâhayos ka punar
 yagñavivâhayos ka. katurthapatalah.
grîhyakhandam samâptam.

| CONSONANTS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. | |
|---|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | .. | .. | क | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | k | |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | .. | .. | ख | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | kh | |
| 3 Media | g | .. | .. | ग | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | ... | |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | .. | .. | घ | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | ... | |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 6 Nasalis | h (ng) | .. | .. | ङ | { 𐬙 (ng) 𐬚 (N) 𐬛 (ng/ho) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | .. | .. | ह | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | h, hs | |
| 8 " lenis | , | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 9 " asper faucalis | 'h | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | 'h | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 11 " asper fricatus | .. | 'h | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | .. | 'h | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | .. | k | .. | च | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | k | |
| 14 " aspirata | .. | kh | .. | छ | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | kh | |
| 15 Media | .. | g | .. | ज | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 16 " aspirata | .. | gh | .. | झ | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 17 " Nasalis | .. | ḡ | .. | ञ | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |

| CONSONANTS (continued). | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlevi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | . . . | | य | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ي | ي | י | y |
| 19 Spiritus asper | . . . | (y) | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 20 " lenis | . . . | (y) | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 21 " asper assibilatus | . . . | s | . . . | श | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | س | س | ש | . . . |
| 22 " lenis assibilatus | . . . | z | . . . | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ز | ز | ז | z |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | . . . | | त | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ت | ت | ת | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | . . . | | थ | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ث | ث | ת | th |
| 25 " assibilata | d | . . . | TH | द | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ذ | ذ | ד | . . . |
| 26 Media | dh | . . . | | ध | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ذ | ذ | ד | . . . |
| 27 " aspirata | . . . | . . . | | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ذ | ذ | ד | . . . |
| 28 " assibilata | . . . | . . . | DH | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ذ | ذ | ד | . . . |
| 29 Nasalis | n | . . . | | न | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ن | ن | נ | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | . . . | | ल | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ل | ل | ל | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | . . . | l | | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 32 " mollis 2 | . . . | . . . | L | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | . . . | | स | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | س | س | ס | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | . . . | . . . | s (f) | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 35 " lenis | z | . . . | | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ز | ز | ז | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | . . . | . . . | z (3) | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | . . . | . . . | z (3) | . . . | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | | II Class. | | | | | | | |
| | | | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | 0 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ə |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | è | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 3 " labialis | ø | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | a |
| 5 " longa | ā | . | (a) | . | . | . | . | . | . | ā |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | i |
| 7 " longa | ī | . | (i) | . | . | . | . | . | . | ī |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | ɛ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 9 " longa | ē | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ɪ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 11 " longa | ī | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | . | (u) | . | . | . | . | . | . | u |
| 13 " longa | ū | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ū |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | . | (e) | . | . | . | . | . | . | e |
| 15 " longa | é (ai) | . | (ai) | . | . | . | . | . | . | é |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | āi | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | āi |
| 17 " " | ei (ēi) | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ei, ēi |
| 18 " " | oi (ōu) | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 19 Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | . | (o) | . | . | . | . | . | . | o |
| 20 " longa | ô (au) | . | (au) | . | . | . | . | . | . | ô |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | āu | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | āu |
| 22 " " | eu (ēu) | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 23 " " | ou (ōu) | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 24 Gutturalis fracta | ä | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | ī | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 26 Labialis fracta | ü | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |
| 27 Gutturo-labialis fracta | ö | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ... |

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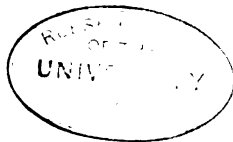
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THE GRIHYA-SÛTRAS

RULES OF VEDIC DOMESTIC CEREMONIES

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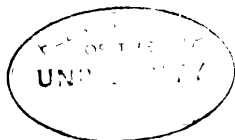
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PART II

GOBHILA, HIRANYAKESIN, ÂPASTAMBA

ÂPASTAMBA, YAGÑA-PARIBHÂSHÂ-SÛTRAS

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RISE

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

GRĪHYA-SŪTRAS.

WE begin our introductory remarks on the literature of the *Grīhya-sūtras* with the attempt to collect the more important data which throw light on the development of the *Grīhya* ritual during the oldest period of Hindu antiquity.

There are, as it seems, no direct traces of the *Grīhya* ceremonies in the most ancient portion of Vedic literature. It is certain indeed that a number of the most important of those ceremonies are contemporaneous with or even earlier than the most ancient hymns of the *Rig-veda*, as far as their fundamental elements and character are concerned, whatever their precise arrangement may have been. However, in the literature of the oldest period they play no part. It was another portion of the ritual that attracted the attention of the poets to whom we owe the hymns to Agni, Indra, and the other deities of the Vedic Olympus, viz. the offerings of the *Srauta-Ritual* with their far superior pomp, or, to state the matter more precisely, among the offerings of the *Srauta-Ritual* the Soma offering. In the Soma offering centred the thought, the poetry, and we may almost say the life of the *Vasishṭhas*, of the *Viśvāmitras*, &c., in whose families the poetry of the *Rig-veda* had its home. We may assume that the acts of the *Grīhya* worship, being more limited in extent and simpler in their ritual construction than the great Soma offerings, were not yet at that time, so far as they existed at all, decked out with the reciting of the poetic texts, which we find later on connected with them, and which in the case of the Soma offering came early to be used. Probably they were celebrated in simple unadorned fashion;

what the person making the offering had to say was doubtless limited to short, possibly prose formulas, so that these ceremonies remained free from the poetry of the above-mentioned families of priests¹. We think that the character of the verses given in the *Grīhya-sūtras*, which had to be repeated at the performance of the different ceremonies, justifies us in making these conjectures. Some of these verses indeed are old Vedic verses, but we have no proof that they were composed for the purposes of the *Grīhya* ceremonies, and the connection in which we find them in the *Rig-veda* proves rather the contrary. Another portion of these verses and songs proves to have been composed indeed for the very *Grīhya* ceremonies for which they are prescribed in the texts of the ritual: but these verses are more recent than the old parts of the *Rig-veda*. Part of them are found in the *Rig-veda* in a position which speaks for their more recent origin, others are not contained in the *Rig-veda* at all. Many of these verses are found in the more recent Vedic *Samhitās*, especially in the *Atharva-veda*, a *Samhitā* which may be regarded in the main as a treasure of *Grīhya* verses; others finally have not as yet been traced to any Vedic *Samhitā*, and we know them from the *Grīhya-sūtras* only. We may infer that, during the latter part of the *Rig-veda* period, ceremonies such as marriage and burial began to be decked out with poetry as had long been the case with the Soma offering. The principal collection of marriage sentences² and the sentences for the

¹ It is doubtful whether at the time of the *Rig-veda* the custom was established for the sacrificer to keep burning constantly a sacred *Grīhya* fire besides the three *Srauta* fires. There is, as far as I know, no express mention of the *Grīhya* fire in the *Rig-veda*; but that is no proof that it had then not yet come into use. Of the *Srauta* fires the *gārhapatya* is the only one that is mentioned, though all three were known beyond a doubt. (Ludwig, *Rig-veda*, vol. iii, p. 355; in some of the passages cited the word *gārhapatya* does not refer to the *gārhapatya* fire.)

² *Rig-veda* X, 85. It is clear that what we have here is not a hymn intended to be recited all at once, but that, as in a number of other cases in the *Rig-veda*, the single verses or groups of verses were to be used at different points in the performance of a rite (or, in other cases, in the telling of a story). Compare my paper, 'Ākhyāna-Hymnen im *Rig-veda*,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxix, p. 83.—Many verses of *Rig-veda* X, 85 occur again in the fourteenth book of the *Atharva-veda*.

burial of the dead ¹ are found in the tenth *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, which, for the most part, is known to be of later origin than the preceding portions of the collections ². If we look into the character of the verses, which these long *Gr̥hya* songs are composed of, we shall find additional grounds for assuming their early origin. A few remarks about their metrical character will make this clear ³. There is no other metre in which the contrast between the early and later periods of Vedic literature manifests itself so clearly as in the *Anuṣṭubh*-metre ⁴. The *Anuṣṭubh* hemistich consists of sixteen syllables, which are divided by the caesura into two halves of eight syllables each. The second of these halves has as a rule the iambic ending (◡ – ◡ ◡), though this rule was not so strictly carried out in the early as in the later period ⁵. The iambic ending is also the rule in the older parts of the *Veda* for the close of the first half, i.e. for the four syllables before the caesura ⁶. We know that the later prosody, as we see it in certain late parts of Vedic literature, in the *Pāli Piṭakas* of the Buddhists, and later in the great epic poems, not only departs from the usage of the older period, but adopts a directly contrary course, i.e. the iambic ending of the first *pāda*, which was formerly the rule, is not allowed at all later, and instead of it the prevailing ending is the anti-spast (◡ – – ◡). It goes without saying that such a change in metrical usage, as the one just described, cannot have

¹ *Rig-veda* X, 14–16, and several other hymns of the tenth book. Compare the note at *Ārvalāyana-Gr̥hya* IV, 4. 6.

² Compare my *Hymnen des Rig-veda*, vol. i (Prolegomena), pp. 265 seq.

³ Compare the account of the historical development of some of the Vedic metres which I have given in my paper, 'Das altindische Ākhyāna,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxvii, and my *Hymnen des Rig-veda*, vol. i, pp. 26 seqq.

⁴ The *Trishubh* and *Gagati* offer a much less promising material for investigation, because, so far as can now be made out, the departures from the old type begin at a later period than in the case of the *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Compare Max Müller's introduction to his English translation of the *Rig-veda*, vol. i, pp. cxiv seq.

⁶ To demonstrate this, I have given in my last-quoted paper, p. 62, statistics with regard to the two hymns, *Rig-veda* I, 10 and VIII, 8; in the former the iambic ending of the first *pāda* obtains in twenty out of twenty-four cases, in the latter in forty-two out of forty-six cases.

taken place at one jump. And accordingly a consideration of the Vedic texts reveals a transition period or rather a series of several transition periods between the old and the new standpoints. The first change is that every other ending of the first pāda is allowed by the side of the iambic ending. The two forms of the ending, the one prevailing in the earliest, and the one prevailing in the later period of the prosody, the iambic (◡ – ◡ ◡) and the antispastic (◡ – – ◡), are those that occur most frequently in the intermediate period, but besides them all other possible forms are allowed¹.

This is precisely the stage of metrical development which the great *Grhyā* songs of the tenth *Māṇḍala* of the *Rig-veda* have reached. Let us consider, for instance, the marriage songs and the marriage sayings, X, 85, and see what kind of ending there is at the end of the first pāda. Of the first seventeen verses of this *Sūkta* sixteen are in *Anuṣṭubh* metre (verse 14 is *Trishṭubh*); we have therefore thirty-two cases in which the metrical form of these syllables must be investigated. The quantity of the syllable immediately preceding the caesura being a matter of indifference, we have not sixteen but only eight a priori possible combinations for the form of the last four syllables of the pāda; I give each of these forms below, adding each time in how many of the thirty-two cases it is used :

| | |
|---------|-------|
| – – ◡ ◡ | 8 |
| ◡ – ◡ ◡ | 5 |
| – – – ◡ | 5 |
| ◡ – – ◡ | 4 |
| ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | 3 |
| – ◡ ◡ ◡ | 3 |
| ◡ ◡ – ◡ | 3 |
| – ◡ – ◡ | 1 |
| <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 32 |

¹ Compare the statistics as to the frequency of the different metrical forms at the ending of the first pāda, p. 63 of my above-quoted paper, and *Hymnen des Rig-veda*, vol. i, p. 28. I have endeavoured in the same paper, p. 65 seq., to make it seem probable that this was the stage of prosody prevailing during the government of the two Kuru kings Parikshit and Ganamegaya.

We see that all the possible combinations are actually represented in these thirty-two cases, and accordingly the metrical build of this Sûkta shows that it belongs to a period to which only the latest songs of the Rig-veda collection can be referred, but the peculiarities of which may be often noticed in the Atharva-veda and in the verses scattered throughout the Brâhmaṇa literature¹.

A hasty glance suffices to show that those verses of the *Gṛihya* ritual which do not appear in the *Samhitâs*, but which are quoted at full length in the *Gṛihya-sûtras*, are also in the same stage. For instance, the seven Anushrubh verses which are quoted *Sâṅkhâya-Gṛihya* I, 19, 5. 6, give us the following relations, if we investigate them as we did those in Rig-veda X, 85:

| | |
|---------|----|
| — — — — | 4 |
| — — — — | 3 |
| — — — — | 2 |
| — — — — | 2 |
| — — — — | 1 |
| — — — — | 1 |
| — — — — | 1 |
| — — — — | 14 |

Thus even the small number of fourteen hemistichs is enough to give us seven of the eight existing combinations, and no single one occurs at all often enough to allow us to call it predominant.

Or we may take the saying that accompanies the performance of the *medhâganana* on the new-born child. In the version of *Āsvalâyana*² we have:

— — — —||— — — —
medhâṃ te devaḥ Savitâ
 — — — —||— — — —
medhâṃ te Asvinau devau.

In the version adopted in the school of Gobhila³ the

¹ For instance, in the verses which occur in the well-known story of *Sunaśrepa* (*Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa* VII, 13 seq.).

² *Āsvalâyana-Gṛihya* I, 15, 2.

³ *Mantra-Brâhmaṇa* I, 5, 9; cf. *Gobhila-Gṛihya* II, 7, 21.

context of the first line is different, but the metre is the same:

— — — —||— ∪ ∪ —
medhām te Mitrāvarunau.

Or the saying with which the pupil (brahmaṭārin) has to lay a log of wood on the fire of the teacher¹:

— ∪ — ∪ ∪ || ∪ — — ∪
Agnaye samidham āhārsham
∪ — ∪ — || — — — ∪
tayā tvam Agne vardhasva.

There would be no object in multiplying the number of examples; those here given are sufficient to prove our proposition, that the development of the Grīhya rites in the form in which they are described to us in the Sūtras, that especially their being accompanied with verses, which were to be recited by their performance, is later than the time of the oldest Vedic poetry, and coincides rather with the transition period in the development of the Anushṭubh metre, a period which lies between the old Vedic and the later Buddhistic and epic form.

Besides the formulae intended to be recited during the performance of the various sacred acts, the Grīhya-sūtras contain a second kind of verses, which differ essentially from the first kind in regard to metre; viz. verses of ritualistic character, which are inserted here and there between the prose Sūtras, and of which the subject-matter is similar to that of the surrounding prose. We shall have to consider these yagñagāthās, as they are occasionally called, later; at present let us go on looking for traces of the Grīhya ritual and for the origin of Grīhya literature in the literature which precedes the Sūtras.

The Brāhmaṇa texts, which, as a whole, have for their subject-matter the Vaitānika ceremonies celebrated with the three holy fires, furnish evidence that the Grīhya fire, together with the holy acts accomplished in connection with it, were also already known. The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa² gives this

¹ Āśvalāyana-Grīhya I, 21, 1. In Pāraskara and in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa only the first hemistich has the Anushṭubh form.

² Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa VIII, 10, 9: etya grīhān paśād grīhyasyāgner upa-

fire the most usual name, the same name which is used for it in the Sûtras, *grihya agni*, and describes a ceremony to be performed over this fire with expressions which agree exactly with the style of the *Grihya-sûtras*¹. We often find in the *Brâhmana* texts also mention of the terminus technicus, which the *Grihya-sûtras* use many times as a comprehensive term for the offerings connected with *Grihya* ritual, the word *pākayagñas*². For instance, the *Satapatha Brâhmana*³, in order to designate the whole body of offerings, uses the expression: all offerings, those that are *Pākayagñas* and the others. It is especially common to find the *Pākayagñas* mentioned in the *Brâhmana* texts in connection with the myth of Manu. The *Taittiriya Samhitâ*⁴ opposes the whole body of sacrifices to the *Pākayagñas*. The former belonged to the gods, who through it attained to the heavenly world; the latter concerned Manu: thus the goddess *Idâ* turned to him. Similar remarks, bringing Manu or the goddess *Idâ* into relation with the *Pākayagñas*, are to be found *Taittiriya Samhitâ* VI, 2, 5, 4; *Aitareya-Brâhmana* III, 40, 2. However, in this case as in many others, the *Satapatha Brâhmana* contains the most detailed data, from which we see how the idea of Manu as the performer of *Pākayagñas* is connected with the history of the great deluge, out of which Manu alone was left. We read in the *Satapatha Brâhmana*⁵:

vishâyânvarabdhâya ritvig antataḥ kamsena keturgrihitâs tisra âgyâhutir aindriḥ prapadam gubhoti, &c.

¹ Some of the places in which the St. Petersburg dictionary sees names of the *Grihya* fire in *Brâhmana* texts are erroneous or doubtful. *Taittiriya Samhitâ* V, 5, 9, 2, not *grihya* but *gahya* is to be read. *Aupâsana*, *Satapatha Brâhmana* XII, 3, 5, 5, seems not to refer to a sacrificial fire. Following the identity of *aupâsana* and *sabhya* maintained in the dictionary under the heading *aupâsana*, one might be tempted in a place like *Satapatha Brâhmana* II, 3, 2, 3 to refer the words *ya esha sabhâyâm agniḥ* to the domestic fire. A different fire is however really meant (*Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra* IV, 9, 20).

² *Sâṅkhâyana* I, 1, 1: *pākayagñân vyākhyâsyâmaḥ*; I, 5, 1 = *Pâraskara* I, 4, 1: *ketvâraḥ pākayagñâ huto hutaḥ prahutaḥ prârita iti*.

³ I, 4, 2, 10: *sarvân yagñân . . . ye ka pākayagñâ ye ketare*.

⁴ I, 7, 1, 3: *sarveṣa vai yagñena devâḥ suvargam lokam âyan, pākayagñena Manur asrâmyat, &c.*

⁵ I, 8, 1, 6 seq. The translation is that of Prof. Max Müller (*India, what can it teach us?* p. 135 seq.).

‘Now the flood had carried away all these creatures, and thus Manu was left there alone. Then Manu went about singing praises and toiling, wishing for offspring. And he sacrificed there also with a Pāka-sacrifice. He poured clarified butter, thickened milk, whey, and curds in the water as a libation.’ It is then told how the goddess *Idā* arose out of this offering. I presume that the story of the Pākayagñā as the first offering made by Manu after the great flood, stands in a certain correlation to the idea of the introduction of the three sacrificial fires through Purūravas¹. Purūravas is the son of *Idā*; the original man Manu, who brings forth *Idā* through his offering, cannot have made use of a form of offering which presupposes the existence of *Idā*, and which moreover is based on the triad of the sacred fires introduced by Purūravas; hence Manu’s offering must have been a Pākayagñā; we read in one of the *Grīhya-sūtras*²: ‘All Pākayagñas are performed without *Idā*.’

There are still other passages in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts showing that the *Grīhya* offerings were already known; I will mention a saying of Yāgyavalkya’s reported in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*³: he would not allow that the daily morning and evening offering was a common offering, but said that, in a certain measure, it was a Pākayagñā. Finally I would call attention to the offering prescribed in the last book of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁴ for the man ‘who wishes that a learned son should be born to him;’ it is there stated that the preparation of the *Āgya* (clarified butter) should be performed ‘according to the rule of the *Sthālīpāka* (pot-boiling),’ and the way in which the offering is to

¹ It is true that, as far as I know, passages expressly stating this with regard to Purūravas have not yet been pointed out in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts; but the words in *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 5, 1, 14-17, and even in *Rig-veda* X, 95, 18 stand in close connection to this prominent characteristic of Purūravas in the later texts.

² *Sāṅkhāyana* I, 10, 5.

³ II, 3, 1, 21.

⁴ XIV, 9, 4, 18 = *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* VI, 4, 19 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xv, p. 220). Cf. *Grīhya-saṃgraha* I, 114 for the expression *sthālīpākāvṛitā* which is here used, and which has a technical force in the *Grīhya* literature.

be performed is described by means of an expression, *upaghâtam*¹, which often occurs in the *Gṛihya* literature in a technical sense.

We thus see that the *Brāhmaṇa* books are acquainted with the *Gṛihya* fire, and know about the *Gṛihya* offerings and their permanent technical peculiarities; and it is not merely the later portions of the *Brāhmaṇa* works such as the fourteenth book of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, in which we meet with evidence of this kind; we find it also in portions against the antiquity of which no objections can be raised.

While therefore on the one hand the *Brāhmaṇa* texts prove the existence of the *Gṛihya* ceremonial, we see on the other hand, and first of all by means of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts themselves, that a literary treatment of this ritualistic subject-matter, as we find it in the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves with regard to the *Srauta* offerings, cannot then have existed. If there had existed texts, similar to the *Brāhmaṇa* texts preserved to us, which treated of the *Gṛihya* ritual, then, even supposing the texts themselves had disappeared, we should still necessarily find traces of them in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras*. He who will take the trouble to collect in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts the scattered references to the then existing literature, will be astonished at the great mass of notices of this kind that are preserved: but nowhere do we find traces of *Gṛihya Brāhmaṇas*. And besides, if such works had ever existed, we should be at a loss to understand the difference which the Hindus make between the *Srauta-sūtras* based on *Sruti* (revelation), and the *Gṛihya-sūtras* resting on *Smṛiti* (tradition) alone². The sacred *Gṛihya* acts are regarded as 'smārta,' and when the question is raised with what right they can be considered as a duty resting on the sacrificer alongside of the *Srauta* acts, the answer is given that they too are based on a *Sākhā* of the *Veda*, but that this *Sākhā* is

¹ See *Gṛihya-saṃgraha* I, III. 112.

² The *Gṛihya-sūtra* of *Baudhāyana* is called *Smārta-sūtra* in the best known MS. of this work (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. xxx).

hidden, so that its existence can only be demonstrated by reasoning¹.

But the Brāhmaṇa texts furnish us still in another way the most decisive arguments to prove that there have been no expositions of the Gr̥hya ritual in Brāhmaṇa form : they contain exceptionally and scattered through their mass sections, in which they treat of subjects which according to later custom would have been treated in the Gr̥hya-sūtras. Precisely this sporadic appearance of Gr̥hya chapters in the midst of expositions of a totally different contents leads us to draw the conclusion that literary compositions did not then exist, in which these chapters would have occupied their proper place as integral parts of a whole. Discussions of questions of Gr̥hya ritual are found in the Brāhmaṇa literature, naturally enough in those appendices of various kinds which generally follow the exposition of the principal subject of the Srauta ritual. Accordingly we find in the eleventh book of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa², among the manifold additions to subjects previously treated, which make up the principal contents of this book³, an exposition of the Upanayana, i. e. the solemn reception of the pupil by the teacher, who is to teach him the Veda. The way in which the chapter on the Upanayana is joined to the preceding one, is eminently characteristic ; it shows that it is the merest accident which has brought about in that place the discussion of a subject connected with the Gr̥hya ritual, and that a ceremony such as the Upanayana is properly not in its proper place in the midst of the literature of Brāhmaṇa texts. A dialogue (brahmodya) between Uddālaka and Saukeya precedes ; the two talk of the Agnihotra and of various expiations (prāyaskitta) connected with that sacrifice. At the end Saukeya, filled with astonishment at the wisdom of Uddālaka, declares that he wishes to come to him as a pupil (upāyāni bhagavantam), and Uddālaka

¹ Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 94-96.

² Satapatha Brāhmaṇa XI, 5, 4.

³ Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 359.

accepts him as his pupil. It is the telling of this story and the decisive words upāyāni and upanīnye which furnish the occasion for introducing the following section on the Upanayana¹. The subject is there treated in the peculiar style of the Brāhmaṇa texts, a style which we need not characterize here. I shall only mention one point, viz. that into the description and explanation of the Upanayana ceremony has been inserted one of those Slokas, such as we often find in the Gr̥hya-sūtras also, as a sort of ornamental amplification of the prose exposition². 'Here a Sloka is also sung,' says the Brāhmaṇa³:

— — — — — || — — — — —
 ākāryo garbhī bhavati hastam ādhāya dakṣiṇam
 — — — — — || — — — — —
 tritīyasyām sa gāyate sāvitryā saha brāhmaṇaḥ⁴.

From this passage we see, on the one hand, that the composition of such isolated⁵ Slokas explaining certain points of the Gr̥hya ritual goes back to quite an early period; on the other hand, we are compelled to assume that the Slokas of this kind which are quoted in the Gr̥hya-sūtras differ nevertheless from the analogous Slokas of the early period, or at any rate that the old Slokas must have undergone a change which modernized their structure, so as to be received into the Gr̥hya-sūtras; for the metre of the Sloka just quoted, which has the antispast before the caesura in neither of its two halves, and which has even a double iambus before the caesura in one half, is decidedly of an older type than the one peculiar to the Slokas quoted in the Gr̥hya-sūtras⁶.

¹ This is also the way in which Sāyana understands the matter; he makes the following remark: *tan hopaninya ity upanayanasya prastutavāt taddharmā asmin brāhmaṇe nirūpyante*.

² Cf. above, p. xiv; below, p. xxxv.

³ Sect. 12 of the chapter quoted.

⁴ 'The teacher becomes pregnant by laying his right hand (on the pupil for the Upanayana); on the third day he (i.e. the pupil) is born as a Brāhmaṇa along with the Sāvitrī (which is repeated to him on that day).'

⁵ It is not likely that verses of this kind are taken from more comprehensive and connected metrical texts.

⁶ Cf. on this point below, p. xxxv.

Another Grīhya section in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa seems to have found its place there through a similar accidental kind of joining on to a preceding chapter as the above-mentioned passage. In XI, 5, 5 a story of the battle of the gods and Asuras is told: the gods beat the Asuras back by means of constantly larger Sattras celebrations and conquer for themselves the world of heaven. It seems to me that the description of the great Sattras celebrated by the gods is the occasion of the joining on of a section beginning with the words¹: 'There are five great sacrifices (mahāyagñās); they are great Sattras: the offering to Beings, the offering to men, the offering to the Fathers (i. e. the Manes), the offering to the Gods, the offering to the Brahman.' After this introduction follows an account of one of the five great offerings, namely of the Brahmayagñā, i. e. of the daily Veda recitation (svādhyāya). The third Adhyāya of Āsvalāyana's Grīhya-sūtra begins in exactly the same way with the sentence: 'Now (follow) the five sacrifices: the sacrifice to the Gods, the sacrifice to the Beings, the sacrifice to the Fathers, the sacrifice to the Brahman, the sacrifice to men,' and then follows here also a discussion of the Brahmayagñā, which is entirely analogous to that given in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. Āsvalāyana here does not content himself with describing the actual course of ceremonies as is the rule in the Sūtra texts; he undertakes, quite in the way of the Brāhmaṇa texts, to explain their meaning: 'In that he recites the *Rikas*, he thereby satiates the gods with oblations of milk, in that (he recites) the *Yagus*, with oblations of ghee,' &c. It is plain that the mode of exposition adopted by Āsvalāyana in this passage, which is different from the usual Sūtra style, finds its explanation in the supposition that exceptionally in this case the author of the Grīhya-sūtra had before him a Brāhmaṇa text, which he could take as his model, whether that text was the Satapatha itself or another similar text.

Among the extremely various prescriptions which we find

¹ Satapatha Brāhmaṇa XI, 5, 6, 1.

in the last sections of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, there is a rather long section, which also really belongs to the *Gṛhya* domain. To quote from this section¹: 'If a man wishes that a learned son should be born to him, famous, a public man, a popular speaker, that he should know all the Vedas, and that he should live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with meat and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring,' &c. Then follows a description of an *Āgya* offering, after which the marital cohabitation is to be performed with certain formulas. This, however, is not the last of the acts through which the father assures himself of the possession of such a distinguished son; certain rites follow, which are to be performed at birth and after birth, the *Āyushya* ceremony and the *Medhāganana*. These rites are here prescribed for the special case where the father has the above-mentioned wishes for the prosperity of his child; but the description agrees essentially with the description of the corresponding acts in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*², which are inculcated for all cases, without reference to a determined wish of the father. It is a justifiable conjecture that, although this certainly does not apply to the whole of ceremonies described in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, many portions of these ceremonies and verses that were used in connection with them, &c., were first developed, not as a universal rite or duty, but as the special possession of individuals, who hoped to attain special goods and advantages by performing the ceremony in this way.

It was only later, as I think, that such prescriptions

¹ *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIV, 9, 4, 17 = *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka* VI, 4, 18 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xv, p. 219 seq.).

² Cf. Prof. Max Müller's notes to the passage quoted from the *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka*. I must mention in this connection a point touched upon by Prof. Müller, loc. cit. p. 222, note 1, viz. that *Āśvalāyana*, *Gṛhya* I, 13, 1, expressly calls 'the Upanishad' the text in which the *Puṣsavana* and similar ceremonies are treated. It is probable that the Upanishad which *Āśvalāyana* had in mind treated these rites not as a duty to which all were bound, but as a secret that assured the realisation of certain wishes. This follows from the character of the Upanishads, which did not form a part of the Vedic course which all had to study, but rather contained a secret doctrine intended for the few.

assumed the character of universality, with which we find them propounded in the *Grīhya-sūtras*.

It is scarcely necessary to go through the sections of the texts of other Vedic schools referring to the *Grīhya* ritual in the same way in which we have done it in the case of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The data which we have produced from the great *Brāhmaṇa* of the white *Yagur-veda*, will be sufficient for our purpose, which is to give an idea of the stage in which the literary treatment of the *Grīhya* ritual stood during the *Brāhmaṇa* period. As we see, there were then properly no *Grīhya* texts; but many of the elements which we find later in the *Grīhya* texts were either already formed or were in the process of formation. Most of the verses which are used for the *Grīhya* acts—in so far as they are not verses composed in the oldest period for the Soma offering and transferred to the *Grīhya* ceremonies—bear the formal imprint of the *Brāhmaṇa* period; the domestic sacrificial fire and the ritual peculiarities of the *Pākayagñas* which were to be performed at it, were known; descriptions of some such *Pākayagñas* were given in prose; there were also already *Slokas* which gave in metrical form explanations about certain points of the *Grīhya* ritual, just as we find in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts analogous *Slokas* referring to subjects connected with the *Srauta* ritual.

Thus was the next step which the literary development took in the *Sūtra* period prepared and rendered easy. The more systematic character which the exposition of the ritualistic discipline assumed in this period, necessarily led to the taking of this step: the domain of the *Grīhya* sacrifices was recognised and expounded as a second great principal part of the ritual of sacrifices alongside of the *Srauta* domain which was alone attended to in the earlier period. The *Grīhya-sūtras* arose which treat, according to the expression of *Ārvalāyana* in his first sentence, of the *grīhyāni*¹ as distinguished from the *vaitānikāni*, or, as *Sāṅkhāyana* says, of the *pākayagñās*, or, as *Pāraskara* says, of the *grīhyasthālīpākānām* karma. The

¹ Similarly Gobbila : *grīhyākarmāni*.

Grihya-sûtras treat their subject of course in exactly the same style in which the sacrifices of the *Srauta* ritual had been treated by the *Srauta-sûtras*, which they constantly assume to be known and which are the works of teachers of the same Vedic schools, and oftentimes even perhaps the works of the same authors. Only certain differences in the character of the two groups of texts are naturally conditioned on the one hand by the greater complexity of the *Srauta* sacrifices and the comparative simplicity of the *Grihya* sacrifices, on the other hand by the fact that the *Srauta-sûtras* are entirely based on *Brâhmaṇa* texts, in which the same subjects were treated, while the *Grihya-sûtras*, as we have seen, possessed such a foundation only for a very small portion of their contents.

It goes without saying that the above-mentioned statement that the subjects treated of in the *Grihya-sûtras* are *Pākayagñas*¹ or *Grihyasthâlipâkas* should not be pressed with the utmost strictness, as though nothing were treated in the *Grihya-sûtras* which does not come under these heads. First of all the term *Sthâlipâka* is too narrow, since it does not include the offerings of sacrificial butter which constituted a great number of ceremonies. But besides many ceremonies and observances are taught in the *Grihya-sûtras*, which cannot in any way be characterised as sacrifices at all, only possessing some inner resemblance to the group of sacrifices there treated of, or standing in more or less close connection with them².

The *Sûtra* texts divide the *Pākayagñas* in various ways; either four or seven principal forms are taken up. The

¹ I believe with Stenzler (see his translation of *Āśvalâyana*, pp. 2 seq.) that *pākayagña* means 'boiled offering.' It seems to me that the expression *pâka* in this connection cannot be otherwise taken than in the word *sthâlipâka* ('pot-boiling'). Prof. Max Müller (*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 203), following Hindu authorities, explains *Pākayagña* as 'a small sacrifice,' or, more probably, 'a good sacrifice.' The definition of *Lâṭyâyana* may be also here quoted (IV, 9, 2): *pākayagñâ ity âtakshata ekâgnau yagñân*.

² Compare, for instance, the account of the ceremonies which are to be performed for the journey of the newly-married pair to their new home, *Sâṅkhâyana-Grihya* I, 15, or the observances to which the *Snâtaka* is bound, *Gobhila* III, 5, &c. According to the rule *Sâṅkhâyana* I, 12, 13 we are, however, to suppose a sacrifice in many ceremonies where there does not seem to be any.

commonest division is that into the four classes of the hutas, ahutas, prahutas, prâsitas¹. The division into seven classes is doubtless occasioned by the division of the Haviryagñas and of the Somayagñas, which also each include seven classes²; for the nature of the sacrifices in question would hardly of itself have led to such a division. The seven classes taken up are either those given by Gautama VIII, 15³: 'The seven kinds of Pākayagñas, viz. the Ashṭakā, the Pārvana (Sthālīpāka, offered on the new and full moon days), the funeral oblations, the Srāvaṇī, the Āgrahāyaṇī, the Kaitrī, and the Āsvayugī.' Or else the seven classes are established as follows, the fourfold division being utilised to some extent⁴: 'Huta, Prahuta, Āhuta (sic, not Ahuta), the spit-ox sacrifice, the Bali offering, the red-descent (on the Āgrahāyana day), the Ashṭakā sacrifice.' According to the account of Prof. Bühler⁵, the exposition of Baudhāyana, who gives this division, keeps closely to the course which it prescribes. For the rest, however, the Gr̥hya texts with which I am acquainted do not follow any of these divisions, and this is easily accounted for, if we consider the artificial character of these classifications, which are undertaken merely for the sake of having a complete scheme of the sacrifices. On the contrary, as a whole the texts give an arrangement which is based on the nature of the ceremonies they describe. In many instances we find considerable variations between the texts of the different schools; often enough, in a given text, the place

¹ Sāṅkhāyana I, 5, 1; 10, 7; Pāraskara I, 4, 1. Doubtless Prof. Bühler is right in finding the same division mentioned also Vasiṣṭha XXVI, 10 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 128). Āśvalāyana (I, 1, 2) mentions only three of the four classes.

² In Lāṛyāyana (V, 4, 22-24) all the sacrifices are divided into seven Haviryagñā-samsthās and into seven Soma-samsthās, so that the Pākayagñas do not form a class of their own; they are strangely brought in as the last of the Haviryagñas. Cf. Indische Studien, X, 325.

³ Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. 214.

⁴ Baudhāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra, quoted by Bühler, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xxxi; cf. Śāyana's Commentary on Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa III, 40, 2 (p. 296 of Aufrecht's edition).

⁵ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xxxii.

which is assigned to a given chapter is not to be explained without assuming a certain arbitrariness on the part of the author. But, as a whole, we cannot fail to recognise in the arrangement of the different texts a certain agreement, which we will here merely try to explain in its main traits; the points of detail, which would complete what we here say, will occur of themselves to any one who looks at the texts themselves.

The domestic life of the Hindus represents, so to speak, a circle, in which it is in a certain measure indifferent what point is selected as the starting-point. Two especially important epochs in this life are: on the one hand, the period of studentship of the young *Brahmakârin* devoted to the study of the Veda; at the beginning of this period comes the ceremony of the Upanayana, at the end that of the *Samâvartana*; on the other hand, marriage (*vivâha*), which besides has a special importance for the *Gṛhya* ritual, from the circumstance, that as a rule the cultus of the domestic sacrificial fire begins with marriage. One can just as well imagine an exposition of the *Gṛhya* ritual, which proceeds from the description of the studentship to that of the marriage, as one which proceeds from the description of the marriage to that of the studentship. The *Samâvartana*, which designates the end of the period of studentship, gives the Hindu the right and the duty to found a household¹. On the other hand, if the exposition begins with the marriage, there follows naturally the series of ceremonies which are to be performed up to the birth of a child, and then the ceremonies for the young child, which finally lead up to the Upanayana and a description of the period of studentship. The *Hiranyakesi-sûtra* alone, of the *Sûtras* treated of in these translations, follows the first of the two orders mentioned²; the other texts follow the other order,

¹ *Hiranyakesin* says: *samâvṛtta âtâryakulân mâtâpitarau bibhriyât, tâbhyâm anugṛhâto bhâryâm upayakket*.

² The same may be said with regard to two other *Gṛhya* texts which also belong to the black *Yagur-veda*, the *Mânava* and the *Kâṭhaka*. See Jolly, *Das Dharma-sûtra des Vishnu und das Kâṭhaka-gṛhyasûtra*, p. 75; Von Bradke, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxvi, p. 445.

which has been already described by Prof. Max Müller almost thirty years ago, and we cannot do better than to give his description¹: 'Then (i. e. after the marriage) follow the *Samśkâras*, the rites to be performed at the conception of a child, at various periods before his birth, at the time of his birth, the ceremony of naming the child, of carrying him out to see the sun, of feeding him, of cutting his hair, and lastly of investing him as a student, and handing him to a Guru, under whose care he is to study the sacred writings, that is to say, to learn them by heart, and to perform all the offices of a *Brahmakârin*, or religious student.'

In this way we find, as a rule, in the foreground in the first part of the *Grîhya-sûtras* this great group of acts which accompany the domestic life from marriage to the studentship and the *Samâvartana* of the child sprung from wedlock. We find, however, inserted into the description of these ceremonies, in various ways in the different *Sûtras*, the exposition of a few ritualistic matters which we have not yet mentioned. In the first place a description of the setting up of the sacred domestic fire, i. e. of the ceremony which in the domain of the *Grîhya* ritual corresponds to the *agnyâdheya* of the *Srauta* ritual. The setting up of the fire forms the necessary preliminary to all sacred acts; the regular time for it is the wedding², so that the fire used for the wedding acts accompanies the young couple to their home, and there forms the centre of their household worship. Accordingly in the *Grîhya-sûtras* the description of the setting up of the fire stands, as a rule, at the beginning of the whole, not far from the description of the wedding.

Next the introductory sections of the *Grîhya-sûtras* have to describe the type of the *Grîhya* sacrifice, which is universally available and recurs at all household ceremonies. This can be done in such a way that this type is described for itself, without direct reference to a particular sacrifice. This is the case in *Pâraskara*, who in the first chapter of his

¹ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 204.

² See, for instance, *Pâraskara* I, 2, 1: *âvasathyâdhânam dârakâle*.

Sûtra describes the rites recurring at each sacrifice, and then remarks: 'This ritual holds good, whenever a sacrifice is offered¹.' Similarly Âsvalâyana, in one of the first chapters of his work, enumerates the rites which are to be performed 'whenever he intends to sacrifice².' Other texts give a general description of the *Grîhya* sacrifice by exemplifying it by one special sacrifice. *Sâṅkhâyana*³ chooses for this the sacrifice which the bridegroom has to offer, when a favourable answer has been granted to his wooing; Gobhila⁴ gives at least the greater part of the rules in question à propos of the full moon and of the new moon sacrifice; *Hiranyakesin*⁵, who opens his account at the period of the studentship of the young *Brâhmana*, describes the sacrificial type à propos of the Upanayana rite.

The sacrifices which are to be offered daily at morning and at evening, those which are celebrated monthly on the days of the new moon and of the full moon—the *Grîhya* copies of the Agnihotra and of the *Darsapûrnamâsa* sacrifices—and, thirdly, the daily distribution of the Bali offerings: these ceremonies are commonly described along with what we have called the first great group of the *Grîhya* acts, immediately preceding or following the *Vivâha*.

We find, as a second group of sacred acts, a series of celebrations, which, if the man has founded his household, are to be performed regularly at certain times of the year at the household fire. So the *Sravâna* sacrifice, which is offered to the snakes at the time when, on account of the danger from snakes, a raised couch is necessary at night. At the end of this period the festival of the re-descent is celebrated: the exchanging of the high couch for the low couch on the ground. Between these two festivals comes the *Prishâtaka* offering on the full-moon day of the month *Âsvayuga*; it receives in the *Grîhya* texts the place corresponding to that which actually belongs to

¹ I, 1, 5: *esha eva vidhir yatra kvañid dhomañ.*

² I, 3, 1: *atha khalu yatra kva ña hoshyant syât, &c.*

³ I, 7-10.

⁴ I, 6 seqq.

⁵ I, 1.

it in the series of the festivals. As a rule¹ the acts we have just mentioned are followed, in accordance with the natural series, by the *Ashṭakā* festivals, which are celebrated during the last months of the year.

Alongside of these acts which are connected with fixed points of the year we find in the various *Grīhya* texts an account of a series of other ceremonies, which, in accordance with their nature, have no such fixed position in the system of the ritual. Thus, for instance, the rites which refer to the choice of a piece of ground to build a house or to the building itself; further, the rites connected with agriculture and cattle raising. In many texts we find together with this group of acts also an account of the ceremonies, related to fixed points in the year, which stand in connection with the annual course of Vedic study: the description of the opening festival and of the closing festival of the school term, as well as a point which generally follows these descriptions, the rules as to the *anadhyāya*, i.e. as to the occasions which necessitate an intermission in the study of the Veda for a longer or for a shorter period. As a rule, the *Grīhya-sūtras* bring the account of these things into the group of acts which refer to the household life of the *Grīhastha*; for the *Adhyāpana*, i.e. the teaching of the Veda, held the first place among the rights and duties of the *Brāhmaṇa* who had completed his time at school. On the other hand these ceremonies can naturally also be considered as connected with the school life of the young Hindu, and accordingly they are placed in that division by Gobhila², between the description of the *Upanayana* and that of the *Samāvartana*.

The sacred acts connected with the burial and the worship of the dead (the various kinds of *Srāddha* rites) may be designated as a third group of the ceremonies which are described to us in the *Grīhya-sūtras*. Finally, a fourth group comprises the acts which are connected with the attainment of particular desires (*kāmyāni*). Among the

¹ Not in *Sāṅkhāyana*, who describes the *Ashṭakās* before these sacrifices.

² III, 3.

texts here translated we find a somewhat detailed account of these ceremonies in the Gobhila-sûtra and in the Khâdira-*Grihya* only¹.

These remarks cannot claim to give a complete outline of the contents and arrangement of the *Grihya* texts; they only aim at giving an idea of the fundamental traits, which in each particular text are modified by manifold variations, but which nevertheless are to these variations as the rule is to the exceptions.

We must now speak of the relations of the *Grihya*-sûtras to the two other kinds of Sûtra texts, with which they have so many points of contact in the *Srauta*-sûtras and the *Dharma*-sûtras.

Prof. Bühler, in several places of the excellent introductions which he has prefixed to his translations of the *Dharma*-sûtras, has called attention to the fact that the relation in which the Sûtra texts of the same school stand to each other is very different in different schools. Many schools possess a great corpus of Sûtras, the parts of which are the *Srauta*-sûtra, the *Grihya*-sûtra, &c. This is, for instance, the case with the *Āpastambīya* school²; its Sûtra is divided into thirty *Prasnas*, the contents of which are divided as follows :

I-XXIV : *Srauta*-sûtra.

XXV : *Paribhâshâs*, &c.

XXVI : Mantras for the *Grihya*-sûtra.

XXVII : *Grihya*-sûtra.

XXVIII-XXIX : *Dharma*-sûtra.

XXX : *Sulva*-sûtra.

In other cases the single Sûtra texts stand more independently side by side; they are not considered as parts of one and the same great work, but as different works. Of course it is the *Dharma*-sûtras above all which could be freed from the connection with the other Sûtra texts to such an extent, that even their belonging to a distinct Vedic school may be doubtful. The contents

¹ Gobhila IV, 5 seq.; Khâd. IV, 1 seq.

² Bühler, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, pp. xi seq.

of this class of Sūtras indeed have hardly any connection with the subdivisions and differences of the Vedic texts handed down in the various schools; there was no reason why Brahmins, who studied various Śākhās of the Veda, should not learn the ordinances concerning law and morals given in these Sūtras as they were formulated in the same texts. The *Grihya*-sūtras are not so independent of the differences of the Vedic schools. The close analogy between the sacrificial ritual of the *Grihya* acts and that of the *Srauta* acts, and the consequent necessity of taking into account the *Srauta* ritual in the exposition of the *Grihya* ritual, necessarily brought the *Grihya*-sūtras into closer connection with and into greater dependence on the *Srauta*-sūtras than in the case of the *Dharma*-sūtras¹. But above all, the *Grihya* ceremonies demanded the knowledge of numerous Mantras, and accordingly as these Mantras were borrowed from the one or the other Mantra Śākhā², there followed in the case of the *Grihya* text in question an intimate connection with the corresponding Mantra school³. We find accordingly as a general rule, that each *Grihya*-sūtra presupposes a Vedic *Samhitā*, whose Mantras it quotes only in their *Pratikas*⁴, and that besides each *Grihya*-sūtra presupposes a previous

¹ Professor Jolly in his article on the *Dharma-sūtra* of Vishnu, p. 71, note 1, points out that in the eyes of Hindu commentators also the *Dharma-sūtras* differ from the *Grihya-sūtras* in that the former contain rather the universal rules, while the latter contain the rules peculiar to individual schools. Cf. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2. Aufl., S. 296.

² It seems as though the choice of the Mantras which were to be prescribed for the *Grihya* ceremonies had often been intentionally made so as to comprise as many Mantras as possible occurring in the Mantra-Śākhā, which served as foundation to the *Grihya* texts in question.

³ When Govindasvāmin (quoted by Bühler, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. xiii) designates the *Grihyasāstrāni* as *sarvādhikārāni*, this should not be understood literally. In general it is true the *Grihya* acts are the same for the disciples of all the Vedic schools, but the Mantras to be used in connection with them differ.

⁴ In the introduction to Gobhila I have treated of the special case where a *Grihya-sūtra*, besides being connected with one of the great *Samhitās*, is connected also with a *Grihya-samhitā* of its own, so to speak, with a collection of the Mantras to be used at the *Grihya* acts.

knowledge of the ritual which is acquired through the study of the proper *Srauta-sûtra*¹. It is not necessary to quote the numerous places where the *Grihya-sûtras* either expressly refer to the *Srauta-sûtras*, or point to them by repeating the same phrases or often even whole *Sûtras*. It will be sufficient to quote one out of many places, the opening words of the *Āsvalāyana-Grihya*, which in a way characterise this work as a second part of the *Srauta-sûtra* : 'The rites based on the spreading (of the three sacred fires) have been declared; we shall declare the *Grihya* rites².'

Thus it is not difficult to perceive the dependence of the *Grihya-sûtras* on the *Srauta-sûtras*; but there remains the much more difficult question whether in each particular case both texts are to be regarded as by the same author, or whether the *Grihya-sûtra* is an appendix to the *Srauta-sûtra* composed by another author. Tradition accepts the one alternative for some *Sûtras*; for other *Sûtras* it accepts the other; thus in the domain of the *Rig-veda* literature *Āsvalāyana* and *Sāṅkhāyana* are credited with the authorship of a *Srauta-sûtra* as well as of a *Grihya-sûtra*; the same is true of *Āpastamba*, *Hiranyakesin*, and other authors. On the other hand, the authorship of the *Grihya-sûtras* which follow the *Srauta-sûtras* of *Kātyāyana*, *Lātyāyana*, *Drāhyāyana*, is not ascribed to *Kātyāyana*, *Lātyāyana*, *Drāhyāyana*, but to *Pāraskara*, *Gobhila*, and *Khādīrākārya*.

It seems to me that we should consider the testimony of tradition as entirely trustworthy in the second class of cases. Tradition is very much inclined to ascribe to celebrated masters and heads of schools the origin of works which are acknowledged authorities in their schools, even though they are not the authors. But it is not likely that tradition should have made a mistake in the opposite

¹ In the domain of the *Atharva-veda* literature alone we find this relation reversed; here the *Srauta-sûtra* (the *Vaitāna-sûtra*) presupposes the *Grihya-sûtra* (the *Kausika-sûtra*). Cf. Prof. Garbe's preface to his edition of the *Vaitāna-sûtra*, p. vii. This relation is not extraordinary, considering the secondary character of the *Vaitāna-sûtra*.

² *Uktāni vaitānikāni, grihyāni vakshyāmaḥ*.

direction, that e.g. it should designate Pāraskara as author when Kātyāyana himself was the author.

We shall not be able to trust so implicitly to tradition where it puts down the same author for the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* as for the corresponding *Srauta-sūtra*; the possibility that such data are false is so large that we have to treat them as doubtful so long as we have not discovered certain proofs of their correctness. At present, so far as I can see, we are just as little justified in considering that such a proof has been made as we are able to prove the opposite state of things. It is easy to find the many agreements in contents and expression which exist, for instance, between the *Srauta-sūtra* and *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of Sāṅkhāyana, or between the *Srauta-sūtra* and the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of Āśvalāyana¹. But these agreements cannot be considered as sufficient proof that in each case the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* and the *Srauta-sūtra* are by the same author. Even if the author of the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* was not Āśvalāyana or Sāṅkhāyana in person, still he must have been at all events perfectly familiar with the works of those teachers, and must have intended to fit his work to theirs as closely as possible, so that agreements of this kind can in no way astonish us². On the other hand, if the *Srauta-sūtras* and *Gr̥hya-sūtras* are read together, it is easy to discover small irregularities in the exposition, repetitions and such like, which might seem to indicate different authors. But the irregularities of this kind which have been detected up to the present are scarcely of such

¹ The parallel passages from the *Srauta-sūtra* and the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of the Mānavas are brought together in Dr. Von Bradke's interesting paper, 'Ueber das Mānava-Gr̥hya-sūtra,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxvi, p. 451.

² For this reason I cannot accept the reasoning through which Prof. Bühler (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xiv) attempts to prove the identity of the author of the *Srauta-sūtra* and of the *Dharma-sūtra* of the Āpastambīya school. Bühler seems to assume that the repetition of the same Sūtra, and of the same irregular grammatical form in the *Srauta-sūtra* and in the *Dharma-sūtra*, must either be purely accidental, or, if this is impossible, that it proves the identity of the authors. But there remains a third possible explanation, that the two texts are by different authors, one of whom knows and imitates the style of the other.

a character as not to be easily ascribable to mistakes and carelessness such as even a careful author may be guilty of in the course of a large work¹. It seems to me then that until the discovery of further circumstances throwing light on the question of the identity of the authors of the *Srautas* and of the *Gr̥ihyas*, it would be premature if we were to venture on a decision of this question in one direction or the other.

Prof. Bühler's investigations have made perfectly clear the relation in which the *Gr̥ihya-sūtras* and the *Dharma-sūtras* stand to each other in those cases, where we have texts of both kinds by the same school. In the case of the *Gr̥ihya-sūtra* and the *Dharma-sūtra* of the *Āpastambiyas* he has proved² that both texts were the work of the same author according to a common plan, so that the *Gr̥ihya-sūtra* is as short and terse as possible, because *Āpastamba* had reserved for the *Dharma-sūtra* a portion of the subject-matter generally treated of in the *Gr̥ihya-sūtras*. Besides there are references in each of the two texts to the other which strengthen the proof of their being written by the same author. In the *Sūtra* collection of *Hiranyakesin* the state of things is different. Here, as Prof. Bühler has also shown³, we find numerous discrepancies between the *Gr̥ihya* and the *Dharma-sūtra*, which are owing to the fact, that while this teacher took as *Dharma-sūtra* that of *Āpastamba* with some unessential changes, he composed a *Gr̥ihya-sūtra* of his own. Of the two *Sūtras* of *Baudhāyana*, the same distinguished scholar, to whom we owe the remarks we have just mentioned, has treated in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. xxxi.

I believe that every reader who compares the two kinds of texts will notice that the frame within which the exposition of the *Dharma-sūtras* is inclosed, is an essentially

¹ Cf. my remarks in the introduction to the *Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥ihya*, vol. xxix, pp. 5, 6.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xiii seq.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xxiii seq.

broader one than in the case of the *Grīhya-sūtras*. We have here, I think, the same phenomenon that may also be observed, for instance, in the domain of the Buddhist Vinaya literature, where the exposition of the life of the community was at first given only in connection with the explanation of the list of sins (*Pātimokkha*) which was promulgated every half month at the meetings of the spiritual brethren. It was not till later that a more comprehensive exposition, touching all the sides of the life of the community was attempted¹, an exposition which, on the one hand, no longer limited itself to the points discussed in the *Pātimokkha*, and which, on the other hand, necessarily had much in common with what was laid down in the *Pātimokkha*. The relation of the *Grīhya-sūtras* and *Dharma-sūtras* seems to me to be of a similar nature. The *Grīhya-sūtras* begin to treat of the events of the daily life of the household, but they do not yet undertake to exhaust the great mass of this subject-matter ; on the contrary they confine themselves principally to the ritual or sacrificial side of household life, as is natural owing to their connection with the older ritualistic literature. Then the *Dharma-sūtras* take an important step further ; their purpose is to describe the whole of the rights and customs which prevail in private, civic, and public life. They naturally among other things touch upon the ceremonies treated in the *Grīhya-sūtras*, but they generally merely mention them and discuss the questions of law and custom which are connected with them, without undertaking to go into the technical ordinances as to the way in which these ceremonies are to be performed².

Only in a few cases do portions treated of in the domain of the *Dharma-sūtras* happen to coincide with portions treated of in the *Grīhya-sūtras*. Thus especially, apart from a few objects of less importance, the detailed rules for the behaviour of the *Snātaka* and the rules for the interruptions

¹ In the work which has *Khandhakā* as its general title and which has been transmitted to us in two parts, *Mahāvagga* and *Kullavagga*.

² Compare, for instance, the explanations concerning the *Upanayana* in the *Dharma-sūtras* (*Āpastamba* I, 1 ; *Gautama* I) with the corresponding sections of the *Grīhya-sūtras*.

of the Veda study (anadhya) are generally treated in an exactly similar way in the texts of the one and those of the other category.

We have spoken above of the metrical peculiarities of the Mantras quoted in the *Gr̥hya-sūtras*, the metre of which clearly proves what is indubitable from other reasons, that most, if not all, of these verses were composed at a perceptibly older period than the descriptions of the sacred acts in the midst of which they are inserted¹. A second kind of verses which are quoted in the *Gr̥hya-sūtras* must be carefully distinguished from these. It is doubtful whether there are any to be found among them which the authors of the *Sūtras* have themselves composed; but they were composed at a period decidedly more recent than those Mantras², and they therefore exhibit metrical peculiarities which are essentially different. The verses I mean are Slokas of ritual contents, which are quoted to confirm or to complete what is stated in the prose, and which are introduced by such expressions as *tad apy āhuḥ* 'here they say also,' or *tad api ślokāḥ* 'here there are also Slokas,' and other similar phrases³.

We called attention above (p. xix) to the fact that a verse of this kind occurs in one of the *Gr̥hya* chapters of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, in a metre corresponding to the peculiarities of the older literary style. On the other hand, the verses appearing in the *Gr̥hya-sūtras* differ only in a few cases from the standard of the later Sloka prosody, as we have it, e. g. in the *Mahābhārata* and in the laws of Manu. In the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxvii, p. 67, I have given tables for the verses in question out of the *Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hya*, and these tables show that the characteristic ending of the first

¹ We do not mean to deny that among these verses too a few of especially modern appearance are to be found; e. g. this is true of the verses which Dr. Von Bradke has quoted from the *Mānava-Gr̥hya* II, 14, 34 (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxvi, p. 429).

² Let me here refer to the fact that one of these verses (*Āsvalāyana-Gr̥hya* IV, 7, 16) concludes with the words, 'thus said Saunaka.'

³ *Āsvalāyana-Gr̥hya* I, 3, 10 designates such a verse as *yagñagāthā*.

Sloka Pāda for the later period ॐ — — ॐ, which, for instance, in the Nalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata covers precisely five-sixths of all the cases, occurs in Sāṅkhāyana in thirty cases out of thirty-nine, that is in about three quarters of the cases¹; Sāṅkhāyana has still twice the ending ॐ — ॐ ॐ which is the rule in the R̥g-veda, but which is forbidden by the later prosody: prahutaḥ pitṛīkarmanā, uktvā mantram sprised apaḥ². It may be observed that a similar treatment of the Sloka metre appears also in the R̥g-veda Prātisākhya of Saunaka. Here too the modern form of the ending of the first pāda dominates, although sometimes the old iambic form is preserved, e. g. II, 5 antaḥpadamvivṛit-tayaḥ, III, 6 anudāttodaye punaḥ.

It seems evident that we have in this Sloka form of the Sūtra period, the last preparatory stage which the development of this metre had to traverse, before it arrived at the shape which it assumes in epic poetry; and it is to be hoped that more exhaustive observations on this point (account being especially taken of the numerous verses quoted in the Dharma-sūtras) will throw an important light on the chronology of the literature of this period lying between the Vedas and the post-Vedic age.

We add to these remarks on the Slokas quoted in the Gr̥hya-sūtras, that we come upon a number of passages in the midst of the prose of the Sūtras, which without being in any way externally designated as verses, have an unmistakable metrical character, being evidently verses which the authors of the Sūtras found ready made, and which they used for their own aphorisms, either without changing them at all, or with such slight changes that the original form remained clearly recognisable. Thus we read in Āsvalāyana (Gr̥hya I, 6, 8), as a definition of the Rākshasa marriage: hatvā bhittvā ka śirshāni rudatīm rudadbhyo

¹ The few verses which are found in Gobhila preserve the same metrical standard as those quoted in Sāṅkhāyana; it follows that in Gobhila IV, 7, 23, arvatthād agnibhayaṁ brūyāt, we cannot change brūyāt in ka, as Prof. Knauer proposes. The supernumerary syllable of the first foot is unobjectionable, but the form ॐ — — of the second foot should not be touched.

² Both passages are to be found in Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hya I, 10.

haret: the approximation of these words to the Sloka metre cannot escape attention, and it is only necessary to make *rudadbhyaḥ* and *rudatīm* change places in order to obtain a regular Sloka hemistich. In Gobhila the Sûtras I, 2, 21–27 represent three hemistichs, which with one exception (na *ka sopânatkāḥ kvakīṭ*) exactly conform to the laws of the Sloka metre. II, 4, 2 gives also a hemistich by slightly changing the order:

*Mahāvṛikshān śmaśānam ka nadīs ka vishamāni ka*¹.

Somewhat more remote from the original verses is the wording of the Sûtras I, 6, 8. 9 na *pravasann upavased ity āhuḥ*, *patnyā vratam bhavātī*; we have the metrical order in one of the Slokas quoted by Sāṅkhāyana (*Gṛhya* II, 17): *nopavāsah pravāse syāt patnī dhārayate vratam*.

The verses which are thus either expressly quoted, or at any rate made use of by the authors of the *Gṛhya-sûtras*, do not seem to be taken from connected metrical works any more than the *yagñagāthās* quoted in the *Brāhmaṇas*; on the contrary in a later period of literature, when texts similar to Manu's Code were composed, they evidently furnished these texts with some of their materials².

Leaving out of consideration the *Khādira-Gṛhya*, which is evidently a recast of the *Gobhiliya-Gṛhya*, and the Sûtra of *Hiranyakesin*, which is, at least in part, based on that of *Āpastamba*³, we are not in regard to the other *Gṛhya* texts in a condition to prove that one of them borrowed from the other. It often happens that single Sûtras or whole rows of Sûtras agree so exactly in different texts that this agreement cannot be ascribed to chance; but this does not—so far at least—enable us to tell which text is to be looked upon as the source of the

¹ The text has: *nadīs ka vishamāni ka mahāvṛikshān śmaśānam ka*.

² Cf. *Indische Studien*, XV, 11. We do not mean to imply anything as to the metrical portions of other Sûtra texts than the *Gṛhya-sûtras*. As regards some verses quoted in the *Baudhāyana-Dharma-sûtra*, Prof. Bühler (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. xli) has shown that they are actually borrowed from a metrical treatise on the Sacred Law.

³ Cf. Prof. Bühler's remarks, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xxiii.

other, or whether they have a common source which has been lost.

I will content myself with mentioning two such cases of agreement, in the one of which we can at least prove that a certain Sūtra cannot originally spring from one of the texts in which we find it, while in the other case we are able by means of a possibly not too uncertain conjecture to reconstruct the opening Sūtras of a lost *Grīhya-sūtra*.

The description of the *vrīshotsarga* (i. e. of the setting a bull at liberty) agrees almost word for word in the Sūtras of *Sāṅkhāyana* (III, 11), *Pāraskara* (III, 9), and in the *Kāṭhaka-Grīhya*. In *Sāṅkhāyana* we read :

§ 15 : nabhyasthe-numantrayate mayobhûr ity anuvâka-seshena.

(‘When the bull is in the midst of the cows, he recites over them the texts “mayobhûr, &c.,” down to the end of the Anuvâka.’)

On the other hand in *Pāraskara* we have :

§ 7 : nabhyastham abhimantrayate mayobhûr ity anuvâka-seshena.

(‘When the bull is in the midst of the cows, he recites over it the texts “mayobhûr, &c.,” down to the end of the Anuvâka.’)

The quotation *mayobhûr* is clear, if we refer it to the *Rig-veda*. Hymn X, 169, which stands about in the middle of an Anuvâka, begins with this word¹. On the other hand in the *Vāgasaneyi Samhitâ* there is no Mantra beginning with *Mayobhûr*; we find this word in the middle of the Mantra XVIII, 45, and there follow verses whose use at the *vrīshotsarga* would seem in part extremely strange. There can thus be no doubt that *Pāraskara* here borrowed from a Sūtra text belonging to the *Rig-veda*, a *Pratika*, which, when referred to the *Vāgasaneyi Samhitâ*, results in nonsense.

The other passage which I wish to discuss here is *Pāra-*

¹ In the *Taittirīya Samhitâ* (VII, 4, 17) *mayobhûr* is the beginning of an Anuvâka; the expression *anuvâka-seshena* would have no meaning if referred to this text.

skara I, 4, 1-5. Pâraskara, being just on the point of describing the marriage ritual, prefixes a few sentences, the position of which here it is not very easy to understand. A general division of all Pākayagñas—general remarks on the nature of the place for sacrificing : this looks very strange between a discussion of the Arghya and marriage ceremonies. Now these same sentences are found almost word for word and with the same passing on to the marriage ritual in Sāṅkhāyana also (*Gṛihya* I, 5, 1-5). Here, as in other cases, we have the borrowing word for word of such portions of text from an older text, and, closely related to this phenomenon, the fact that the sentences in question are awkwardly woven into the context of the *Gṛihya* where we read them, and are poorly connected with the surrounding parts. Unless we are much deceived, we have here a fragment from an older source inserted without connection and without change. It would seem that this fragment was the beginning of the original work ; for the style and contents of these Sūtras are peculiarly appropriate for the beginning. Thus, if this conjecture is right, that old lost *Gṛihya* began with the main division of all the Pākayagñas into four classes, and then proceeded at once to the marriage ritual. Later, when the texts which we have, came into existence, the feeling evidently arose, that in this way an important part of the matter had been overlooked. The supplementary matter was then inserted before the old beginning, which then naturally, as is to be seen in our texts, joins on rather strangely and abruptly to these newly-added portions.

GR/HYA-SÛTRA OF
GOBHILA.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

GR̥HYA-SŪTRA OF GOBHILA.

THE *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of Gobhila differs from those of Sāṅkhāyana, Āsvalāyana, Pāraskara, Hiraṇyakesin in one essential point: while these texts presuppose only the same Vedic *Samhitās* on which also the corresponding *Srauta-sūtras* are based, viz. the *Rig-veda-Samhitā*, the *Vāgasaneyi-Samhitā*, and the *Taittiriya-Samhitā*; the *Sūtra* of Gobhila, on the other hand, presupposes, beside the *Samhitā* of the *Sāma-veda*¹, another collection of Mantras which evidently was composed expressly with the purpose of being used at *Gr̥hya* ceremonies: this collection is preserved to us under the title of the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa*, and it has been edited at Calcutta (1873), with a commentary and Bengali translation by Satyavrata Sāmasramin².

Prof. Knauer of Kiew, to whom all students of the *Gr̥hya* literature are highly indebted for his very accurate edition and translation of Gobhila, has been the first to

¹ The term '*Samhitā* of the *Sāma-veda*' ought to be understood here in its narrower sense as denoting the so-called first book of the *Samhitā*, the *Āṇḍa-āṅṛika* or collection of Yoni verses (see on the relation between this collection and the second book my remarks in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 464 seq.). Prof. Knauer in his list of the verses quoted by Gobhila (p. 29 of his translation of the *Gobhillīya-Gr̥hya*) states that *Sāma-veda* II, 1138 (= I, 276) and 1139 is quoted in Gobhila III, 9, 6, but an accurate analysis of the words of Gobhila shows that the verse II, 1139 is not referred to, so that only the verse II, 1138 remains, which occurs also in the first book of the *Samhitā*. The '*dvika*' of which Gobhila speaks in that *Sūtra* is not a *dvika*, but, as the commentators rightly understand it (see Knauer's edition of the text, p. xii), it is a dyad of *Sāmans* or melodies, the two *Kāvasha Sāmans* which are based on the text I, 276, and are given in the great *Sāma-veda* edition of Satyavrata Sāmasramin, vol. i, pp. 566, 567.

² In the same way the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of Āpastamba stands in connection with a similar collection of *Gr̥hya* verses and formulas, the *Āpastambīya-Mantra-pāṭha*.

examine into the relation in which the two texts, the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa and the Gobhiliya-sūtra, stand to each other. He has very kindly enabled me to make use, before they were published, of the results of his investigations, which he has laid down in the introduction to his translation of Gobhila. While I wish, therefore, to acknowledge the obligation under which Prof. Knauer has thus laid me, I must try, on the other side, to state my own opinion as to the problem in question, which in some points differs from, or is even opposed to, the theory by which Prof. Knauer has tried to solve it.

To begin with that side of the question regarding which there can scarcely be any doubt: it is certain, I believe, that Gōbhila supposes the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa to be known to the students of his Sūtra. The reasons which show this are obvious enough¹. By far the greater part of the Mantras of which Gobhila quotes the first words, are not found in the Sāma-veda nor, for the most part, in any other Vedic Samhitā, except in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, in which they stand in exactly the same order in which they are referred to by Gobhila. The descriptions of the Grīhya sacrifices by Gobhila would have been meaningless and useless, and the sacrificer who had to perform his domestic ceremonies according to the ritual of Gobhila, would have been unable to do so, unless he had known those Mantras as contained in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa. And not only the Mantras, but also the order in which the Mantras stood, for Sūtras such as, for instance, Gobh. II, 1, 10 ('With the two following verses he should wash,' &c.), would have no meaning except for one who had studied the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa which alone could show which 'the two following verses' were.

There are, consequently, two possibilities: either the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa existed before the Gobhiliya-sūtra, or the two works have been composed together and on one common plan. It is the first of these alternatives which Prof. Knauer maintains; I wish, on the other hand, to call

¹ Cf. Knauer's Introduction, pp. 24, 31 seq.

the attention of Vedic scholars to some facts which seem to me to render the second more probable.

A great part of the Mantras which have to be recited, according to Gobhila, at the performance of the *Gṛihya* ceremonies, are not given in the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa*, but they are either found in the *Sāma-veda-Saṃhitā* and then their *Pratīkas* are quoted by Gobhila, or they are cited by Gobhila in *extenso*. Thus for the ceremonies described in the first *Prapāṭhaka* of Gobhila, such as the morning and evening offerings and the sacrifices of the full and new moon, the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* gives, with one single exception, no Mantras at all¹; but those Mantras, most of which consist only of a few words, are given by Gobhila only. It is scarcely to be believed that in a *Saṃhitā* which had to contain the Mantras required for the performance of the *Gṛihya* sacrifices, the Mantras belonging to the two daily and the two fortnightly sacrifices, which occupy one of the first places among all *Gṛihya* ceremonies and are treated of accordingly in all *Gṛihya-sūtras*, should have been omitted, unless that *Saṃhitā* was intended to stand in relation to another text by which that deficiency was supplied: and the *Gobhiliya-sūtra* exactly supplies it. Prof. Knauer thinks that those Mantras were omitted because they had already found their place in the *Srauta* ritual; but we must not forget that in the *Srauta* ritual of the *Sāma-vedins* neither the *Agnihotra* nor the *Darsapûrnamāsa* sacrifices, which are performed without the assistance of priests of the *Udgātri* class, are treated of. Moreover the one Mantra to which we have already alluded², the single one which corresponds in the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* to the first book of Gobhila, seems to me quite sufficient to show that it was not the intention of the compiler of that text to disregard that group of sacrifices; he gave that Mantra only, because the other Mantras, consisting of but a few words, were given in *extenso* in the Gobhila text. The Mantra of which we speak, belongs to the description

¹ Cf. Knauer's translation, Introduction, p. 25.

² *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* I, 1, 1.

of the paryukshana of the sacrificial fire. The sacrificer pours out water to the south, the west, and the north of the fire, with the Mantras, 'Adite-numanyasva,' 'Anumate-numanyasva,' 'Sarasvaty anumanyasva'; then he sprinkles water round the fire once or three times with a longer Mantra, 'Deva Savitaḥ prasuva yagñam prasuva yagñapatim bhagāya. Divyo gandharvaḥ ketapûḥ ketam naḥ punātu. Vākaspatir vākam naḥ svadatu.' This last one is the Mantra given in its entirety in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, while Gobhila¹ has only the first words of it. To assume here that the author of the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa knew only of that one Mantra, and that at the time of Gobhila the custom of the Sāma-vedins had undergone a change, so that they used four Mantras instead of the one, would be, in my opinion, an artificial and not very probable way of explaining the facts; a much more natural supposition would be, I believe, that the Sūtra and the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa describe one and the same form of the ceremony, so that the Brāhmaṇa, by omitting the short Mantras, which were given in the Sūtra in their entirety, implicitly refers to the Sūtra, and the Sūtra, on the other hand, by quoting only the first words of the longer Mantra, refers to the Brāhmaṇa in which the full text of that Mantra was given.

Among the numerous ceremonies described by Gobhila, which could furnish the occasion for similar remarks, we select only two: the rites performed in the evening of the wedding-day², and the sacrifice on the full-moon day of Âsvayuga³. The bridegroom, having carried away his bride from her home, takes her to the house of a Brāhmaṇa, and when the stars have appeared, he makes six oblations with the six verses lekhāsandhishu pakshmasu (Mantra-Br. I, 3, 1-6): these are given in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, and Gobhila has only the Pratīka. Then follow two short Mantras: the bride, to whom the polar-star has been shown, addresses that star with the words: dhruvam asi dhruvāham patikule bhūyāsam amushyāśāv iti;

¹ Gobh. I, 3, 4.² Gobh. II, 3, 17 seq.³ Gobh. III, 8.

and when she sees the star Arundhatî, she says, *ruddhâham asmi*. As the full wording of these Mantras is given by Gobhila, they are omitted in the *Brâhmaṇa*. Finally the bridegroom recites over the bride the *Rik dhruvâ dyaur dhruvâ prithivî*, &c.; this we find in the *M.-B.* (I, 3, 7), the *Pratika* only being quoted by Gobhila. If one were to suppose here that in the two texts two different stages in the development of this ceremony are represented, so that only the Mantras *lekhâsandhishu* and *dhruvâ dyauḥ* would belong to the more ancient form of it, while the Mantras *dhruvam asi* and *ruddhâham asmi* would have been introduced at a later time, it may perhaps not be possible to disprove, in the strictest sense of the word, such an opinion. But I think the data we have given point to another solution of the problem which, if not the only admissible, is yet the most probable and natural one. Gobhila gave the full wording of the shorter Mantras with which the description of the ceremony could be interwoven without becoming obscure or disproportionate; the longer Mantras would have interrupted, rather tediously and inconveniently, the coherency of his ritual statements; so he separated them from the rest of his work and made a separate *Samhitâ* of them. It is true that there are some exceptions to the rule that all long Mantras are given in the *Mantra-Brâhmaṇa* and all short Mantras only in the *Sûtra*: on the one hand, there are some Mantras of considerable extent that are given by Gobhila and omitted in the *Brâhmaṇa*, thus, for instance, the Mantra *yady asi saumî* used at a preparatory ceremony that belongs to the *Pûmsavana*¹. On the other hand, a number of short Mantras which Gobhila gives in *extenso*, are found nevertheless also in the *Mantra-Brâhmaṇa*: such is the case, for instance, with many of the Mantras belonging to the worship of the Fathers, Gobhila IV, 2. 3, *Mantra-Br.* II, 3.

¹ Gobh. II, 6, 7. It is possible, though we have no positive evidence for this conjecture, that such statements regarding preparatory or auxiliary ceremonies may here and there have been added to the *Sûtra* collection in a later time. The *Khâdira-Grîhya* (II, 2, 20) has instead of that long Mantra only a few words which in the Gobhiliya-sûtra stand at the end of it.

It appears then, that allowance must be made for a certain inconsistency or carelessness in the distribution of the material between the two texts: and such an assumption will easily be allowed by any one who does not entertain very exaggerated ideas as to the care and reflection which presided over the composition of the Sūtra texts.

I will add only a few words concerning a second Grīhya ceremony, which calls for the same sort of comment as the rites which have just been discussed. For the offering on the day of the full moon, Gobhila prescribes (III, 8, 2) first the verse â no mitrâvaruṇâ, second the verse mâ nas toke. The Mantra-Brāhmaṇa (II, 1, 8) has the second of these verses only, not the first: conversely, the first verse alone, and not the second, is to be found in the Samhitā of the Sāma-veda (I, 220). We could hardly assume, as I think, that the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa presupposed another form of the rite differing from Gobhila's; we should be much more inclined to consider the leaving out of that matter, which was contained in other texts of the Sāma-veda, as a proof that the compiler of the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa assumed that those texts were known¹.

And this brings me to one of Prof. Knauer's conjectures concerning the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa which I have not yet touched. According to tradition we consider the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa as belonging to the Sāma-veda; in the Calcutta edition it is designated as the 'Sāma-vedasya Mantra-Brāhmaṇam.' Prof. Knauer thinks that it is doubtful whether the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa belonged to the Sāma-veda originally. He conjectures² 'that it existed already in the

¹ Any one who holds the view that the ritualistic formulas, which are not contained in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, represent later extensions of the ceremonies in question, will do well to notice how in any one of the offerings of the Śrauta ritual which we possess, both in the old description of the Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts, and in the more recent description of the Sūtra texts, Mantras have been added in more recent times to the former ones. I think that it would be difficult to draw from such observations any argument of analogy calculated to support Dr. Knauer's opinion as to the relation of the Mantras in Gobhila and in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa.

² Introduction to his translation, p. 23.

period during which the separate schools were as yet in the process of sifting, when there were as yet no Sâma-vedists in the later and stricter sense of the term¹. For out of 249 Mantras of the Mantra-Brâhmaṇa there are only four which are found in the Sâma-veda², as Prof. Knauer has shown, while a much greater number of these Mantras occur in the other Vedic Saṃhitâs. I should be inclined to conclude the other way : just because the author of the Mantra-Brâhmaṇa presupposed a knowledge of the Saṃhitâ of the Sâma-veda, but not of the other Vedas—or in other words because he destined his work for Sâma-vedins, he did not need to repeat what was in the Sâma-veda, but was compelled to incorporate in his compilation the Mantras out of the Rig-veda or of the Yagur-veda³. Moreover, I would draw the same conclusions from the Mantras cited by Gobhila which are absent in the Mantra-Brâhmaṇa, as I did from the Mantras which occur in the Mantra-Brâhmaṇa, but are not to be found in the Sâma-veda. Those Mantras are all to be found in the Sâma-veda with the exception of those which Gobhila has in extenso, and which therefore could be omitted in the Mantra-Brâhmaṇa. If we examine the thirteen Mantras collected by Prof. Knauer (p. 29), we find that in the case of nine of them the passage of the Sâma-veda (always of the first Ârṅika of the Sâma-veda) where they are to be found is quoted by Prof. Knauer.

¹ Besides the reasons given below in opposition to this conjecture, I may be permitted to point out that this hypothesis is contrary to the whole chronology of the Grîhya literature which we endeavoured to arrive at in the general introduction. It is a priori extremely improbable that there was a Grîhya Saṃhitâ at a time when there was as yet no Sâma-veda.

² Viz. (according to Prof. Knauer's alphabetical list of the Mantras of the Mantra-Brâhmaṇa) imam stomam arhate, M.-B. II, 4, 2 = Sv. I, 66; II, 414; tat savitur vareṇyam, M.-B. I, 6, 29 = Sv. II, 812; bharâmedham, M.-B. II, 4, 3 = Sv. II, 415; sakema tvâ, M.-B. II, 4, 4 = Sv. II, 416.

³ Notice that of the four exceptional cases which we put together in the previous note, three cases are Mantras which are found only in the second Ârṅika of the Sâma-veda, not in the first (cf. above, p. 3, note 1). The fourth verse (M.-B. II, 4, 2) is to be found in the first Ârṅika, it is true, but it stands closely related to two verses which are not to be found in that Ârṅika (M.-B. II, 4, 3, 4). This explains why it was put into the Mantra-Brâhmaṇa, as well as those two verses.

The four other cases are :

rikam sâma yagâmahe, Gobh. III, 2, 48.

taḥ kakshur devahitam, III, 8, 5.

sam anyâ yanti, III, 9, 7.

pragâpataye, IV, 7, 36.

Of these Mantras the first is contained in the Sâma-veda (I, 369) just as the nine first-mentioned ones; the second is quoted by Gobhila in extenso; the third is to be found in the Âranyaka division of the Sâma-veda I (vol. ii, p. 292, ed. Bibl. Ind.); in the fourth finally the text is corrupt; it is intended for the verse out of the Mantra-Brâhmana *Pragâpate na tvad etâny anyâḥ*. Thus the four apparent exceptions all vanish, and we have in the Mantras which are absent in the Mantra-Brâhmana a new proof that this text belongs to the literature of the Sâma-veda¹.

Thus, according to my view, we may describe the origin of the Mantra-Brâhmana as follows. The Sâma-veda contained in its *Samhitâ* a much smaller number of Mantras applicable to the *Grîhya* rites than either the *Rig-veda* or the *Yagur-veda*; the peculiar character of the Sâman texts, intended for musical recitations at the most important sacrificial offerings, was quite remote from the character of formulas suitable for the celebration of a wedding, for the birth of a child, for the consecration of fields and flocks. Hence it is that, to a much greater extent than Âśvalâyana or Pâraskara, Gobhila mentions Mantras for which a reference to the *Samhitâ* was not sufficient; and this led to the compiling of a separate *Samhitâ* of such *Grîhya*-mantras, which presupposes the *Grîhya-sûtra*, just as the latter presupposes this *Samhitâ*. The almost perfect agreement of the Mantra-Brâhmana with Gobhila furnishes a valuable

¹ One will not object that the Mantras in question which are absent in the Mantra-Brâhmana are all to be found in the *Rig-veda* as well as in the Sâma-veda. Since almost all the verses of the Sâma-veda are taken from the *Rig-veda* there is nothing astonishing about this. Before one could conclude from this that the Mantra-Brâhmana belongs to the *Rig-veda* he would have to answer the question, How is it that the verses in question are always verses of the *Rig-veda* which are repeated in the Sâma-veda? Why are there not among them verses which are not to be found in the Sâma-veda?

warrant for the good preservation of the two texts; of small discrepancies I have noted only two: Mantra-Brâhmana I, 6, 15, the formula âgantrâ samaganmahi is given for the ceremony of the Upanayana, while Gobhila does not prescribe this Mantra for this ceremony, although other Grîhya texts do; and secondly, the Mantra-Brâhmana II, 5, 1-7 does not consist of six verses as Gobh. IV, 6, 5-6 allows us to assume, but of seven verses.

In concluding this introduction notice is to be drawn to the fact that the text of Gobhila has preserved for us the traces of a division differing from the one into four Prapâṭhakas which is handed down by tradition: in a number of places certain Sûtras or the last words of certain Sûtras are set down twice, a well-known way of indicating the close of a chapter. This repetition, besides occurring at the end of the first, third, and fourth Prapâṭhaka (not at the end of the second), is to be found in the following places which become more frequent towards the close of the work: I, 4, 31; III, 6, 15; IV, 1, 22; 4, 34; 5, 34; 6, 16.

GR/HYA-SÛTRA OF GOBHILA.

PRAPÂTHAKA I, KÂNDIKÂ 1.

1. Now henceforth we shall explain the domestic sacrifices.

2. He should perform (the ceremonies) wearing the sacrificial cord on his left shoulder and having sipped water.

3. During the northern course of the sun, at the time of the increasing moon, on an auspicious day, before noon : this he should know as the (proper) time (for performing the ceremonies).

4. And as the prescription (is stated with regard to the time of the single ceremonies).

5. All (ceremonies) are accompanied by the Anvâhârya (Srâddha).

1, 1-4. Comp. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 1, 1. 2. 5. 7.

5. I cannot give this translation of the words 'sarvâny evân-vâhâryavanti' without expressing my doubts as to whether the commentator, whom I have followed, is right. He says: 'anu paskâd âhriyate yasmât prakṛitam karma iti, anu paskâd âhriyate yat prastutât (prakṛitât?) karmana iti kânvâhâryam nândîmukhasrâddham dakshinâ kôkyate.' It is evident that the first explanation of anvâhârya as a ceremony after which the chief sacrifice follows, is inadmissible. Below, IV, 4, 3. 4, Gobhila himself defines the Anvâhârya Srâddha as a monthly ceremony (comp. Manu III, 123; Max Müller, India, p. 240); it is, consequently, different from a Srâddha accompanying each Grîhya sacrifice. The Sloka which the commentary quotes from a 'grîhyântara' seems to me not to remove the doubt; I think rather that it contains a speculation based on this very passage of Gobhila, taken in the sense in

6. At the end (of each ceremony) he should feed worthy (Brāhmaṇas) according to his ability.

7. A student, after he has studied the Veda, when going to put the last piece of wood (on the fire),—

8. Or to seize a wife's hand (i. e. to marry her),—

9. Should fetch water from a hidden place, should sweep a place which is inclined towards north-east, or which is level, and should besmear it (with cow-dung). Beginning from the centre of it he should draw a line from west to east, (another line) from south to north which touches that line at its western end, and three lines from west to east (touching the northwards-turned line at three different points) in its midst (i. e. at neither of its ends). He then should besprinkle (those lines with water).

10. In this way the Lakṣhaṇa (i. e. the preparation of the place for the sacred fire) is performed everywhere.

11. With the words 'Bhûr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ,' they carry the fire forward (to that place) so that they have it in front of them.

12. Or after the householder has died, the chief

which the commentator takes it, and on the Sūtras IV, 4, 3. 4. Thus I rather believe that we ought to understand anvāhārya as a mess of food like that offered after the darsapūrnāmāsau sacrifices to the officiating priests (Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, 133), and I propose to translate : All (sacrifices) are followed by (the offering of) the Anvāhārya food (to the priest).

6. Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 1, 3.

7. The text goes on to treat of the setting up of the domestic fire. Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 3, 1.

9. Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 3, 1 seqq. ; Gr̥hya-saṃgraha I, 47 seqq. ; Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, XXXV, 557.

12. I have followed in the translation of parameshvīkaraṇam the

(of the family) should do it (i. e. he should set up the sacred fire).

13. In this way, on the coincidence of an (auspicious) Tithi and an (auspicious) Nakshatra, (or of such a Nakshatra) and a Parvan—

14. On the full-moon day or on the new-moon day: then he should celebrate the setting up of his (sacred domestic) fire.

15. He should get fire from a Vaisya's house or from a frying-pan, and should set it up (as his sacred fire);

16. Or (he should fetch it) from the house of one who offers many sacrifices, be it a Brâhmana, or a Râganya, or a Vaisya.

17. Or he may kindle another fire by attrition and may set it up.

18. That is pure, but it does not bring prosperity.

19. He may do what he likes (of the things stated as admissible in the last Sûtras).

20. When he puts (at the end of his studentship) the last piece of wood (on the fire), or when he sacrifices when going to seize the hand of a wife, that fire he should keep.

21. That becomes his (sacred) domestic fire.

22. Thereby his morning oblation has been offered.

way indicated by the *Grihya-saṃgraha* I, 77, and by *Sânkhâyana* (I, 1, 5): prete vâ *grihapatau svayam gyâyân*. I think the *paramesh/hî* is the same person as the *gyâyân*. The commentary gives a different explanation: *paramesh/hî agnir ity âtakshate, tasya paramesh/hino-gneḥ karanam yathoktena vidhinâ svikaranam*.

15-18. *Khândira-Grihya* I, 5, 3 seqq.

20, 21. *Khândira-Grihya* I, 5, 1. 2. Comp. also above, Sûtras 7 and 8.

22. I. e. in the first of the two cases mentioned in Sûtra 20, the

23. Beginning from that time the sacrificing (of regular morning and evening oblations) in the domestic fire is prescribed, so that he begins with an evening oblation.

24. Before the time has come for setting the fire in a blaze, he should fetch in the evening and in the morning from a hidden place the water with which the different acts (such as sipping water) are performed.

25. Or (he should fetch water only) in the evening.

26. Or he should draw it out of a water-pot or of a barrel.

27. Before sunset he should set the fire in a blaze, and sacrifice the evening oblation after sunset.

28. In the morning he should set the fire in a blaze before sunrise, and should sacrifice the morning oblation before sunrise or after it.

KÂNDIKÂ 2.

1. He takes as his *yagnîopavîta* (i. e. sacrificial cord) a string, or a garment, or simply a rope of Kusa grass.

putting of fuel on the fire, and in the second case, the oblations of fried grain, &c., prescribed for the wedding, are considered as the sacrificer's morning oblation in his newly-established *Gr̥hya* fire, so that the regular oblations have to begin with the *sâyamâhuti*.

23. *Khâdira-Gr̥hya* I, 5, 6. Comp. Prof. Bloomfield's note 2, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XXXV, 561.

27, 28. *Khâdira-Gr̥hya* I, 5, 7-9. As to the two cases regarding the time of the morning oblation, comp. *Indische Studien*, X, 329.

2, 1-4. Rules regarding the *Upavîta*. *Khâdira-Gr̥hya* I, 1, 4-6. Compare the detailed description of the nine threads of which the *Upavîta*-string should consist, in the *Gr̥hya-samgraha* II, 48 seqq. A string was evidently considered as the regular and preferable form of the *Upavîta*; with regard to the second kind of *Upavîta* mentioned in *Sûtra* 1, the commentary says, 'A garment (is used),

2. Raising his right arm, putting the head into (the upavîta), he suspends (the cord) over his left shoulder, so that it hangs down on his right side : thus he becomes *yagñopavîtin*.

3. Raising his left arm, putting the head into (the upavîta), he suspends it over his right shoulder, so that it hangs down on his left side : thus he becomes *prâkñâvîtin*.

4. *Prâkñâvîtin*, however, he is only at sacrifices offered to the Manes.

5. Having gone in a northern direction from the fire, having washed his hands and feet, and having seated himself, he should sip water three times and wipe off (the water) twice.

6. Having besprinkled his feet (with water) let him besprinkle his head.

7. Let him touch the organs of his senses with water :

8. The two eyes, the nose, the two ears.

9. Whatever (limb of his body) requires his consideration (whether it is pure or not), that he should touch with water (i. e. with a wet hand).

10. Here they say :

11. Let him not touch (himself with water, or sip water) while walking,

12. Nor standing,

13. Nor laughing,

14. Nor looking about,

15. Nor without bending down,

if the Upavîta has been lost, for instance, in a forest, and if it is impossible to get a string.' A similar remark is given with reference to the third kind of Upavîta, the rope of Kusa grass.

5-32. Rules regarding the *âkama* and *upasparsana*. *Khândira-Grihya* I, 1, 7-10 ; *Manu* II, 60 seqq.

16. Nor (throwing up the water) with his fingers,
17. Nor except with the (proper) Tīrtha,
18. Nor uttering a sound,
19. Nor without looking (at the water),
20. Nor with his shoulders put back,
21. Nor wearing a part of his under garment as if it were an upper garment,
22. Nor with warm water,
23. Nor with foamy water,
24. And in no case wearing sandals,
25. (Not) with a turban on his head (?),
26. (Not with his garment) tied round his neck,
27. And not stretching out his feet.
28. When he has finally touched (water) again, he becomes pure.
29. Let him, however, sip only water that reaches his heart.
30. For if he does otherwise, he remains impure.
31. Now the cases in which he has to touch (water) a second time.

17. As to the Tīrthas (or parts of the hand) sacred to the different deities or beings, comp. *Vasishṭha* III, 64 seqq., &c. See also *Manu* II, 58.

20. According to the commentary he has to hold his hands between his knees. Comp. *Sāṅkh.-Gr̥hya* I, 10, 8. Thus the shoulders are brought forward.

21-27. These Sūtras form three regular Śloka hemistichs. Only at the end of the second hemistich there is a metrical irregularity (sopānatkaḥ kvaṇit standing at the end of the verse).

25. Kāsaktikaḥ, which the commentary explains as a compound of ka, 'the head,' and āsaktikā = āveshāikā.

28. Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 1, 10.

29. In other texts (for instance, *Manu* II, 62; *Vasishṭha* III, 31 seqq.) it is stated that a Brāhmaṇa should sip water that reaches his heart, a Kshatriya water reaching his throat, a Vaisya water that wets his palate; a Sūdra should only touch water with his lips.

32. Having slept, or eaten, or sneezed, or taken a bath, or drunk something, or changed (his garments), or walked on the high road, or gone to a cemetery, he should sip water and then sip water again.

KÂNDIKÂ 3.

1. Having put wood on the (sacred) fire, having swept (the ground) round it, he should, bending his right knee, pour out to the south of the fire his joined hands full of water with (the words), 'Aditi! Give thy consent!'

2. To the west with (the words), 'Anumati! Give thy consent!'

3. To the north with (the words), 'Sarasvatî! Give thy consent!'

4. With (the words), 'God Savitri! Give thy impulse!' (Mantra-Brâhmaṇa I, 1, 1) he should sprinkle (water) round the fire once or thrice so as to keep his right side turned towards it—

5. Interchanging the points at which he begins and ends the (sprinkling of water), and sprinkling so as to encompass what he is going to offer (with the streams of water).

6. Let him then make oblations of the sacrificial food, be it prepared or raw, over the fire.

32. This Sûtra again forms a Sloka, though a slightly irregular Sloka.

3. Rules regarding the daily morning and evening sacrifice.

1-5. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 2, 17-21.

6. The sacrificial food is either *krîta* (prepared) or *akrîta* (unprepared). A mess of boiled rice, for instance, is *krîta*, rice grains are *akrîta*.

7. If it is raw, he should sacrifice after having washed it and having let the water drop off.

8. If it consists in curds or milk or rice gruel, (he should sacrifice it) with a brazen bowl, or with the pot in which the oblations of boiled rice are prepared, or also with the (sacrificial spoon called) *Sruva*;

9. In the evening the first (oblation) with (the formula), 'To Agni Svâhâ!' the second silently, in the middle and in the north-eastern part (of the fire);

10. In the morning the first (oblation) with (the formula), 'To Sûrya Svâhâ!' the second again silently, again in the middle and in the north-eastern part (of the fire).

11. Having put a piece of wood (on the fire), and having again sprinkled (water) round it, he should pour out again his joined hands full of water in the same way (as prescribed in the *Sûtras* 1-3); in the *Mantras* he says, 'Thou hast given thy consent' (instead of 'Give thy consent').

12. Having circumambulated the fire so as to turn his right side towards it, having poured out the remains of water, and filled the vessel again, and put it (in its proper place), (he may do) whatever his business is.

7-12. *Khâdira-Grîhya* I, 5, 10-12. *Prodaka* in *Sûtra* 7 is explained by *pragatodaka*.

9-10. *Khâdira-Grîhya*, l.l. 13-15.

9. The first oblation is made in the middle, the second, sacred to *Pragâpati* (*Sânkhâyana* I, 3, 15, &c.), in the north-eastern part of the sacred fire. The tenth *Sûtra* of course is to be understood in the same way.

12. The water is that mentioned chap. 1, 24. With regard to

13. In that way, from that time (in which he has begun to offer the two daily sacrifices) he should sacrifice, or should have sacrificed, over the (sacred) domestic fire, till the end of his life.

14. Here now they say :

15. 'If they like, his wife may offer the morning and evening oblations over the domestic fire. For his wife is (as it were) his house, and that fire is the domestic fire.'

16. When the morning meal or the evening meal is ready, he should make (his wife) say, 'It is ready!'—

17. In an unbroken voice (?), having made himself pure,

18. He replies in a loud voice, 'Om!' Then in

yathârtham the commentary says, 'yathârtham karmâpavargavihitam Vâmadevyagânâdikam prâtarâhutipastâdvihitam brahmayagñam vâ kuryâd iti vâkyaseshaḥ.' Similarly in the note on II, 4, 11 it is said, 'yathârtham iti karmāṇaḥ parisamâptir ucyate;' II, 8, 17: 'yathârtham tantrasamâpanam kuryât,' &c. In my translation I have adopted the opinion of Professor Weber (*Indische Studien*, V, 375), according to whom yathârtham simply means, '(he should behave) as required by circumstances;' '(he should do) what happens to be his business.'

13. The last words are â gîvitâvabhṛithât, which literally means 'till the Avabhṛitha bath of his life.' The Avabhṛitha bath is the bath taken at the end of certain sacrifices, so that the Avabhṛitha of life signifies death.

15. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 5, 17.

16-18. Khâdira-Grîhya, l. l. 18, 19. In my translation of Sûtra 17 I have adopted, though not quite without doubt, the conjecture of Professor Roth given in Professor Knauer's note, p. 137. Professor Roth writes *ritebhaṅgayâ vâtâ* or *ritebhagayâ vâtâ*: he says simply 'om,' and not 'ô-o-ô-o-ô-om.' According to the commentary Sûtra 17 would refer to the wife, not to the husband.

18. The MSS. give mâkhyâ and mâkshâ. We ought to read, tan mâ kshâyîty upâmsu. Comp. Âpastamba II, 2, 3, 11

a low voice: 'To that (food) I bring adoration. May it not fail!'

KÂNDIKÂ 4.

1. He then should silently offer the Balis.
2. Let him speak only what refers to the due preparation of the food. With guests he may converse, if he likes.
3. He then should take some portion of food which is fit for sacrifice, should pour over it some liquid fit for sacrifice (such as ghee, milk, or curds), and should sacrifice it silently in the fire with his hand.
4. The first oblation is sacred to Pragâpati, the second to (Agni) Svishṭakṛit.
5. He then should offer the Balis, inside or outside (the Agnyagâra), having well cleansed the ground.
6. Let him pour out water once, and put down Balis in four places, and finally sprinkle once (water on the four Balis).
7. Or let him for each Bali which he puts down, sprinkle (water) before and afterwards.
8. What he puts down first, that is the Bali belonging to the Earth. What in the second place, to Vâyu. What in the third place, to the Visve devâs. What in the fourth place, to Pragâpati.
9. Then he should offer other Balis (near) the water-pot, the middle (post, and) the door: the first Bali is sacred to the Waters, the second to the Herbs and Trees, the third to the Ether.

4, 1 seqq. The daily Bali offering. Khâdîra-Grîhya I, 5, 20 seqq.

9. According to the commentary the first of these three Balis has

10. Then he should offer another Bali in the bed or in the privy. That Bali belongs either to Kâma or to Manyu.

11. Then (another Bali) on the heap of sweepings; that (belongs) to the hosts of Rakshas.

12. The remnants of the Balis he should besprinkle with water, and should pour them out towards the south from right to left; they belong to the Fathers.

13. Let him sacrifice in the fire sitting.

14. Let him make the oblation to the Fathers sitting; the other (Balis he may offer) as it happens.

15. He should, however, offer those Balis himself as long as he stays at home.

16. Or another person who must be a Brâhmana (should offer them for him).

17. Both the husband and his wife (should offer them):

18. This is the rule for householders.

19. The wife in the evening, the man in the morning: thus (it is stated).

20. He should offer such Balis of all food whatever, be it prepared for the Fathers, or for auspicious

to be offered near the water-pot, the second near the middle door of the house, the third (comp. Gautama V, 16) in the air. With the genitives the word *samîpe* is supplied. It is difficult to understand why the author, if his intention had been to state three places in which the Balis had to be offered, should have mentioned only two. Thus I believe that the right explanation is that of Professor Knauer, who takes *madhyama* in the sense of the middle post of the house (comp. III, 3, 31).

11. The commentary explains *avasalavi* here, as is frequently the case, by *pitṛitīrthana*. I agree with the opinion pronounced in the Petersburg Dictionary, in rejecting this explanation.

19. Comp. Manu III, 121.

purposes (for instance, for being offered to Brāhmaṇas), or for (ordinary) purposes.

21. Only in the case of a sacrifice (this rule) ceases.

22. If rice and barley are prepared for one and the same meal, he should, having offered (Balis) of the one or the other (kind of food), consider his duty as fulfilled.

23. If the food is cooked at different times for one meal, he should perform this Bali ceremony only once.

24. If food is prepared at different places for one family, he should perform this Bali ceremony only from (the food which is prepared in) the kitchen belonging to the householder.

25. However (of the persons belonging to the family) he whose food becomes ready before (that of the householder), (that person) should offer the prescribed portion in the fire, and give to a Brāhmaṇa his share (of the food), and then should eat himself.

26. He whose (food becomes ready) after (that of the householder), should only eat.

27. Here they say also :

28. 'At the end of that offering of Balis let him pronounce a wish. Then it will be fulfilled to him.'

29. He himself, however, should offer the Āsasya Bali, from the barley(-harvest) till the rice(-harvest), and from the rice(-harvest) till the barley(-harvest). This is called the Āsasya Bali.

22. Kāla I take, as the commentator does, for bhoganakāla.

23. Here again kāla occurs in the same sense. Comp. Khādīra-Grīhya I, 5, 34.

29. Khādīra-Grīhya I, 5, 37. The barley-harvest is in the hot season, the rice-harvest in autumn (see Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 243). The sacrificer offers barley from the barley-harvest till the rice-harvest; and rice from the rice-harvest till the barley-harvest.

30. Thus he obtains long life.

31. When a donation has been made, he should offer a Bali of chaff, of the scum of boiled rice, and of water. This is sacred to Rudra. This is sacred to Rudra.

KĀNDIKĀ 5.

1. Now at the times of the new moon and of the full moon (the following ceremonies are performed).

2. Let him fast on that full-moon day (when the full moon rises) at the meeting (of day and night).

3. The following day, according to some (teachers).

4. And on that day on which the moon is not seen, (he should fast, considering it) as the new-moon day.

5. The ends of the half-months are the time for fasting, the beginnings for sacrifice.

6. With the sacrificial food of the new-moon

This Bali is called â-sasya, because it is offered until (â) the next crop (sasya) is ripe. As to the regulation that the sacrificer has to offer it himself, compare above, Sûtras 15-19.

31. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 5, 30. The repetition of the last words makes it probable that this Sûtra was at one time considered the end of the first book. Comp. Introduction, p. 11.

5. Description of the sacrifices of the full and new moon. Paradigm of the regular Sthâlîpâka offering. The first twelve Sûtras of this chapter have been translated by Professor Weber, Ueber den Vedakalender namens Jyotisham, pp. 50 seq.

2. See the note below at Sûtra 10.

3. With these two Sûtras, 'sandhyâm paurnamâsîm upavaset; uttarâm ity eke,' a passage should be compared which is identically found in the Aitareya (VII, 11), and in the Kaushîtaka Brâhmaṇa (III, 1): pûrvâm paurnamâsîm upavased iti Paiṅgyam, uttarâm iti Kaushîtakam.

6. The month is reckoned here, as is usually done, as beginning with the fortnight of the increasing moon.

sacrifice he celebrates the first half (of the month), with that of the full-moon sacrifice the second.

7. Full-moon is the greatest distance of sun and moon ; new-moon is their nearest approach.

8. That day on which the moon is not seen, that he should take as the day of new-moon.

9. Sometimes he may also while (the moon) is (still) visible (accept it as the day of new-moon) ; for (already then the moon) has made its way.

10. The time of full-moon is reckoned in three ways : (when the full moon rises at) the meeting (of day and night), or when it rises after sunset, or when it stands high (in the sky at sunset).

11. Now on what day it becomes full—

12. The doctrine on this point has to be studied

7. Here begins a new exposition of the question of full and new moon which stands independently by the side of the former sections, and which Gobhila has not taken much care to weld together with them. Comp. Sūtra 10 with Sūtras 2 and 3, and Sūtra 8 with Sūtra 4.

10. The first of the three times is that mentioned in Sūtra 2. It seems to me not very safe to interpret *sandhyâ* in that modern sense, in which *sandhi* is used, for instance, in the verse quoted by Mādhava, Weber, Jyotisha 51, so that it designates the meeting-point of the bright and of the dark fortnight ('*âvartane yadâ sandhiḥ parvapratipador bhavet,*' &c.). If *sandhyâ* were that, we should expect that the same word would occupy a similar position in the definition of *amāvāsyâ*. I prefer, therefore, with the commentary, to understand *sandhyâ* in its ancient sense, as the time which divides day from night. Thus *sandhyâ purnamâsî*, the full-moon day, on which the moon rises at the meeting of day and night, stands in opposition to *uttarâ purnamâsî* (Sūtra 2), or to *astamitoditâ* (scil. *purnamâsî*, Sūtra 10), exactly in the same way as in the Brāhmaṇa passages quoted above (note on § 3) *pûrvâ purnamâsî* is opposed to *uttarâ purnamâsî*. The second and third cases are those of the full moon rising (shortly) after sunset, and of the moon becoming full when standing high in the sky.

separately. One should study it, or should ascertain (the exact time of) the Parvan from those who know it.

13. Now on the day which is the fast-day, on that day, in the forenoon, having offered his morning oblation, he besmears that surface on which the fire is placed, on all sides with cow-dung.

14. He then gets the pieces of wood ready (which are to be put on the fire)—of Khadira or of Palâsa wood.

15. If Khadira or Palâsa wood cannot be obtained, it may be wood—as far as it serves the purpose—of any tree, with the exception of Vibhîdaka, Tilvaka, Bâdhaka, Nîva, Nimba, Râgavriksha, Salmali, Aralu, Dadhittha, Kovidâra, Sleshmâtaka wood.

16. The Barhis consists of Kusa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk.

17. (The blades should be) cut off near the roots at (the ceremonies directed to) the Fathers.

18. If that (i. e. Kusa grass) cannot be obtained, (he may take) any kind of grass, with the exception of Sûka grass, of Saccharum reed, of such grass as is apt to break, of Balbaga grass, of Mutava, of Amphidonax reed, of *Suntha*.

19. (He should get ready the following things, viz.) Âgya, rice or barley to be cooked for the sacrifice, the pot in which the oblation of cooked rice (or barley) is prepared, the pot-ladle, the Sruva, the water fetched from a hidden place—

20. And the other things which we shall mention in the course of (our exposition of) the ritual.

19. As to anuguptâ âpah, see above, chap. 1, 9.

21. On that day he should not go away (from his house on a journey, &c.);

22. Even from a distant place he should return to his house.

23. (On that day) he may buy goods from others, but not sell (such goods).

24. Let him not speak much.

25. Let him strive to speak the truth.

26. In the afternoon husband and wife, after having bathed, should eat fast-day food which is pleasant to them. It should contain butter (and should be prepared) in the due way.

KĀNDIKĀ 6.

1. Thus has spoken Mānatantavya : 'Unoffered indeed becomes the offering of a man who does not eat fast-day food.

2. 'He becomes powerless. Hunger will attack him. He does not gain favour among people. His offspring will be perverse.

3. 'But he who eats fast-day food, becomes powerful. Hunger will not attack him. He gains

26. Khādīra-Gr̥hya II, 1, 4. 6. The commentary explains kuralena : it should be easy to digest. Comp. below, II, 1, 2 : (dārān kurvīta) lakṣaṇaprasastān kuralena.

6, 1. The teacher's name is spelt elsewhere Mānutantavya, which seems to be the more correct spelling. The Khādīra-Gr̥hya (II, 1, 5) has Mānadantavya. Dr. Knauer has called attention to several other blunders of the MSS., which are unusually frequent just in this passage. For I have no doubt that in spite of the unanimous agreement of the MSS. we are to change mānushyāhutir into mānushasyāhutir, and I think it very probable, to say the least, that in Sūtra 4 kāmāyetaupavasathikam should be corrected into kāmāyeyātām aupavasathikam, though here the singular could possibly be defended by very faithful believers in the authority of the MSS.

favour among people. His offspring will be still more blessed.

4. 'Therefore (husband and wife) should eat fast-day food which is pleasant to them.'

5. Let them sleep that night on the ground.

6. They should spend that night so as to alternate their sleep with waking, entertaining themselves with tales or with other discourse.

7. But they should avoid doing anything unholy (such as cohabiting together).

8. It is said, that when on a journey, he should not fast.

9. For (say they, in that case) the observance has to be kept by his wife.

10. Let him do (herein) what he likes.

11. In the same way also one who has set up the (Srauta) fires should fast—

12. And (he should observe) what is enjoined by the sacred tradition.

13. Now in the forenoon, after (the sacrificer) has offered his morning oblation, and has walked round the fire on its front side, and strewn to the south of the fire eastward-pointed Darbha grass—

14. (The Brahman) stations himself to the east of that (grass), facing the west, and with the thumb and the fourth finger of his left hand he takes one grass blade from the Brahman's seat and throws it away to the south-west, in the intermediate direction (between south and west), with (the words), 'Away has been thrown the dispeller of wealth.'

4. Or, which is pleasant to him? See the note on § 1.

7. Khâdira-Grihya II, 1, 7.

14. The ceremonies stated in this Sûtra have to be performed by the Brahman. This is stated in the commentary, and the com-

15. Having touched water, he then sits down on the Brahman's seat, with (the words), 'I sit down on the seat of wealth.'

16. Facing the fire he sits silently, raising his joined hands, till the end of the ceremony.

17. Let him speak (only) what refers to the due performance of the sacrifice.

18. Let him not speak what is unworthy of the sacrifice.

19. If he has spoken what is unworthy of the sacrifice, let him murmur a verse, or a Yagus, sacred to Vishnu.

20. Or let him only say, 'Adoration to Vishnu!'

21. If one wishes, however, to do himself the work both of the Hotri and of the Brahman, he should in the same way place on the Brahman's seat a parasol, or an outer garment, or a water-pot, or a

parison of parallel texts leaves no doubt as to the correctness of this view. Thus Hiranyakesin says (I, 1): *etasmin kâle brahmâ yagñopavitam kṛtvâpa âkamyâparenâgnim dakshinâtikramya brahmasadanât trinam nirasya, &c.* Comp. also the corresponding passages of the Srauta ritual given by Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 17. I do not think it probable, however, that we should read *brahmâsanât*, so that it would be distinctly expressed by the text that the Brahman is the subject (comp. Dr. Knauer's Introduction, p. viii). For we read in this same Sûtra *brahmâsanât trinam abhisamgrîhya*; in Sûtra 15, *brahmâsana upavisati*; in Sûtra 21, *brahmâsane nidhâya*: of these passages it is in the second made probable by the sense, and it is certain in the third, that *brahmâsana* is to be understood as a compound equal to *brahmasadana*. Thus it would, in my opinion, be unnatural not to explain it in the same way also in the first passage. *Parâvasu* is opposed to *Vasu* (Sûtra 15) in the same way as some texts, for instance *Âpastamba*, oppose *Parâgvasu* to *Arvâgvasu*.

16 seqq. Khâdîra-Grîhya I, 1, 19 seqq.

21. 'In the same way' refers to the ceremonies stated in Sûtras

bolster of Darbha grass, and should return in the same way (in which he has gone to the Brahman's seat), and then should perform the other (duties).

KÂNDIKÂ 7.

1. He then washes the mortar, the pestle, and the winnowing basket, strews to the west of the fire eastward-pointed Darbha grass, and puts (the mortar, &c.) on (that grass).

2. He then pours out, with a brazen vessel or with the pot in which the oblations of cooked rice are prepared, the grain destined for sacrifice, rice or barley—

3. Once pronouncing the name of the deity (to whom the offering will be made): 'Agreeable to such and such (a deity) I pour thee out;' twice (it is done) silently.

4. Then to the west, with his face turned eastward, he begins to husk the grain, with his right hand lying over the left.

5. After the grain has three times been winnowed, he should wash it thrice (if it is destined) for the gods, they say, twice, if for men, once, if for the Fathers.

6. Having put a (Darbha) purifier (into the pot

13 and 14. On the *darbhaka*/u or, as some MSS. read; *darbhava*/u, see Bloomfield's note on the *Grihya-samgraha*, I, 88, 89. Knauer gives *darbhava/um* without adding any various readings. Comp. *Khâdîra-Grihya* I, 1, 23.

7, 2, 3. *Khâdîra-Grihya* II, 1, 9.

4, 5. Comp. Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, pp. 29 seqq. *Khâdîra-Grihya* II, 1, 10-13.

6. Hillebrandt, p. 39.

in which the oblation is to be prepared), he should pour the grain (into it).

7. He should cook the mess of sacrificial food so that it is well cooked, stirring it up (with the pot-ladle) from left to right.

8. When it has been cooked, he should sprinkle (Āgrya) on it, should take it from the fire towards the north, and should again sprinkle (Āgrya) on it.

9. Having put wood on the fire, he should strew Kusa grass round it on all sides, to the east, to the south, to the north, to the west—

10. On all sides in three layers or in five layers—

11. Thick, so that always an uneven number (of blades) are put together.

12. (He should strew) eastward-pointed grass, covering the roots with the points.

13. Or he should strew it to the west (of the fire), and should draw (some of the grass which he has strewn) from the south end and (some) from the north end, in an easterly direction.

14. He should (arrange the grass so as to) lay the points of the southern blades uppermost.

15. This rule for strewing (grass) round (the fire is valid) for all (ceremonies) at which oblations are made.

16. Some lay also branches of Samī wood or of Parna wood round (the fire).

10. Khādīra-Grīhya I, 2, 10.

11. This seems to me the most probable translation of *ayugmasamhatam*, on which expression Dr. Knauer's note on pp. viii seq. of his Introduction should be compared. Comp. Hillebrandt, pp. 64 seq.

13-14. This is the same way of strewing the grass which is described in the *Mānava-Grīhya* I, 10, 4. 5; *Khādīra-Grīhya* I, 2, 9.

16. Comp. *Grīhya-samgraha* I, 85. 97.

17. To the north (of the fire) a Sruva full of water (is placed) : this is the *Pranîta* water ;

18. If there is (such water). Or it may be dispensed with, say some (teachers).

19. Having put the mess of cooked food on the Barhis, and put wood (on the fire), he prepares the *Âgya*.

20. (He may take) ghee, or oil made from Tila seeds, or curds, or milk, or rice gruel.

21. From that same Barhis (he takes two Darbha blades and) makes purifiers (of them), of the length of one span.

22. Putting an herb between (them and the instrument with which he cuts them), he cuts them off, not with his nail, with (the words), ' Purifiers are ye, sacred to Vishnu.'

23. He then wipes them with water, with (the words), ' By Vishnu's mind ye are purified.'

24. Having purified (the *Âgya* by pouring it into the *Âgya* pot, over which he has laid a Darbha purifier), he purifies it (in the pot) with the two northward - pointed purifiers (in the following way) :

25. Holding them with his two thumbs and fourth fingers, he purifies (the *Âgya*) three times, from west to east, once with the Yagus : ' May the god Savitri purify thee with this uninjured purifier, with the rays of the good sun ;' twice silently.

20. All the substances which are stated in this Sûtra can be considered as *Âgya*. *Grihya-samgraha* I, 106. 107.

21 seqq. *Khâdira-Grihya* I, 2, 12 seqq.

24. As to *sampûyotpunâti*, comp. *Hiranyakesin* I, 1, 1, 23 : *pavitrântarhite pâtre-pa âñiyopabilam pûrayitvodagagrâbhyâm pavitrâbhyâm trir utpûya . . .*

26. He then should sprinkle them with water and should throw them into the fire.

27. Then, having put that Āgya on the fire, he should take it from (the fire) towards the north.

28. This is the way to prepare the Āgya.

KĀNDIKĀ 8.

1. To the east (is placed) the Āgya, to the west the mess of cooked food.

2. Having sprinkled (water) round (the fire) and poured Āgya on the mess of cooked food, he begins to sacrifice simply with the pot-ladle, picking out portions of the sacrificial food (without 'underspreading' and pouring Āgya over the Havis).

3. If he intends, however, to sacrifice so as to 'underspread' (the Havis with Āgya) and to pour (Āgya) over it, let him sacrifice first the two Āgya portions (in the following way) :

4. He should take four portions of Āgya—five portions (are taken) by the *Bhr̥igus*—and should sacrifice from west to east, on the northern side with (the formula), 'To Agni Svāhā!' on the southern side with (the words), 'To Soma Svāhā!'

5. He then cuts off (two or three *Avadānas*) from the Havis, having 'spread under' (Āgya).

6. (Two *Avadānas*) from the middle and from the east side, if he (belongs to the families who) make

8, 2. On the sprinkling of water round the fire, comp. above, chap. 3, 1 seq. On the technical meaning of *upaghātam*, see Bloomfield's note on *Gr̥hya-saṃgraha* Parisishā I, 111 (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXV, 568).

3 seq. Comp. *Khādīra-Gr̥hya* II, 1, 17.

6. *Khādīra-Gr̥hya* II, 1, 19 seq. The *Upastarāṇa* (Sūtra 5) and

four Avadānas. (Three Avadānas) from the middle, from the east and from the west side, if (he belongs to those who) make five Avadānas.

7. He sprinkles (Āgrya) on the cut-off portions.

8. He anoints the places from which he has cut them off (with Āgrya) in order that the strength (of the Havis) may not be lost.

9. He should sacrifice over the middle of the fire with (the words), 'To Agni Svāhā!'—

10. Once or thrice, in that same way.

11. Now for the *Svishtakṛit* (oblation), after having 'spread under' (Āgrya), he cuts off once a very big (Avadāna) from the eastern part of the northern part (of the Havis). Twice he should sprinkle (Āgrya) on it.

12. But if he (belongs to the families who) make five Avadānas, he should 'spread under' twice, and cut off (the Avadāna), and sprinkle (Āgrya) on it twice.

13. He does not anoint the place from which he has cut off, in order that the strength (of the Havis) may be lost.

14. With the words, 'To Agni *Svishtakṛit*

the *Abhigāra* (Sūtra 7) are reckoned as two Avadānas, so that they form together with the two or three portions cut off from the Havis, four or five Avadānas respectively. On the difference of the families regarding the number of Avadānas, comp. Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 95.

7 seqq. Comp. *Khādīra-Gṛīhya* II, 1, 21-24.

11. Comp. the corresponding regulations of the *Srauta* ritual at Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, 117-119.

13. The same rule re-occurs in the *Srauta* ritual; Hillebrandt, l.l. 117, note 8.

14. The expression used here *uttarārdhapūrvārdhe* is also found in most of the corresponding passages of the *Srauta* ritual,

Svâhâ ! ' he should sacrifice it over the eastern part of the northern part (of the fire).

15. He should sacrifice oblations of Âgya on (the chief oblations of cooked sacrificial food), with the Mahâvyâhr̥itis.

16. The insertion (stands) before the Svishṭakṛit (oblation).

17. If different sacrifices are performed together, there is only one sweeping (of the ground) round (the fire) (chap. 3, 1), one (putting of) fuel (on the fire) (chap. 7, 19), one Barhis, one sprinkling (of water) round (the fire) (chap. 8, 2), one Âgya, and one offering of the two Âgyabhâgas (chap. 8, 3).

18. Having cut off (the Avadânas) for all (the single sacrifices), he sacrifices the Svishṭakṛit oblation only once.

19. After he has sacrificed, he should throw that pot-ladle (which he has used in the preceding ceremonies) into the fire.

20. Or having washed it, he should take with it (the rest of the sacrificial food), and should eat that.

given by Hillebrandt, l.l. 119, note 3. The Khâdira-Gr̥ihya has prâgudîk̥yâm.

15. If the chief oblations consist in Âgya, they are both preceded and followed by the Mahâvyâhr̥iti oblations. See below, chap. 9, Sûtra 27.

16. On the âvâpa (i. e. the special characteristic offerings of each sacrifice) see Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥ihya I, 9, 12, and the note there (vol. xxix, p. 28).

19. According to the commentary, etad would belong to sauvishṭakṛitam (Sûtra 18): 'After he has sacrificed that, he should throw the pot-ladle into the fire.' The comparison of Baudhâyaṇa I, 17, 23, atraitan mekshazam âhavanîye-nupraharati (Hillebrandt, p. 119, note 3), shows that the commentary is wrong, and that etad belongs to mekshazam.

21. The Sruva he should not throw into the fire, say some (teachers).

22. By one who has not set up the sacred fires, the mess of cooked food should be offered to Agni at the festivals both of the full and of the new moon.

23. To Agni, or to Agni and Soma, by one who has set them up, at the full-moon (sacrifice) ;

24. To Indra, or to Indra and Agni, or to Mahendra, at the new-moon (sacrifice).

25. Or also one who has set up the sacred fires, should offer it to Agni at the festivals both of the full and of the new moon.

26. Having put a piece of wood (on the fire), and having afterwards sprinkled (water) round (the fire), he performs the Yagñavâstu ceremony (in the following way) :

27. From that same Barhis he should take a handful of Kusa grass, and should dip it thrice into the Âgya or into the Havis, the points, the middle, and the roots, with (the words), 'May the birds come, licking what has been anointed.'

28. He then should besprinkle that (handful of grass) with water, and should throw it into the fire with (the verse), 'Thou who art the lord of cattle, Rudra, who walkest with the lines (of cattle), the manly one: do no harm to our cattle; let this be offered to thee! Svâhâ!'

29. This (ceremony) they call Yagñavâstu.

22-25. Comp. Khâdira-Grîhya II, 2, 1-4.

26-29. Khâdira-Grîhya II, 1, 26 seq.; Grîhya-samgraha II, 1 seq.

27. The expression tata eva barhishaḥ has occurred already at chap. 7, 21. The Mantra re-occurs in Vâg. Samhitâ II, 16e, &c.

KÂNDIKÂ 9.

1. He then should take away the remnants of the Havis in a northern direction, should take them out (of the vessel in which they are), and should give them to the Brahman.

2. He should try to satiate him.

3. They say indeed with regard to sacrifice : 'Through the Brâhmana's being satiated (with sacrificial food) I become satiated myself.'

4. Then (he should give to the Brahman) what other food has just become ready.

5. Then he should try to gain the favour of Brâhmanas by (gifts of) food.

6. A full vessel constitutes the fee for the sacrifice ; that he should give to the Brahman.

7. A brazen vessel or a wooden cup which has been filled with food, with prepared food or with raw food, or even only with fruits : this they call a full vessel.

8. The Brahman is the only officiating priest at the Pâkayagñas.

9. (The sacrificer) himself is Hotri.

10. A full vessel (see Sûtra 7) is the lowest sacrificial fee at a Pâkayagñâ.

11. The highest is unlimited.

12. Thus Sudâs Paigavana, after having offered the sacrifice of a mess of cooked food to Indra and

9, 1. Khâdira-Grîhya II, 1, 29.

6 seqq. Khâdira-Grîhya II, 1, 30. 31.

8, 9. The native authorities divide these two Sûtras after *ritvik* ; I propose to divide after *pâkayagñeshu*.

12. The commentary here refers to the rule of the Drâhyâyana-sûtra (= Lâtyâyana VIII, 1, 2) : *samkhyâmâtre ka dakshinâ gâvah*.

Agni, gave one hundred thousand (cows as the sacrificial fee).

13. Now if he should not be able to get for the morning or for the evening oblation, or for the sacrifices of the full or of the new moon at his (sacred) domestic fire, any substance fit for sacrifice or a person who could sacrifice (instead of himself, if he is prevented) : what ought he to do ?

14. Until the evening oblation the (time for the) morning oblation is not elapsed, nor the (time for the) evening oblation until the morning oblation. Until the new moon the (time for the) sacrifice of the full moon is not elapsed, nor the (time for the) sacrifice of the new moon until the full moon.

15. During that interval he should try to obtain sacrificial food or to find a sacrificer.

16. Or (if he does not succeed in this) he should cook fruits or leaves of trees or herbs which are sacrificially pure, and should sacrifice them.

17. Or he should at least sacrifice water ; thus has said Pākayagña, the son of Idā. For (even if he offers only water) the sacrifice has been performed.

18. And there is an expiation for one who has not sacrificed.

14 seq. Khādīra-Gr̥ihya II, 2, 5 seq. ; Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥ihya I, 3, 6.

16 seqq. Khādīra-Gr̥ihya II, 2, 10 seqq. In this teacher Pākayagña, son of Idā, whose opinion on the performance of certain Pākayagñas is here stated, we have of course to see a fictitious sage of the same kind with the well-known R̥ishi Pragātha, to whom the authorship of a number of Sūktas in the Pragātha book (Rig-veda, Maṇḍala VIII) is ascribed.

18, 19. By the repetition of *iti* these Sūtras seem to be characterised as continuing the statement of Pākayagña's opinion ; comp. Dr. Knauer's Introduction, p. xviii. As to Sūtra 18, comp. Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥ihya I, 3, 9.

19. And, (says Pākayagña,) a Brāhmaṇa should not omit to keep his vow.

20. Here they say also :

21. He should keep (his vow) during that time in which he does not sacrifice, by abstaining from food.

22. When he then has obtained (the necessary substances for sacrificing), he should make up for the (omitted) oblations.

23. For thus also his vow has been duly kept.

24. These rules (which have been given with regard to the sacrifices of the full and new moon) are valid for the Havis oblations which will be stated hereafter.

25. After the end of the Mantra follows the word Svāhā.

26. At Āgya oblations he should only prepare that Āgya (chap. 7, 28) and should sacrifice it, picking out portions of it. (He should) not (sacrifice) the two Āgya portions nor the Svishṭakṛit.

27. At Āgya oblations he should, if no special rule is given, sacrifice with the Mahāvyaḥr̥tis before and after (the chief ceremonies).

22. 'He should count the omitted (oblations), should pour the corresponding number of oblations into his vessel, and should sacrifice them in the due way all at once with one Mantra. In the same way also the other oblations (belonging to other gods).' Karmapradīpa.

24. Is Havis here used as opposed to Āgya (Sūtra 26), in the same way in which Kātyāyana says (Sraut. I, 9, 1. 20): 'vr̥h̥n yavān vā havishi; ubhayata āgyam havishaḥ'? Comp. below, III, 8, 10; Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hya I, 10, 26.

25. Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 1, 15.

26. As to upaghātam, comp. the note on chap. 8, 2.

27. Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hya I, 12, 13; Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 3, 12-13, where the traditional division of the Sūtras differs from that which is supported by tradition in the text of Gobhila. Gobhila has used

28. As at the wedding, thus at the tonsure (of the child's head), the initiation (of the Brahma-kârin), and at the cutting of the beard.

29. At the end of the ceremony the Vâmadevya is sung for the sake of averting evil. The Vâmadevya is sung for the sake of averting evil.

End of the First Prapâthaka.

the word âgyâhutishu in the beginning of Sûtra 26, and it would have been superfluous if he had repeated it in connection with the words nâgyabhâgau na svish/akrîṭ. In the corresponding Sûtras of the Khândira the case was different, and there the words nâgyabhâgau na svish/akrîṭ inevitably required the addition of a word like âgyâhutishu, by which to show which class of sacrifices it was which required no Âgyabhâgas and no Svish/akrîṭ. The following word in the Khândira text, however, anâdese, should be referred, against tradition, to Sûtra 13, as is shown by the comparison of Sâṅkhâyana-Grihya I, 12, 13.

28. At the wedding, oblations are made first with the three single Mahâvyâhrîtis, afterwards with the Mahâvyâhrîtis together; see below, II, 1, 25. 26. The tonsure of the child's head is treated of below, II, 9; the initiation (upanayana), II, 10; the cutting of the beard, III, 1. Comp. Khândira-Grihya, I, 3, 10.

29. Apavṛitte karmani should be corrected into apavṛikte karmani, as has been noticed in the Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. apa-vart. The Sâṅkhâyana-Grihya I, 2, 1 says karmâpavarge.

PRAPÂTHAKA II, KÂNDIKÂ 1.

1. Under a propitious Nakshatra let him take a wife—

2. Who should possess the auspicious characteristics in due way.

3. If he can find no such (woman, he should take) earth-clods—

4. From an altar, a furrow, a pool, a cow-stable, a place where four roads meet, a gambling-place, a place where corpses are burnt, and from sterile soil ;

5. A ninth (earth-clod) mixed of all.

6. (These he should make) equal (and should) make marks at them.

7. Taking them in his hand he should offer them to the girl, and (reciting the formula) : ‘ Right alone is the first ; right nobody oversteps ; on right this earth is founded. May N. N. become this universe ! ’ —he should pronounce her name and should say : ‘ Take one of these. ’

8. If she takes one of the first four (clods), he should marry her,

1, 1-4. Description of the wedding. Comp. Indische Studien, V, 288, 305 seq. ; 312 seq. ; 368 seq.

2. In translating *kusalena* I have been guided by the comparison of I, 5, 26 (comp. Böhlingk-Roth, s.v. *kusala*). The commentary understands the Sûtra in a different way. He should take a woman who possesses auspicious characteristics commended by one versed (*kusala*) in the characteristics of women. If he can find no such person who is able to judge, he should, &c. (Sûtra 3).

4. Comp. *Âsvalâyana-Grhyâ* I, 5, 5 ; *Grhyâ-saṃgraha* II, 21-23.

7. *Âsvalâyana-Grhyâ*, l. l. § 4.

9. And according to some (teachers) also, if (she takes) the mixed one.

10. After she has been washed with Klîtaka, barley and beans, a friend should besprinkle her three times at her head, so that her whole body becomes wet, with Surâ of first quality, with (the formula), 'Kâma! I know thy name. Intoxication thou art by name,' &c. (Mantra-Brâhmaṇa I, 1, 2). (In the passage of the formula), 'Bring hither N.N.,' he should pronounce the husband's name. (The Mantras should have) the word Svâhâ at their end. With the two following verses he should wash her private parts.

11. That has to be done by (female) relatives (of the bride).

12. At the wedding wood has been put on the fire to the east of the house, on a surface besmeared (with cow-dung).

13. Then one of the people who assist at the wedding, fills a cup with 'firm' water, and having walked with the water-pot round the fire on its front side, silent, wrapped in his robe, he stations himself to the south (of the fire), facing the north.

14. Another person with a goad (walks in the same way and stations himself in the same place).

9. See Sûtra 5.

10. 'With Klîtaka,' &c., means, with water into which Klîtaka, &c., has been thrown; comp. *Grihya-samgraha* II, 15. 'Surâ of first quality' is Surâ prepared from molasses; see *Grihya-samgraha* II, 16. Comp., however, also *Grihya-samgraha* II, 41.

13. Khâdira-*Grihya* I, 3, 5; *Grihya-samgraha* II, 25. 26. 'Firm water' seems to be water which does not dry up. The *Grihya-samgraha* says: 'Water that has its smell, its colour, and its taste, which is in great rivers, in wells and other receptacles, and in ponds: such water is called "firm;" this is the fixed meaning.' Comp. Bloomfield's note, Z. D. M. G. XXXV, 574.

15. They place roasted grain mixed with Samī leaves, to the amount of four handfuls, in a winnowing basket behind the fire,

16. And an upper mill-stone.

17. Now (the girl) whose hand he is going to seize, has been washed, (her whole body) including her head.

18. The husband should put on her a (new) garment which has not yet been washed, with the verse, 'They who spun' (Mantra-Brāhmaṇa I, 1, 5), and with (the verse), 'Put on her, dress her' (I. 1. 6).

19. Leading forward (from the house to the sacred fire, the bride) who is wrapped in her robe and wears the sacrificial cord over her left shoulder, he should murmur (the verse), 'Soma gave her to the Gandharva' (MB. I, 1, 7).

20. While she, to the west of the fire, pushes forward with her foot a rush-mat or something else of that kind, veiled (with clothes), he should make her say : 'May the way which my husband goes, be open to me.'

21. If she does not murmur (these words out of shame, &c.), he should murmur (them, saying), 'To her' (instead of 'To me').

22. She should make the end of the rush-mat (Sūtra 20) reach the end of the Barhis.

23. On the east end of the rush-mat she sits down to the right of the bridegroom.

17-19. Khādīra-Grīhya I, 3, 6. Yagñopavītinīm in Sūtra 19 means, according to the commentary, that she wears her outer garment arranged like the sacrificial cord, over her left shoulder ; for women are not allowed to wear the sacrificial cord itself.

20. Grīhya-saṃgraha II, 27 seq.

24. While she touches his right shoulder with her right hand, he sacrifices six oblations of Âgya with (the verse), 'May Agni go as the first,' and the following (verses) (MB. I, 1, 9-14)—

25. And (three oblations) with the Mahâvyâhritis, one by one ;

26. A fourth with (the four Mahâvyâhritis) together.

KÂNDIKÂ 2.

1. After the sacrifice they both arise.

2. The husband passes behind her back, stations himself to the south, with his face turned to the north, and seizes the woman's joined hands.

3. (Standing) to the east (of the girl) her mother or her brother, having taken the roasted grain, should make the bride tread on the stone with the tip of her right foot.

4. The bridegroom murmurs : 'Tread on this stone' (MB. I, 2, 1).

5. Her brother filling once his joined hands with roasted grain, pours it into the bride's joined hands.

6. After (Âgya) has been spread under and poured over (the fried grain), she sacrifices that in the fire without opening her joined hands, with (the verse which the bridegroom [?] recites), 'This woman says' (MB. I, 2, 2).

7. (The verses), 'The god Aryaman,' and, 'Pû-

24-26. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 3, 11-13.

2, 1 seqq. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 3, 16 seqq.

3. The roasted grain is that mentioned chap. 1, 15, the stone, Sûtra 16.

6. Comp. Grîhya-saṃgraha II, 34.

7. On the repetitions of the lāgâhoma, see below, Sûtras 9. 10.

shan' (l. 1. 3. 4) (are repeated) at the two following (oblations of fried grain).

8. After that sacrifice the husband, passing (behind her back), returns in the same way, and leads her round the fire so that their right sides are turned towards it, or a Brâhmaṇa versed in the Mantras (does the same), with (the verse), 'The maid from the fathers' (MB. I, 2, 5).

9. After she has thus been lead round, she stands as before (Sûtras 1. 2), and treads (on the stone) as before (Sûtra 3), and he murmurs the (Mantra) as before (Sûtra 4), and (her brother) pours (the fried grain into her hands) as before (Sûtra 5), and she sacrifices as before (Sûtra 6).

10. In the same way three times.

11. After (she) has poured the remnants (of the fried grain) into the fire, they make (her) step forward in a north-easterly direction with (the formula), 'For sap with one step' (MB. I, 2, 6. 7).

12. She should put forward her right foot (first) and should follow with the left.

13. (The bridegroom) should say (to her), 'Do not put the left (foot) before the right.'

14. The lookers-on he should address with (the verse), 'Auspicious ornaments wears this woman' (l. 1. 8).

15. To the west of the fire the water-carrier follows (their way) and besprinkles the bridegroom on his forehead, and also the other one (i. e. the bride),

8. As to the words 'in the same way,' see the second Sûtra of this chapter.

14-16. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 3, 27-31.

15. Comp. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya I, 12, 5 note (vol. xxix, p. 33). The water-carrier is the person mentioned chap. 1, 13.

with this verse (which the bridegroom murmurs), 'May (the Visve devās) anoint (or, unite)' (l. 1. 9).

16. After she has been (thus) besprinkled, he puts up her joined hands with his left hand, seizes with his right hand her right hand with the thumb, her hand being turned with the palm upwards, and murmurs these six verses referring to the seizing of (a girl's) hand, 'I seize thy hand' (MB. I, 2, 10-15).

17. When (these verses) are finished, they carry her away—

KĀNDIKĀ 3.

1. To a convenient house of a Brāhmaṇa, which is situated in a north-easterly direction.

2. There wood has been put on the (nuptial) fire.

3. To the west of the fire a red bull's hide has been spread out, with the neck to the east and with the hair outside.

4. On that they make the woman, who has to keep silence, sit down.

5. And (there) she remains sitting until the stars appear.

6. When (somebody) has said that a star has appeared, (the husband) sacrifices six oblations of Āgrya with the (six verses) commencing with (the verse), 'In the junctions of the lines' (l. 1. I, 3, 1-6).

7. The remnants of each oblation he should pour out over the bride's head.

8. After the sacrifice they arise, go out (of the house), and he shows her the 'firm star' (i. e. the polar-star).

3, 1 seqq. Khādīra-Grīhya I, 4, 1 seqq.

3. This is the standing description of the bull's hide used at the Srauta or Grīhya ceremonies; comp. Sāṅkhāyana I, 16, 1 note.

9. (Repeating the formula): 'Firm art thou. May I, N. N., become firm in the house of N. N., my husband'—she should pronounce her husband's and her own name.

10. And (he shows her besides the star) Arundhatī.

11. (She says): 'I (N. N.) am held fast,' &c., as above (Sūtra 9).

12. He then addresses her with the verse, 'Firm is the sky' (MB. I, 3, 7).

13. After she has been addressed (thus), she respectfully calls her Guru by his Gotra name.

14. Thus she breaks her silence.

15. From that time through a period of three nights they should both avoid eating saline or pungent food, and should sleep together on the ground without having conjugal intercourse.

16. Here, they say, an Argha reception (should be offered to the young husband).

17. Some say (that this reception should be offered) when (the bridegroom and his companions) have arrived (at the house of the bride's father).

18. The first food which he eats, should be food

10. Āsvalāyana-Gr̥hya I, 7, 22.

11. The play on words (Arundhatī—ruddhā) is untranslatable.

13. 'Her Guru' means, according to the commentary, her husband. The commentary quotes the well-known sentence: *patir eko guruḥ strīnām*. Perhaps we may also take the Guru for the Brāhmaṇa in whose house they stay. Comp. also chap. 4, 11.

14. Comp. above, Sūtra 4.

16, 17. Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 4, 7. 8. Comp. Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hya I, 12, 10 note. The Gobhila commentary states that this Argha reception should be offered by the bride's father. On the different opinions of the Sāṅkhāyana commentaries see the note quoted.

18. Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 4, 10.

fit for sacrifice, over which he has murmured (the verses quoted in Sûtra 21).

19. Or he should prepare on the following day a mess of cooked food, of which they eat together.

20. The deities to whom it belongs, are, Agni, Pragâpati, the Visve devâs, and Anumati.

21. Having taken that food out (of the vessel in which it is), and having spread it out, he should touch one part of it with his hand, with (the verses), 'With the tie of food, with the jewel' (MB. I, 3, 8-10).

22. After he has eaten, and has given the rest to the wife, (they may do) what they like.

23. A cow is the sacrificial fee.

KÂNDIKÂ 4.

1. When she mounts the chariot, let him murmur the verse, 'Adorned with Kimsuka flowers, of Salmali wood' (MB. I, 3, 11).

2. On the way he should address crossways, rivers and unevennesses (of the soil), big trees, and burial grounds, with (the verse), 'May no waylayers meet us' (ibid. 12).

3. If the axle breaks, or something that is bound gets loose, or if the chariot is overturned, or if some other accident happens, they should put wood on the fire which they carry with themselves, should

22. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 4, 11. 14.

23. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 4, 6.

4. The way of the bridegroom with the bride to their new home, and their arrival.

2. Perhaps a part of this Sûtra is based on a half Sloka, the two parts of which have been transposed in the prose version, mahâ-vrikshân smasânam ka nadîs ka vishamâni ka.

3. Comp. Pâraskara I, 10.

make oblations (of *Āgya*) with the *Vyâhr̥tis*, should procure a new piece (instead of that which has been damaged), and should besmear it with the remnants of the *Āgya* (that has been offered), with (the verse), 'He who without binding' (*Sâma-veda* I, 244).

4. Having sung the *Vâmadevya*, he should mount (again).

5. When they have arrived, the *Vâmadevya* (is sung).

6. When (the bride) has reached the house, *Brâhma* women of good character, whose husbands and sons are living, make her descend (from the chariot), and make her sit down on a bull's hide with (the verse which the husband recites), 'Here, ye cows, bring forth calves' (*MB.* I, 3, 13).

7. They should place a boy in her lap.

8. Into the joined hands of that (boy) they should throw lotus-roots(?),

9. Or fruits.

10. After she has made that boy rise, she sacrifices the eight 'firm' *Āgya* oblations with (the formula), 'Here is steadiness' (*MB.* I, 3, 14).

11. When she has finished, she puts a piece of wood (on the fire) and respectfully salutes the *Gurus*, according to seniority, with their *Gotra* names. Then they may do what they like.

8. The explanation of *sakalo/a* as *sâlûka* is doubtful. Prof. Weber believes that we ought to read *sakalosh/ân* (lumps of dung); see *Indische Studien*, V, 371.

10. 'Firm' oblations seem to mean oblations by which the wife obtains a firm abode in her husband's house. Comp. *Indische Studien*, V, 376.

KÂNDIKÂ 5.

1. Now (follow) the ceremonies of the fourth day.
2. Having put wood on the fire, he four times sacrifices expiatory Âgya oblations with (the formula), 'Agni! Thou art expiation' (MB. I, 4, 1)—
3. (And with the same formula), putting instead of Agni, Vâyu, Kandra, and Sûrya ;
4. A fifth oblation (with the names of the four gods) together, changing (in the Mantra the singular) into the plural.
5. The remnants of each oblation he should pour into a water-pot.
6. With that (Âgya) they besmear her body, including her hair and nails, remove (that water and Âgya by rubbing her), and wash her.
7. After three nights have passed, they should cohabit, according to some (teachers).
8. When she has had her monthly illness and the blood has ceased to flow, that is the time for cohabiting.
9. With his right hand he should touch her secret parts with the verse, 'May Vishnu make thy womb

5, 1. The *Katurthîkarman*.

2, 3. Comp. *Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gṛīhya* I, 18, 3; *Khâdira-Gṛīhya* I, 4, 12.

4. I.e. instead of *prâyasâkṣitte* (expiation) he uses the plural *prâyasâkṣittayaḥ*; and he says, 'you are the expiations of the gods,' &c.

6. *Khâdira-Gṛīhya* I, 4, 13. *Hrâsayitvâ* literally means, 'having shortened her.' She is 'shortened' by the removing of the substance with which they have besmeared her (*hrâsayitvâ udvartanâdinâ tad abhyaḡganam apanīya*, says the commentary). Comp. on the technical meaning of *hrâsana* the *Gṛīhya-saṃgraha* II, 38, 8-10; *Khâdira-Gṛīhya* I, 4, 15. 16.

ready' (MB. I, 4, 6), and with that, 'Give conception, Sinvāli' (l. 1. 7).

10. When those two verses are finished, they cohabit.

KĀNDIKĀ 6.

1. The beginning of the third month of pregnancy is the time for the *Pumsavana* (i. e. the ceremony to secure the birth of a son).

2. In the morning, after she has been washed, sitting on northward-pointed Darbha grass, (all over her body) including her head, she sits down to the west of the fire on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the east.

3. Her husband, standing behind her, should grasp down with his right hand over her right shoulder, and should touch the uncovered place of her navel with the verse, 'The two men, Mitra and Varuna' (MB. I, 4, 8).

4. Then they may do what they like.

5. Then afterwards (the following ceremony should be performed).

6. In a north-easterly direction, having bought for three times seven barley corns or beans a Nyagrodha shoot which has fruits on both sides, which is not dry and not touched by worms, he should set that up.

7. (He buys it with the Mantras):

6, 1 seq. The *Pumsavana*. Khādīra-Grīhya II, 2, 17 seq. On âdisadese the commentary says, âdisadese âdisamîpapradese prathame trîṭīyabhāge, ity etat. âdimadesa iti pâṭhe vyakta evārthaḥ. To me it seems probable that âdimadese is the true reading.

7. The first Mantra consists of seven sections; with each of

‘If thou belongest to Soma, I buy thee for the king Soma.

‘If thou belongest to Varuṇa, I buy thee for the king Varuṇa.

‘If thou belongest to the Vasus, I buy thee for the Vasus.

‘If thou belongest to the Rudras, I buy thee for the Rudras.

‘If thou belongest to the Âdityas, I buy thee for the Âdityas.

‘If thou belongest to the Maruts, I buy thee for the Maruts.

‘If thou belongest to the Visve devâs, I buy thee for the Visve devâs.’

8. He should set it up with (the Mantra), ‘Ye herbs, being well-minded, bestow strength on this (shoot); for it will do its work.’ Then he should put grass around it, should take it, and place it in the open air.

9. Having washed a nether mill-stone, a student or a (wife) addicted (to her husband), a person who is a Brâhmaṇa by birth (only and not by learning), or a girl, pounds (that Nyagrodha shoot) without moving backward (the stone with which she pounds it).

10. In the morning, after she has been washed, sitting on northward-pointed Darbha grass, (all over her body), including her head, she lies down to the west of the fire on northward-pointed Darbha grass, with her head to the east.

11. Her husband, standing behind her, should seize (the pounded Nyagrodha shoot) with the

these sections he should, according to the commentary, give three barley corns or beans to the owner of the Nyagrodha tree, or put them down at the root of the tree.

thumb and the fourth finger of his right hand, and should insert it into her right nostril with the verse, 'A man is Agni, a man is Indra' (MB. I, 4, 9).

12. Then they should do what they like.

KÂNDIKÂ 7.

1. Now (follows) the *Sîmantakarana* (or parting of the hair), in her first pregnancy,—

2. In the fourth, or sixth, or eighth month (of her pregnancy).

3. In the morning, after she has been washed, sitting on northward-pointed *Darbha* grass, (all over her body), including her head, she sits down to the west of the fire on northward-pointed *Darbha* grass, facing the east.

4. Her husband, standing behind her, ties (to her neck) an *Udumbara* branch with an even number of unripe fruits on it, with (the verse), 'Rich in sap is this tree' (MB. I, 5, 1).

5. He then parts her hair upwards (i. e. beginning from the front), the first time with *Darbha* blades, with (the word), 'Bhûh!' the second time with (the word), 'Bhuvaḥ!' the third time with (the word), 'Svaḥ!'—

6. Then with (a splint of) *Vîratara* (wood) with this verse, 'With which Aditi's' (ibid. 2);

7, 1 seq. The *Sîmantakarana* or *Sîmantonnayana*. *Khândira-Gr̥hya* II, 2, 24 seq.

3. This *Sûtra* is identical with chap. 6, 2.

4. *salâugrathnam* should be emended, in my opinion, so as to read *salâugrapsam*. Comp. *Pâraskara* I, 15, 4: *yugmena salâugrapsenaudumbareṇa*. *Âsvalâyana* I, 14, 4: *yugmena salâuglapsena*. *Hiranyakesin* II, 1: *salâtugrapsam upasamgr̥hya*.

7. Then with a full spindle, with this verse, 'I invoke Rākā' (ibid. 3. 4);

8. And with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, with (the verse), 'Which are thy blessings, O Rākā' (ibid. 5).

9. (There should be prepared) a mess of boiled rice with sesamum seeds, covered with ghee; at that he should make her look.

10. Let him say to her, 'What dost thou see?' and make her answer, 'Offspring!'

11. That (food) she should eat herself.

12. Brāhmaṇa women should sit by her side, pronouncing auspicious words (such as), 'A mother of valiant sons! A mother of living sons! A living husband's wife!'

13. Now (follows) the sacrifice for the woman in labour.

14. When the child is appearing, he strews (Darbha grass) round the fire and sacrifices two Āgya oblations with this verse, 'She who athwart' (MB. I, 5, 6), and with (the verse), 'Viparṣit has taken away' (ibid. 7).

15. 'A male he will be born, N. N. by name'—(in this passage of the last verse) he pronounces a name.

16. What that (name is), is kept secret.

17. When they announce to him that a son has been born, he should say, 'Delay still cutting off the navel-string and giving him the breast.'

18. Let him have rice and barley-grains pounded in the same way as the (Nyagrodha) shoot.

13 seq. The *soshyantīhoma*. Khādīra-Grīhya II, 2, 28 seq.

17 seq. Ceremonies for the new-born child (*Gātakarman*). Khādīra-Grīhya II, 2, 32 seq.

18. See above, chap. 6, 9.

19. Seizing (that pounded substance) with the thumb and the fourth finger of his right hand, he smears it on the tongue of the boy, with the formula, 'This order' (MB. I, 5, 8).

20. In the same way the production of intelligence (is performed). He should give to eat (to the child) clarified butter.

21. Or he takes it with gold (i. e. with a golden spoon) and sacrifices it on the face of the boy with this verse, 'May Mitra and Varuṇa bestow intelligence on thee' (MB. I, 5, 9), and with (the verse), 'The lord of the seat, the wonderful' (Sâma-veda I, 171).

22. Let him say, 'Cut off the navel-string,' and, 'Give the breast (to the child).'

23. From that time let him not touch (his wife) until ten nights have passed.

KÂNDIKÂ 8.

1. On the third (Tithi) of the third bright fortnight after his birth, in the morning the father has the child washed, including his head, and after sunset, when the evening-red has disappeared, he worships (the moon), holding up his joined hands.

2. Then the mother, having dressed the son in a clean garment, hands him, from south to north, with his face turned to the north, to the father.

19. Comp. above, chap. 6, 11.

23. The impurity (*asauṭa*) of the mother lasts through ten days after her confinement; comp. the note on *Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya* I, 25, 1 (vol. xxix, p. 51).

8, 1 seq. *Khâdira-Gr̥hya* II, 3, 1 seq.

3. She then passes behind his back and stations herself to the north (of her husband).

4. He then murmurs (the three verses), 'Thy heart, O thou whose hair is well parted' (MB. I, 5, 10-12), and after he has, with the words (standing at the end of verse 12), 'That this son may not come to harm (and thus be torn) from his mother'—

5. Handed him, from south to north, to his mother, they may do what they like.

6. Then in the following bright fortnights (at the time) stated above (Sûtra 1), the father, filling his joined hands with water and turning his face towards the moon, worships it—

7. Letting (the water) flow (out of his joined hands) once with the Yagus, 'What in the moon' (MB. I, 5, 13), and twice silently. Then they may do what they like.

8. When ten nights have elapsed after (the child's) birth, or a hundred nights, or one year, the Nâma-dheyakarana (or giving a name to the child, is performed).

9. He who is going to perform (that ceremony—the father or a representative of the father), sits down to the west of the fire on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the east.

10. Then the mother, having dressed the son in a clean garment, hands him, from south to north,

6. I am not sure about the meaning of *prathamoddish/a eva*. I have translated according to the commentary, which has the following note: *prathamoddish/a eva prathamam yañ kâla uddish/añ kathitañ tasminn eva kâle trîtyâyâm ity etat*.—The commentary then mentions a reading *prathamodita eva*, in which *udita* may either be derived from *vad* or from *ud-i*.

8 seq. The Nâmakarana. Khâdira-Grihya II, 3, 6 seq.

10, 11. Comp. above, Sûtras 2. 3.

with his face turned to the north, to the performer (of the ceremony).

11. She then passes behind his back and sits down to the north (of him), on northward-pointed Darbha grass.

12. He then sacrifices to Pragâpati, to the Tithi (of the child's birth), to the Nakshatra (of the child's birth), and to the (presiding) deity (of that Tithi and of that Nakshatra).

13. He then murmurs the Mantra, 'Who art thou? What person art thou?' (MB. I, 5, 14. 15), touching the sense-organs at (the boy's) head.

14. In (the passage of the Mantra), 'Enter upon the month, that belongs to Ahaspati (i. e. the lord of days), N. N.!' and at the end of the Mantra he should give him a name beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, with a long vowel or the Visarga at the end, (and formed with) a *Kṛit* (suffix).

15. It should not contain a Taddhita (suffix).

16. (He should give a name with) an odd (number of syllables), ending in -dâ, to girls.

17. And after he has told the name to the mother first, they may do what they like.

18. A cow constitutes the sacrificial fee.

19. Every month (after the birth) of the boy, (or)

12. Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya I, 25, 5. In the same Grîhya the enumeration of the Nakshatras with their presiding deities is given, I, 26.

14. Sâṅkhâya-Grîhya I, 24, 4; Âsvalâyana I, 15, 4; Pâraskara I, 17, 2. In the text read *dîrghâbhinish/ânântam* instead of *dîrghâbhinish/hânântam*.

19. Monthly sacrifice in commemoration of the child's birth. Possibly we should translate: Every month (after the birth) of the boy, through one year (comp. Sâṅkhâya I, 25, 10. 11), or on the Parvan days, &c.

after one year, or on the Parvan days of the year (i. e. on the last Tithi of each of the three seasons) he should sacrifice to Agni and Indra, to Heaven and Earth, and to the Visve devâs.

20. Having sacrificed to the deity (of the Tithi and of the Nakshatra respectively), he should sacrifice to the Tithi and to the Nakshatra.

21. When (the father) returns from a journey, or when (the son) begins to know, 'This is my father,' or when (the son) has been initiated, (the father) should grasp with his two hands his son round the head, and should murmur, 'From limb by limb thou art produced' (MB. I, 5, 16-18).

22. With (the formula), 'With the cattle's *him-kâra* I kiss thee' (l. l. 19) he should kiss him. Then he may do what he likes.

23. In the same way (he should do) to his younger sons—

24. According to their age or in the order in which he meets them.

25. Girls he should silently kiss on their head; he should silently kiss them on their head.

20. *Sâṅkhâyana-Gṛihya* I, 25, 6.

21 seq. The father's returning from a journey. *Khâdira-Gṛihya* II, 3, 13 seq. As to *upeta*, comp. *Sâṅkhâyana-Gṛihya* II, 1, 1 note. The position of the words in *Sûtra* 21 is irregular, so as to raise the suspicion that the words *yadâ vâ . . . upetasya vâ* ('or when the son begins to know . . . has been initiated') are an insertion into the text of Gobhila, made by a later compiler, or into a more ancient text, made by Gobhila himself. Comp. *Pâraskara* I, 18.

25. As to the repetition of the last words of this *Sûtra*, see the notes on I, 4, 31; II, 10, 50; III, 6, 15.

KĀNDIKĀ 9.

1. Now follows the tonsure of the child's head, in the third year.

2. To the east of the house on a surface besmeared (with cow-dung) wood has been put on the fire.

3. There the following things have been placed :

4. To the south (of the fire) twenty-one Darbha blades, a brass vessel with hot water, a razor of Udumbara wood or a mirror, and a barber with a razor in his hand ;

5. To the north, bull's dung and a mess of boiled rice with sesamum seeds which may be more or less cooked.

6. Let them fill vessels separately with rice and barley, with sesamum seeds and beans, and let them place (those vessels) to the east (of the fire).

7. The boiled rice with sesamum seeds (Sūtra 5) and all seeds (mentioned in Sūtra 6) are given to the barber.

8. Then the mother, having dressed the son in a clean garment, sits down to the west of the fire on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the east.

9, 1. The *Kūḍākarana*. Khādīra-Gr̥hya II, 3, 16 seq. On the literal meaning of *Kūḍākarana*, see Sāṅkhāyana I, 28, 1 note.

2. Comp. above, II, 1, 13.

5. Comp. above, chap. 7, 9; Gr̥hya-saṃgraha II, 39.

6. I believe that four vessels were filled, one with rice, one with barley, one with sesamum seeds, and one with beans. The Dvandva compounds vr̥hiyavais and tilamāshais cannot justify the conclusion that one vessel was filled with rice and barley mixed, and another with sesamum seeds and beans, for the plural pātrāṇi shows that there were more than two vessels. Āśvalāyana I, 17, 2, says, vr̥hiyavamāshatilānām pr̥thak pūṇasarāvāni.

9. To the west (of her), facing the east, the person stations himself who is going to perform that (ceremony).

10. He then murmurs, fixing his thoughts on Savitri, looking at the barber, (the Mantra), 'Hither has come Savitri with his razor' (MB. I, 6, 1).

11. And fixing his thoughts on Vâyu, looking at the brass vessel with warm water, (he murmurs the Mantra), 'With warm water, O Vâyu, come hither' (ibid. 2).

12. Drawing water (out of that vessel) with his right hand he moistens the patch of hair on the right side (of the boy's head) with (the Mantra), 'May the waters moisten thee for life' (ibid. 3).

13. With (the Mantra), 'Vishnu's tusk art thou' (ibid. 4) he looks at the razor of Udumbara wood or at the mirror.

14. With (the Mantra), 'Herb! Protect him!' (ibid. 5) he puts seven Darbha blades, with their points turned towards (the boy's) head, into the patch of hair on the right side of his head.

15. Pressing them down with his left hand, and seizing with his right hand the razor of Udumbara wood or the mirror, he touches with it (the Darbha blades), with the (Mantra), 'Axe! Do no harm to him!' (ibid. 6).

16. With (the Mantra), 'With which Pûshan has shaven Brihaspati's head' (ibid. 7), he moves forward (that razor or the mirror) three times towards the east without cutting (the hair); once with the Yagus, twice silently.

11. I have translated the Mantra according to the reading of Ârvalâyana (*Grihya* I, 17, 6) and Pâraskara (II, 1, 6): *ushnena Vâya udakenehi*. Gobhila has *udakenaidhi*.

17. Then (the barber) with the razor of metal cuts the hair and throws (the cut off hair ends) on the bull's dung.

18. In the same way (after the same rites have been performed), he cuts the patch of hair on the back-side ;

19. And that on the left side.

20. He should repeat (when going to cut the hair on the back-side, and then again on the left side, the rites stated above), beginning from the moistening of the hair (Sūtra 12).

21. Grasping with his two hands (the boy) round his head he should murmur (the verse), ' The three-fold age of *Gamadagni* ' (MB. I, 6, 8).

22. In the same way (the rites are performed) for a girl,

23. (But) silently.

24. The sacrifice, however, (is performed) with the Mantra.

25. Walking away from the fire in a northerly direction they have the arrangement of (the boy's) hair made according to the custom of his Gotra and of his family.

26. They throw the hair on the bull's dung (mentioned above), take it to the forest, and bury it.

27. Some throw them on a bunch (of grass or the like).

20. Thus on the back-side seven Darbha blades are put into the hair, and on the left side seven. This makes, together with the seven blades put into the hair on the right side (Sūtra 14), twenty-one, the number stated in Sūtra 4.

24. In the description of the *Kūḍākaraṇa* given in this chapter no sacrifice is mentioned. See, however, I, 9, 28.

25. *Gr̥hya-saṃgraha* II, 40.

28. Then they may do what they like.
 29. A cow constitutes the sacrificial fee.

KÂNDIKÂ 10.

1. In the eighth year after the conception let him initiate a Brâhmaṇa,

2. In the eleventh year after the conception a Kshatriya,

3. In the twelfth year after the conception a Vaisya.

4. Until the sixteenth year the time has not passed for a Brâhmaṇa, until the twenty-second for a Kshatriya, until the twenty-fourth for a Vaisya.

5. After that (time has passed), they become patitasâvitṛika (i. e. they have lost their right of being taught the Sâvitṛi).

6. Let them not initiate such men, nor teach them, nor perform sacrifices for them, nor form matrimonial alliances with them.

7. On the day on which the youth is going to receive the initiation, on that day, early in the morning, they give him to eat, and have his hair arranged, and wash him, and deck him with ornaments, and put on him a (new) garment which has not yet been washed.

10, 1 seq. The initiation of the student. Khâdira-Grîhya II, 4, 1 seq.

1-4. On the number of years given for the Upanayana of persons of the three castes, see the note on Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya II, 1, 1.

5, 6. See the note on Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya II, 1, 9.

8. Their garments are made of linen, of hempen cloth, of cotton, or of wool (according to the caste to which the student belongs).

9. The skins (which they wear), are an antelope-skin, or the skin of a spotted deer, or a goat's skin.

10. Their girdles are made of Muñga grass, of Kāsa grass, of Tāmbala.

11. Their staffs are of Parṇa wood, of Bilva wood, of Asvattha wood.

12. The garment of a Brāhmaṇa is made of linen, or of hempen cloth, that of a Kshatriya, of cotton, that of a Vaisya, of wool.

13. Thereby also the other articles have been explained.

14. Or if (the proper articles prescribed) cannot be got, all (of them may be used) by (persons of) all castes.

15. To the east of the house on a surface besmeared (with cow-dung) wood has been put on the fire.

16. Having sacrificed with (the Mantras which the student recites) 'Agni! Lord of the vow' (MB. I, 6, 9-13), the teacher stations himself to the west

8. There are four kinds of garments indicated, though only persons of three castes are concerned. The explanation of this apparent incongruence follows from Sūtra 12.

10. Tāmbala is stated to be a synonym for *śana* (hemp).

13. As the garments indicated in Sūtra 8 belong, in the order in which they are stated, to persons of the three castes respectively, thus also of the skins (Sūtra 9), of the girdles (Sūtra 10), and of the staffs (Sūtra 11); the first is that belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, the second, to a Kshatriya, and the third, to a Vaisya.

15. Comp. above, chap. 9, 2.

of the fire, on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the east.

17. Between the fire and the teacher the student (stands), raising his joined hands, turning his face towards the teacher, on northward-pointed Darbha grass.

18. Standing on his south side a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Mantras fills (the student's) joined hands with water,

19. And afterwards (those) of the teacher.

20. Looking (at the student the teacher) murmurs (the verse), 'With him who comes to us, we have come together' (MB. I, 6, 14).

21. He causes (the student) to say, 'I have come hither to studentship' (ibid. 16).

22. In (the words), 'What is thy name' (ibid. 17), he asks after his name.

23. The teacher chooses for him a name which he is to use at respectful salutations,

24. (A name) derived from (the name of) a deity or a Nakshatra,

25. Or also of his Gotra, according to some (teachers).

26. Having let the water run out of his joined

22, 23. It is evident that the words *tasyâkâryaḥ* belong to Sūtra 23, and not to Sūtra 22, to which the traditional division of the Sūtras assigns them. The corresponding section of the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa runs thus: 'What is thy name?'—'My name is N. N.!' It is not clear whether the student, being questioned by the teacher, had to indicate his ordinary name, and then to receive from the teacher his 'abhivādanīya nāmadheya,' or whether he had to pronounce, on the teacher's question, directly the abhivādanīya name chosen for him by the teacher. The commentary and the corresponding passage of the Khândira-Grihya (II, 4, 12) are in favour of the second alternative.

hands (over the student's hands), the teacher with his right hand seizes (the student's) right hand together with the thumb, with (the formula), 'By the impulse of the god Savitri, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pûshan's hands I seize thy hand, N. N.!' (ibid. 18).

27. He then makes him turn round from left to right with (the formula), 'Move in the sun's course after him, N. N.!' (ibid. 19).

28. Grasping down with his right hand over his right shoulder he should touch his uncovered navel with (the formula), 'Thou art the knot of all breath' (ibid. 20).

29. Raising himself (from the position implied in Sûtra 28, he should touch) the place near the navel with (the formula), 'Ahura' (ibid. 21).

30. Raising himself (still more, he should touch) the place of the heart with (the formula), 'Krisana' (ibid. 22).

31. Having touched from behind with his right hand (the student's) right shoulder with (the formula), 'I give thee in charge to Pragâpati, N. N.!' (ibid. 23)—

32. And with his left (hand) the left (shoulder) with (the formula), 'I give thee in charge to the god Savitri, N. N.!' (ibid. 24)—

33. He then directs him (to observe the duties of Brahmaçarya, by the formula), 'A student art thou, N. N.!' (ibid. 25).

34. 'Put on fuel. Eat water. Do the service. Do not sleep in the day-time' (ibid. 26).

35. Having gone in a northerly direction from

the fire, the teacher sits down to the east, on northward-pointed Darbha grass,

36. The student to the west, bending his right knee, turning his face towards the teacher, also on northward-pointed Darbha grass.

37. (The teacher) then ties round (the student) thrice from left to right the girdle made of Muñga grass and causes him to repeat (the verse), 'Protecting us from evil word' (ibid. 27), and (the verse), 'The protectress of right' (ibid. 28).

38. Then (the student) respectfully sits down near (the teacher) with (the words), 'Recite, sir! May the reverend one recite the Sâvitrit to me.'

39. He then recites (the Sâvitrit, ibid. 29) to him, Pâda by Pâda, hemistich by hemistich, and the whole verse,

40. And the Mahâvyâhritis one by one, with the word Om at the end (ibid. 30).

41. And handing over to him the staff, which should be made of (the wood of) a tree, he causes him to repeat (the formula), 'O glorious one, make me glorious' (ibid. 31).

42. Then (the student) goes to beg food,

43. First of his mother, and of two other women friends, or of as many as there are in the neighbourhood.

44. He announces the alms (received) to his teacher.

45. The rest of the day he stands silently.

46. After sunset he puts a piece of wood on the fire with (the Mantra), 'To Agni I have brought a piece of wood' (ibid. 32).

47. Through a period of three nights he avoids eating pungent or saline food.

48. At the end of that (period) a mess of boiled rice-grains (is offered) to Savitri.

49. Then he may do what he likes.

50. A cow constitutes the sacrificial fee.

End of the Second Prapâṭhaka.

49, 50. Dr. Knauer very pertinently calls attention to the fact that these Sūtras are not repeated, as is the rule with regard to the concluding words of an Adhyāya or Prapâṭhaka. Comp. chap. 8, 25 note.

PRAPÂTHAKA III, KÂNDIKÂ 1.

1. Now (follows) the Godâna ceremony (or cutting of the beard), in the sixteenth year.

2. The cutting of the hair (and the beard) has been explained by the (description of the) *Kûdâ-karana* (II, 9).

1, 1. After the description of the regular Upanayana here follow, in chaps. 1 and 2, statements regarding the special Vratas which the Vedic student has to undergo, or rather which he may undergo, in the time of his studentship. Comp. the corresponding statements on the Vratas of the *Rigvedins*, *Sâṅkhâyana-Gṛihya* II, 11 and 12. By the followers of the *Sâma-veda* the ceremony of the Godâna, or cutting of the beard (comp. *Sâṅkhâyana* I, 28, 19; *Pâraskara* II, 1, 7 seq.; *Ârvalâyana* I, 18), was put into connection with their system of Vratas; the undergoing of the Godâna-vrata enabled the student to study the *Pûrvârṅika* of the *Sâma-veda*. In the commentary on Gobhila III, 1, 28 we find the following statements with regard to this Vrata as well as to the other Vratas mentioned in *Sûtra* 28: 'The Upanayana-vrata has been declared to refer to the study of the *Sâvitṛi* (comp. Bloomfield's notes on *Gṛihya-saṃgraha* II, 42. 43); the Godâna-vrata, to the study of the collections of verses sacred to the gods Agni, Indra, and Soma Pavamâna (this is the *Pûrvârṅika* of the *Sâma-veda*); the *Vrâtika-vrata*, to the study of the *Âraṇyaka*, with the exclusion of the *Sukriya* sections; the *Âditya-vrata*, to the study of the *Sukriya* sections; the *Aupanishada-vrata*, to the study of the *Upanishad-Brâhmana*; the *Gyaish/hasâmika-vrata*, to the study of the *Âgya-dohas*.' The Vratas were connected with a repetition of the Upanayana ceremony (*Sûtras* 10 seq.) in the way stated in my note on *Sâṅkhâyana* II, 12, 1.—*Khâdîra-Gṛihya* II, 5, 1 seq.

2. Comp. *Sâṅkhâyana* I, 28, 19, 'The Godânakarman is identical with the *Kûdâkarman*.' *Pâraskara* II, 1, 7, 'At the *Kesânta* ceremony he says, "Hair and beard" (instead of "hair," as at the *Kûdâkarana*).'

3. The student has his hair (and beard) cut himself.

4. He has all the hair of his body shaven.

5. The sacrificial fee given by a Brāhmaṇa consists of an ox and a cow,

6. That given by a Kshatriya, of a pair of horses,

7. That given by a Vaisya, of a pair of sheep.

8. Or a cow (is given by persons) of all (castes).

9. A goat (is given) to the person who catches up the hair.

10. The Upanayana (connected with the Godānavrata and the other Vratas) has been declared by the Upanayana (treated of above, II, 10).

11. (The use of) a garment, however, which has not yet been washed, is not required (here),

12. Nor the adornment.

13. (One should) not initiate one who does not intend to keep the vow through one year.

14. Handing over to him (i. e. to the student) a staff, which should be made of (the wood of) a tree, he directs him (to observe the duties connected with his vow, in the following words):

15. 'Obey thy teacher, except in sinful conduct.

16. 'Avoid anger and falsehood,

17. 'Sexual intercourse,

18. 'Sleeping on high (bedsteads),

19. 'Performances of singing, dancing, &c., the use of perfumes and of collyrium,

3. At the *Kūṭākarana* the child sits in the mother's lap and others perform the rites for him.

10. See the note on Sūtra 1.

11. Comp. above, II, 10, 7.

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20. 'Bathing,
 21. 'Combing the head, cleansing the teeth,
 washing the feet,
 22. 'Shaving,
 23. 'Eating honey and flesh,
 24. 'Mounting a chariot yoked with cattle,
 25. 'Wearing shoes in the village,
 26. 'Svayam-indriya-moḥanam.'
 27. Wearing the girdle, going the rounds for alms,
 carrying a staff, putting fuel (on the fire), touching
 water, reverentially saluting (the teacher) in the
 morning: these are his standing duties.
 28. The Godâna-vrata, the Vrâtika-vrata, the
 Âditya-vrata, the Aupanishada-vrata, the Gyaish-
 thasâmika-vrata (last) one year (each).
 29. Touching water in the evening and in the
 morning (is prescribed) for these (Vratas).
 30. The Âditya-vrata, however, some do not
 undergo.
 31. They who undergo it, wear one garment.
 32. They allow nothing to be between (them-
 selves and) the sun, except trees and (the roofs of)
 houses.
 33. They do not descend into water deeper than
 knee-deep, except on the injunction of their teacher.
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28. The meaning of these expressions has been explained in the
 note on Sûtra 1.

30. According to the commentary some study the Sukriyas as
 a part of the Âraṇyaka; these do not undergo the Âditya-vrata.
 Others, for instance the Kauthumas, separate the Sukriyas from
 the Âraṇyaka and keep a special vow, the Âditya-vrata, by which
 they are enabled to study those texts.

KĀNDIKĀ 2.

1. For the Mahânâmnî verses (the Vrata is to be kept) twelve years,
2. (Or) nine, six, three (years).
3. These are the various possibilities.
4. Or also one year, according to some (teachers).
5. (In this case), however, the observances are enhanced.
6. (Keeping the Vrata through one year is allowed only) if (the student's) ancestors have learnt the Mahânâmnî verses.
7. There is also a Brâhmaṇa of the Rauruki (Sâkhâ, in which it is said) :
8. ' The mothers forsooth say to their sons, when they suckle them :
9. ' " Become men, my little sons, who endeavour to accomplish the Sakvart-vrata ! " '
10. During (the Vrata preparatory to the study of) these (i. e. the Mahânâmnî verses), touching water at the time of each Savana (is prescribed).
11. Let him not eat in the morning before he has touched water.
12. In the evening, after he has touched water, he should not eat, before he has put the piece of wood on the fire.

2, 1. Regarding the Mahânâmnî or Sakvartî verses and the observances connected with their study, comp. Sâṅkhâya II, 12 (see especially the note on II, 12, 13) and the sixth Adhyâya of that text. Khândira-Grhya II, 5, 22 seq.

10. The rules as to 'touching water' have been given above, I, 2, 5 seq. The three Savanas or Soma-pressings of which the Soma sacrifice consists, are the prâtaḥ-savana, the mādhyandina-savana, and the tṛtīya-savana, i. e. the morning Savana, the mid-day Savana, and the third or evening Savana.

12. Comp. above, II, 10, 46; III, 1, 27.

13. He should wear dark clothes.
14. He should eat dark food.
15. Let him be devoted to his teacher.
16. Let him make way for nobody.
17. He should be addicted to austerities.
18. He should stand in day-time.
19. He should sit at night.
20. And when it is raining, he should not retire to a covered place.
21. He should say to (the god) when he sends rain, 'The Sakvaris are water.'
22. When (the god) sends lightning, he should say to him, 'Such forsooth is the nature of the Sakvaris.'
23. When (the god) thunders, he should say to him, 'The great voice of the great (cow) !'
24. Let him not cross a river without touching water.
25. Let him not ascend a ship.
26. If his life is in danger, however, he may ascend (a ship), after having touched water.
27. In the same way (he should touch water) having disembarked.
28. For in water the virtue of the Mahânâmnîs is contained.
29. If he practises these duties, (the god) Parjanya will send rain according to his wish.
30. The rules about dark (clothes), standing, sitting, (making) way, and (dark) food may be considered as optional.
31. After he has kept his vow through one third (of the prescribed time, the teacher) should

sing to him the (first) Stotriya verse (of the Mahânâmñs).

32. In the same way the two other Stotriya verses (after two-thirds of the time and at the end of the whole time).

33. Or all (the three verses) at the end of the whole (time).

34. He should sing them to (the student) who has fasted and shuts his eyes.

35. Having filled a brass vessel with water, having thrown into it all sorts of herbs, and dipped (the student's) hands into it, the teacher should veil (the student's eyes) from left to right with a (new) garment that has not yet been washed.

36. Or he should sing (the Mahânâmñs to him) immediately after he has veiled (his eyes).

37. With veiled eyes, keeping silence, he should abstain from food through a period of three nights, or through one day and one night.

38. Or he should stand in the forest till sunset (and spend the night in the village).

39. On the next morning he should put wood on the fire in the forest, should sacrifice with the Mahāvyaâhrītis, and should cause the student to look at (the following objects, viz.)

40. Fire, Âgya, the sun, a Brahman, a bull, food, water, curds,

41. With (the words), 'The sky have I beheld! Light have I beheld!'

35. Comp. Sâṅkhâya-Gr̥hya VI, 3, 7.

36. I. e. the fasting prescribed in Sûtras 34 and 37 may, if they like, follow after the teaching of the sacred song, instead of preceding it.

37. Sâṅkhâya-Gr̥hya II, 12, 6 seq.

42. In that way all (the objects stated in Sûtra 40) three times.

43. After the ceremony for averting evil has been performed, the student respectfully salutes the teacher.

44. Thus he has to break the silence (enjoined upon him).

45. A bull, a brass vessel, a garment, an optional gift (of a cow) : this is the sacrificial fee.

46. The first time he may choose (either a bull or a brass vessel).

47. Let him provide his teacher with clothes, according to some (teachers).

48. A mess of cooked food, sacred to Indra, (is prepared). Let him sacrifice of that (food) with this verse, 'To the *Rik*, to the *Sâman* we sacrifice' (*Sâma-veda* I, 369), or (with the verse), 'The lord of the seat, the wonderful' (*ibid.* I, 171), or with both (verses).

49. This (he should do) at (all) the Anuprava-
kântya ceremonies.

43. Comp. above, I, 9, 29 ; Sâṅkhâya VI, 3, 11 seq.

45, 46. The student is to give a fee to his teacher three times, after he has been taught each of the three Stotriya verses (Sûtras 31. 32). To these three occasions the four objects stated in Sûtra 45 correspond, so that the first time either the first or the second of those objects, the bull or the brass vessel, may be chosen ; the second time he gives a garment, the third time a vara (or optional gift). Comp. the similar correspondence of four objects and three cases to which these objects refer, II, 10, 8. 12.

48. This is the Anuprava-kântya ceremony (or ceremony to be performed after the study of a Vedic text has been finished) belonging to the Mahânâmnîs ; comp. Khâdira-Gṛhya II, 5, 34 ; Âśvalâyana-Gṛhya I, 22, 12 ; Sâṅkhâya II, 8, 1 note.

49. Perhaps sarvatra ('everywhere') belongs to Sûtra 49, so that we should have to translate : This (should be done) everywhere at

50. The Mantra has to be altered everywhere (so that he has to say), 'I have kept (the vow),' 'I have been able,' 'Thereby I have prospered,' 'I have undergone.'

51. The fee to be given after the study of the Parvans is, a goat for the Agni-Parvan, a ram for the Indra-Parvan, a cow for the Pavamāna-Parvan.

52. After (the student) has returned (from the forest), he should entertain his teacher and his retinue with food,

53. And his fellow-students who have come together.

54. The way to sing the *Gyeshtasāmans* has been explained by (the statements given with regard to) the Mahānāmni-(vrata).

55. Here the following standing duties are to be observed :

56. He should not have intercourse with a Sūdrā woman.

57. He should not eat bird's flesh.

58. He should avoid (constantly living on) the same grain, and in the same place, and wearing one garment.

59. He should perform the rite of 'touching water' with water drawn out (of a pond, &c.).

the Anupravatānīya ceremonies, i. e. also at those Anupravatānīya ceremonies which are connected with the study of the other texts.

50. Instead of 'I will keep the vow,' he says, 'I have kept the vow,' &c.; II, 10, 16.

51. The Parvans are the three great sections, sacred to Agni, Indra, and Soma Pavāmana, into which the first Sāmavedārṭika is divided.

55. According to the commentary he has to keep these observances through his whole life.

58. Or, wearing always the same garment?

60. From (the time of) his being directed (to observe the duties of his Vrata) he should not eat from an earthen vessel,

61. Nor drink (from such a vessel),

62. (Or rather) from (the time of) his being taught (the *Gyesh/hasâmans*, after the whole preparatory time, or after one third of that time), according to some (teachers).

KĀNDIKĀ 3.

1. On the full-moon day of Praush/âpada (or) under (the Nakshatra) Hasta the Upâkarana (or opening ceremony of the annual term of Veda-study, is performed).

2. After (the teacher) has sacrificed with the Vyâhr̥itis, he recites the Sâvitṛī to the students as at the Upanayana ;

3. And (he chants) the Sâvitṛī with its Sâman melody,

60. Regarding the directions given to the student by the teacher, see chap. I, 14.

62. See above, Sûtras 31. 33.

3, 1 seq. The Upâkarana ceremony ; Khâdira-Gr̥ihya III, 2, 16 seq. Regarding the different terms for this ceremony, comp. Sâṅkhâya IV, 5, 2 ; Ârvalâyana III, 5, 3 ; Pâraskara II, 10, 2. Hiranyakesin says : *sravanâpaksha oshadhîshu gâtâsu hastena paurnamâsyâm vâdhyâyopâkarma*.—It seems impossible to me to adopt an explanation of this Sûtra, which gives to praush/âpadâ another meaning than that based on the constant use of these feminines derived from the names of Nakshatras, i.e. the day of the full moon which falls under such or such a Nakshatra. Hastena, therefore, necessarily refers to another day besides the Praush/âpadâ, on which the Upâkarana may be celebrated. Perhaps we may conjecture, *praush/âpadâm hastena vopâkaranam*.

2. Comp. above, II, 10, 39.

4. And (the Bārhaspatya Sāman, with the text), 'Soma, the king, Varuṇa' (Sāma-veda I, 91).

5. After they have recited (the first verses) of the *Kṛandas* book, from its beginning, they may do what they like.

6. They eat fried barley-grains with (the verse), 'That which is accompanied by grains and by a karambha (i. e. curds with flour)' (Sāma-veda I, 210).

7. They partake of curds with (the verse), 'I have praised Dadhikrāvan' (Sāma-veda I, 358).

8. After they have sipped water, (the teacher) should cause them to repeat the first (?) verses, and to sing the first (?) Sāmans, of the different sections (?).

9. On the day sacred to Savitṛi they wait.

10. And at (the beginning of) the northerly

5. The *Kṛandas* book is the first Sāmavedārṅika in which the verses are arranged according to their metre.

6. It is not quite clear from the text, in what connection the rites described in Sūtras 6-8 stand with those treated of in the preceding Sūtras. The expression yathārtham used in Sūtra 5 ('yathārtham iti karmanāḥ parisamāptir ukyate,' Comm.; comp. above, I, 3, 12 note) clearly indicates the close of the ceremony; on the other hand the comparison of Pāraskara II, 10, 15 seq., Sāṅkhāyana IV, 5, 10 seq., Āsvalāyana III, 5, 10, seems to show that the acts stated in Sūtras 6-8 form part of the ceremony described before.

8. I do not try to translate this very obscure Sūtra according to the commentary, in which khāṇḍika is explained as 'the number (of pupils).' Perhaps the word is a misspelling for kaṇḍikā or the like, and means sections of the texts. Comp. Khādira-Grhyā III, 2, 23. The construction (āṅāntodakāḥ . . . kārayet) is quite irregular.

9. I.e. they do not continue their study. The day sacred to Savitṛi is the day under the constellation of Hasta, mentioned in Sūtra 1, for Savitṛi is the presiding deity over that Nakshatra (comp. Sāṅkhāyana I, 26, 11).

10. Comp. the note on Sūtra 16.

course of the sun (they wait) one night with one day before and one day after it,

11. (Or they interrupt their study for) a period of three nights before and afterwards, according to some (teachers).

12. And both times water libations are offered to the Âkâryas.

13. Some perform the Upâkarana on the full-moon day of Srâvana and wait (with studying) the time (from that day) till the day sacred to Savitri (Sûtra 9).

14. On the full-moon day of Taisha they leave off (studying the Veda).

15. They should go out of the village in an easterly or northerly direction, should go to water which reaches higher than to their secret parts, should touch water (in the way prescribed above, I, 2), and should satiate the metres, the Rîshis, and teachers (by libations of water).

16. After this second Upâkarana, until the (chief) Upâkarana (has been performed) again for the Vedic texts, an interruption of the study (of the Veda takes place), if clouds rise.

12. Regarding the Tarpana ceremony comp. Sâṅkhâya IV, 9, 1 note. From the word 'and' the commentator concludes that the libations are offered not only to the Âkâryas, but also to the Rîshis, &c. (Sûtra 15).

13. Comp. Gautama XVI, 1; Vasishṭha XIII, 1; Âpastamba I, 9, 1, &c.

14. Âpastamba I, 9, 2, &c.

15. This is a description of the Utsarga ceremony; comp. Sâṅkhâya IV, 6, 6; Âsvalâya III, 5, 21-23; Pâraskara II, 12.

16. The most natural way of interpreting the text would be, in my opinion, to assume that the 'second Upâkarana' (pratyupâkarana) is identical with the Utsarga. The second Upâkarana thus would in the same time conclude the first term for studying the

17. If lightning (is observed), or if it thunders, or if it is drizzling, (he shall not study) until the same time next day.

18. On the falling of a meteor, or after an earthquake, or an eclipse of the sun or of the moon (the study is interrupted until the same time next day),

19. And if a whirlwind occurs.

20. Let them not study on the Ashṭakâ days, and on the days of the new moon,

21. And on the days of the full moon—

22. In the three months Kârttika, Phâlguna, and Āshâḍha.

23. And (the study is interrupted) for one day and one night,

24. If a fellow-pupil has died,

25. Or the sovereign of his country;

26. Three days, if his teacher (has died);

27. One day and one night, if somebody (has died) who has reverentially approached.

28. If singing, or the sound of a musical instrument, or weeping is heard, or if it is storming, (the

Veda, and open a second term. The distinction of two such periods, which may be called two terms, is frequently met with in other texts, for instance, in *Vasishṭha* XIII, 5-7 (S. B. E. XIV, 63); *Manu* IV, 98. According to the commentary, on the other hand, the second Upâkaraṇa is performed at the beginning of the northerly course of the sun (comp. *Sûtras* 10-12); it is stated that after that ceremony the Uttara (i. e. the Uttarârṇika?) and the Rahasya texts are studied. It deserves to be noticed that *Manu* (IV, 96) prescribes the performing of the Utsarga either under the Nakshatra Pushya (i. e. Tishya), or on the first day of the bright fortnight of Mâgha, which is considered as coinciding, at least approximately, with the beginning of the northerly course of the sun.

18. Comp. *Manu* IV, 105.

22. These are the days of the ancient Vedic Āturmâsya sacrifices.

study of the Veda is discontinued) as long as that (reason of the interruption) lasts.

29. As regards other (cases in which the reading of the Veda should be discontinued), the practice of the *Sishṭas* (should be followed).

30. In the case of a prodigy an expiation (has to be performed) by the householder (or) by his wife.

31. If a spar of the roof or the middle (post of the house) breaks, or if the water-barrel bursts, let him sacrifice (*Āgya* oblations) with the *Vyâhr̥itis*.

32. If he has seen bad dreams, let him murmur this verse, 'To-day, O god *Savitṛi*' (*Sâma-veda* I, 141).

33. Now (follows) another (expiation).

34. If he has touched a piled-up (fire-altar) or a sacrificial post, or if he has humming in his ears, or if his eye palpitates, or if the sun rises or sets while he is sleeping, or if his organs of sense have been defiled by something bad, let him sacrifice two *Āgya* oblations with the two verses, 'May my strength return to me' (*Mantra-Brâhmaṇa* I, 6, 33. 34).

35. Or (let him sacrifice) two pieces of wood anointed with *Āgya*.

36. Or let him murmur (those two verses) at light offences.

29. The definition of a *Sishṭa*, or instructed person, is given in *Baudhâyaṇa* I, 1, 6 (S. B. E. XIV, 143).

30-36. Different expiations; comp. *Khândira-Gṛ̥hya* II, 5, 35-37.

34. *Kitya* means *Kitya agni*, the piled-up fire-altar, the construction of which is treated of, for instance, in the *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* VI-X. Prof. Weber has devoted to the rites connected with the *kitya agni* a very detailed paper, *Indische Studien*, XIII, 217 seq. That *kitya* does not mean here anything different from *kitya agni* is shown by the *Mânava-Gṛ̥hya* I, 3: *yadi . . . akshi vâ spandet karno vâ krosed agnim vâ kityam ârohet smarânam vâ gakkhed yûpam vopaspriset, &c.*

KĀNDIKĀ 4.

1. A student, after he has studied the Veda,
2. And has offered a present to his Guru (i. e. to his) teacher,
3. Should, with the permission (of his parents), take a wife,
4. One who does not belong to the same Gotra,
5. And who is not a *Sapinda* relation of his mother.
6. The best, however, is a 'naked' girl.
7. Now the bath (which is taken at the end of studentship, will be described).
8. To the north or the east of the teacher's house there is an enclosure.
9. There the teacher sits down, facing the north, on eastward-pointed *Darbha* grass ;

4, 1 seq. The description given in this chapter of the *Samāvartana*, or of the ceremony performed at the end of studentship, is opened with a few sentences referring to another section of the *Grhya* ritual, namely, to marriage. It seems to me that these first *Sūtras* of this chapter once formed, in a text from which Gobhila has taken them, the introduction to an exposition of the wedding ceremonies, and that Gobhila was induced to transfer them to the description of the *Samāvartana*, by their opening words, 'A student, after he has studied the Veda, &c.' With *Sūtras* 1-3, comp. *Khādīra-Grhya* I, 3, 1.

3. I prefer to supply, (with the permission) of his parents, and not, of his teacher. *Hiranyakesin* says, *samāvṛtta âtâryakulât mâtâpitarau bibhriyât, tâbhyaâm anugṛhâto bhâryâm upayakket*.

5. Regarding the term *Sapinda*, see, for instance, *Gautama* XIV, 13 (S. B. E. II, 247): 'Sapinda-relationship ceases with the fifth or the seventh (ancestor).' Comp. *Manu* V, 60.

6. According to the *Grhya-samgraha* (II, 17. 18), a 'naked' girl is one who has not yet the monthly period, or whose breast is not yet developed. Comp. *Vasishtha* XVII, 70 ; *Gautama* XVIII, 23.

7 seqq. Comp. *Khādīra-Grhya* III, 1, 1 seqq.

10. Facing the east the student on northward-pointed Darbha grass.

11. The teacher should besprinkle (him) with lukewarm, scented water, which has been boiled with all kinds of herbs.

12. But as if he (i. e. the student, should do so) himself—

13. (In such a way) he is alluded to in the Mantras; (therefore the besprinkling should be done rather by the student, and not by the teacher[?]).

14. With (the verse), 'The fires which dwell in the waters' (MB. I, 7, 1)—(the student[?]) pours his joined hands full of water (on the ground),

15. And again with (the formula), 'What is dreadful in the waters, what is cruel in the waters, what is turbulent in the waters' (ibid. 2).

16. With (the formula), 'The shining one I take here' (ibid. 3)—he besprinkles himself.

17. And again with (the formula), 'For the sake of glory, of splendour' (ibid. 4).

18. And again with (the verse), 'By which you made the wife (pregnant?)' (ibid. 5).

19. A fourth time silently.

20. He then should rise and should worship the sun with the Mantra, 'Rising with (the Maruts) who bear shining spears' (ibid. 6-9), &c.

21. Optionally he may use the single sections of

13. In the Mantras prescribed for the besprinkling of the student (Mantra-Brâhmaṇa I, 7, 1 seq.) there occur passages such as, for instance, 'Therewith I, N. N., besprinkle myself.'

21. He may use the first section of the Mantra, which contains the word *prâtar*, in the morning, &c.

the Mantra separately (in the morning, at noon, and in the evening) as indicated in the text.

22. He should add (the formula), 'The eye art thou' (ibid. 9) after (each of the three sections of the Mantra, 6-8).

23. With the verse, 'Loosen the highest fetter, O Varuṇa' (ibid. 10), he takes off the girdle.

24. After he has entertained the Brâhmaṇas with food and has eaten himself, he should have his hair, his beard, the hair of his body, and his nails cut, so as to leave the lock of hair (as required by the custom of his family).

25. Having bathed and adorned himself, and having put on two garments (an under-garment and an upper-garment) which have not yet been washed, he should put a garland (on his head) with (the formula), 'Luck art thou; take delight in me' (ibid. 11).

26. The two shoes (he puts on) with (the formula), 'Leaders are you; lead me' (ibid. 12).

27. With (the formula), 'The Gandharva art thou' (ibid. 13), he takes a bamboo staff.

28. He approaches the teacher together with the assembly (of his pupils) and looks at the assembly of his teacher's (pupils) with (the words), 'Like an eye-ball may I be dear to you' (ibid. 14).

29. Sitting down near (the teacher) he touches the sense-organs at his head with (the verse), 'The she-ichneumon, covered by the lips' (ibid. 15).

30. Here the teacher should honour him with the Argha ceremony.

31. (The student then) should approach a chariot yoked with oxen, and should touch its two side-pieces or the two arms of the chariot-pole with

(the verse), 'O tree, may thy limbs be strong' (ibid. 16).

32. With (the last words of that verse), 'May he who stands on thee, win what can be won'—he mounts it.

33. Having driven (some distance) in an easterly or northerly direction, he turns round from left to right and comes back (to his teacher).

34. When he has come back, the Argha ceremony should be performed (for him by his teacher), say the Kauhallyas.

KÂNDIKÂ 5.

1. From that time he shall assume a dignified demeanour: this is in short the rule (for his behaviour).

2. Here the teachers enumerate the following (regulations).

3. Nâgâtalomnyopahâsam *ikkhet*.

4. Nor (should he wish for sport) with a girl who is the only child of her mother,

5. Nor with a woman during her courses,

6. Nor with one who descends from the same *Rishis*.

7. Let him not eat food which has been brought by another door (than the usual),

8. Or which has been cooked twice,

9. Or which has stood over night—

10. Except such as is prepared of vegetables, flesh, barley, or flour.

34. Instead of its being performed at the time stated in Sûtra 30.

5, 1 seq. Rules of conduct for the Snâtaka; comp. Khâdira-Grihya III, 1, 33 seq.

11. Let him not run while it is raining.
12. Let him not take himself his shoes in his hands (when putting them on or pulling them off).
13. Let him not look into a well.
14. Let him not gather fruits himself.
15. He should not wear a scentless wreath,
16. If it is not a wreath of gold.
17. (He should not wear a wreath) of which the expression *mâlâ* (garland) has been used.
18. He should cause the people to call it *srag* (wreath). (Then he may wear it.)
19. He should avoid using the word *bhadra* ('blessed') without a reason.
20. He should say (instead of it), *mandra* ('lovely').
21. There are three (kinds of) *Snâtakas* :
22. A *Vidyâsnâtaka* (or a *Snâtaka* by knowledge), a *Vratasnâtaka* (or a *Snâtaka* by the completion of his vow), and a *Vidyâvratasnâtaka* (i. e. *Snâtaka* by both).
23. Of these the last ranks foremost; the two others are equal (to each other).
24. (A *Snâtaka*) should not put on a wet garment.
25. He should not wear one garment.
26. He should not praise any person (excessively).
27. He should not speak of what he has not seen, as if he had seen it,

20. As to the reading, comp. Dr. Knauer's remarks in his edition of the text, p. xi of the Introduction.

21, 22. These *Sûtras* are identical with *Pâraskara* II, 5, 32. Comp. the definitions of these three kinds of *Snâtakas*, *Pâraskara*, l. l. 33-35.

25. Comp. above, chap. 2, 58.

28. Nor of what he has not heard, as if he had heard it.

29. He should give up everything that forms an impediment for his Veda-recitation.

30. He should endeavour to keep himself (pure from every defilement) like a pot of oil.

31. He should not climb a tree.

32. He should not go toward evening to another village,

33. Nor alone,

34. Nor together with *Vṛishalas* (or *Sûdras*).

35. He should not enter the village by a by-path.

36. And he should not walk without a companion.

37. These are the observances for those who have performed the *Samâvartana*,

38. And what (besides) is prescribed by *Sishṭas*.

KÂNDIKÂ 6.

1. When his cows are driven out, he should repeat (the verse), 'May (Bhava), the all-valiant one, (and Indra protect) these (cows) for me' (MB. I, 8, 1).

2. When they have come back, (he should repeat the verse), 'These which are rich in sweet' (ibid. 2).

33. That the *Snâtaka* is not allowed to go alone to another village, follows from *Sûtra* 36; thus *Sûtra* 33 is superfluous. The commentator of course tries to defend *Gobhila*, but I think he has not succeeded. Probably *Gobhila* has taken the two *Sûtras* from different texts on which his own composition seems to be based.

38. *Baudhâya* I, 1, 6 (S. B. E. XIV, 144): 'Those are called *Sishṭas* who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages, know how to draw inferences from that, and are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts.'

6, 1 seq. Different ceremonies connected with cattle-keeping. Comp. *Khândira-Gṛihya* III, 1, 45 seq.

3. If he is desirous of thriving (in his cattle), he should lick with his tongue the forehead of the first-born calf, before it is licked by its mother, and should gulp with (the formula), 'Thou art the phlegm of the cows' (ibid. 3).

4. If he is desirous of thriving (in his cattle), he should, when the cows have calved, at night put wood on the fire in the cow-stable and should sacrifice churned curds with drops of ghee, with (the verse), 'Seizer, seize' (ibid. 4).

5. If he is desirous of thriving (in his cattle), he makes, when the cows have calved, with a sword of Udumbara wood, marks on a male and on a female calf, first on the male, then on the female, with (the Mantra), 'The world art thou, thousandfold' (ibid. 5. 6),

6. And after he has done so, he should recite (over the two calves the Mantra), 'With metal, with the butcher's knife' (ibid. 7).

7. When the rope (to which the calves are bound) is spread out, and (again) when the calves have been bound to it, he should recite over it (the verse), 'This rope, the mother of the cows' (ibid. 8).

8. Here now the following (rites) have to be performed day by day, (viz.)

9. (The rites at) the driving out (of the cows), at the coming back (of the cows), and at the setting into motion of the rope (with the calves).

10. At the cow-sacrifice (i.e. the sacrifice by which a thriving condition for the cows is obtained), boiled rice-grains with milk (are offered).

11. Let him sacrifice to Agni, Pûshan, Indra, and Îsvara.

12. To the bull honour is done (by adorning it, by lavish food, &c.).

13. By the cow-sacrifice also the horse-sacrifice (i.e. the sacrifice by which thriving horses are obtained) has been explained.

14. Of deities Yama and Varuna are added here (to the deities stated above) (Sûtra 11).

15. (After the cow-sacrifice) the cows are besprinkled with scented water; the cows are besprinkled with scented water.

KÂNDIKÂ 7.

1. Now (follows) the *Sravanâ* ceremony.

2. It has to be performed on the full-moon day (of the month *Srâvana*).

3. Having besmeared (a surface) to the east of the house (with cow-dung), they carry forward (to that place) fire taken from the (sacred) domestic fire.

4. He besmears four spots to the four sides (of the fire),

5. Towards the (four) directions,

6. (To the extent) of more than one prakrama (i.e. step).

7. He puts a dish on the fire and fries (in that

15. As to the repetition of the last words of this chapter, see the notes on I, 4, 31; II, 8, 25; 10, 50.

7, 1 seq. The *Sravanâ* ceremony or the Bali-offering to the Serpents. Comp. *Khâdira-Grihya* III, 2, 1 seq., and the elaborate paper of Dr. Winternitz, *Der Sarpabali, ein altindischer Schlangencult* (Wien, 1888).

dish) one handful of barley-grains, without burning them.

8. To the west of the fire he places a mortar so that it stands firmly, and husks (the grains), separating (the husked and the unhusked grains ?).

9. After he has carefully ground them to flour, and has thrown (that) into a wooden cup (*kamasa*), and covered it with a winnowing-basket, he puts it up (in the house).

10. Between (the besmeared surface) towards the south, and that towards the east (there should be) a passage.

11. After sunset he takes the wooden cup, (the spoon called) *Darvi*, and the winnowing-basket, and goes to (the fire) which has been carried forward (*Sūtra* 3).

12. He throws the flour into the winnowing-basket and fills the wooden cup with water.

13. He takes once a quantity of flour with the *Darvi* spoon, pours out water on the besmeared place to the east (of the fire), and offers (there) a *Bali* with (the words), 'O king of Serpents, dwelling towards the east, this is thy *Bali*!' (*MB.* II, 1, 1).

14. He pours the rest of the water over (that *Bali*, taking care) that it does not carry away the *Bali*.

8. As to *avahanti*, comp. above, I, 7, 4; Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, p. 30.

11. According to the commentary *atipranīta* means the fire which has been carried forward (*Sūtra* 3). Another explanation is then added, which is based on a quotation from a '*tantrāntara*:' 'After he has established a fire, he should carry forward one fire-brand taken from that fire, in a south-eastern direction, with the Mantra *ye rūpāni pratimuḥkamānāḥ* &c.; that fire is the *atipranīta* fire.'

15. Turning round from right to left, he besprinkles the wooden cup and the Darvi spoon, warms them, and (repeats the offering of a Bali) in the same way towards the south, towards the west, and towards the north, as the Mantra (MB. II, 1, 1. 2) runs, without turning away (between the single Bali-offerings).

16. After he has thrown the remnants (of flour) out of the basket into the fire, he goes to that fire which has not been carried forward.

17. To the west of that fire he touches the earth with his two hands turned downwards, and murmurs the Mantra, 'Adoration to the Earth's'—(MB. II, 1, 3).

18. In the evening boiled rice-grains with milk (are prepared).

19. Of that (milk-rice) he should make oblations with (the formulas), 'To Sravana, to Vishnu, to Agni, to Pragâpati, to the Visve devâs Svâhâ!'

20. The rest (should be performed) according to the Sthâlpâka rite.

21. To the north of the fire he places a bunch of Darbha grass with roots, and murmurs the Mantra, 'Soma the king' (ibid. 4), and, 'The agreement which you have made' (ibid. 5).

15. Literally, 'turning round, following his left arm.' Comp. Sâṅkhâya II, 3, 2. The Mantra runs thus, 'O king of Serpents, dwelling towards the south (the west, the north), this is thy Bali!'

16. Comp. Sûtra 11 and the note.

17. Comp. below, IV, 5, 3.

20. *Grihya-samgraha* I, 114: 'Where the technical expression is used, "The rest according to the rite of the Sthâlpâkas," he should, after he has sacrificed the two Âgyabhâgas, pour (Âgya) into the Sruṅ and cut off (the Avadânas with the Sruṅ).' Comp. Gobhila I, 8, 3 seq.

22. On the following day he has flour of fried barley-grains prepared, and in a new pot, covering (it with another pot), he puts it up (in his house).

23. (Of that flour) he should silently offer Balis day by day in the evening, before the sacrifice, until the Âgrahâyanî day.

KÂNDIKÂ 8.

1. On the full-moon day of (the month) Âsvayuga, at the *Prishâtaka* ceremony, a mess of boiled rice-grains with milk, sacred to Rudra, (is prepared).

2. Of that (milk-rice) let him sacrifice, the first oblation with (the verse), 'To us, O Mitra and Varuna' (*Sâma-veda* I, 220), the second with (the verse), 'Not in our offspring' (*Rig-veda* I, 114, 8),

3. And (eight Âgya oblations) with the 'cow's names' (i.e. with the formulas), 'The lovely one art thou,' &c., with each (name) separately.

4. The rest (should be performed) according to the *Sthâltpâka* rite.

5. Having carried the *Prishâtaka* around the fire, turning his right side towards (the fire), and having caused the *Brâhmanas* to look at it (i.e. at the *Prishâtaka*), he should look at it himself with (the verse

23. The sacrifice is that prescribed in *Sûtras* 18. 19, which should, as well as the offering of Balis, be daily repeated.

8, 1 seq. The *Prishâtaka* ceremony; comp. *Khâdira-Grihya* III, 3, 1 seq. A *Prishâtaka* is a mixture of milk or of curds with Âgya; comp. *Khâd.* I. I. 3; *Grihya-samgraha* II, 59; *Sânkhâyana* IV, 16, 3 note.

3. The 'cow's names' are given in the *Grihya-samgraha* II, 60; of the nine names given there the last is omitted at the *Prishâtaka* ceremony.

4. See above, chap. 7, 20 and the note.

repeated by the Brâhmanas and by the sacrificer), 'That bright eye, created by the gods, which rises on the east—may we see it a hundred autumns; may we live a hundred autumns!'

6. After he has entertained the Brâhmanas with food and has eaten himself, (the sacrificer and his family) should tie (to their arms, necks, &c.) amulets made of lac together with all sorts of herbs, for the sake of prosperity.

7. In the evening he should feed the cows with the *Prishâtaka*, and should let the calves join them.

8. Thus (the cows) will thrive.

9. At the sacrifice of the first fruits a mess of boiled rice-grains with milk, sacred to Indra and Agni, (is prepared).

10. Having sacrificed first a Havis offering of that (milk-rice), he sacrifices over that (oblation) four Âgya oblations with (the verses), 'To him who bears a hundred weapons,' &c. (MB. II, 1, 9-12).

11. The rest (should be performed) according to the *Sthâlpâka* rite.

12. The rest of the remnants of the sacrificial food he should give to eat to all (persons present) who have received the initiation (*Upanayana*).

13. Having 'spread under' water once, he should cut off two portions of the boiled rice-grains.

14. Three (portions are cut off) by descendants of *Bhrîgu*.

15. And over (these portions) water (is poured).

16. (After the food has been prepared in this

9 seq. The sacrifice of the first fruits; comp. *Khâdira-Grîhya* III, 3, 6 seq.

11. See chap. 7, 20 and the note.

16, 20. Instead of *asamsvâdam*, *samsvâdayeran*, I read

way), he should swallow it without chewing it, with (the Mantra), 'From the good to the better' (ibid. 13).

17. In the same way three times.

18. Silently a fourth time.

19. After he has cut off a greater portion,

20. They may, if they like, chew that.

21. Having sipped water, they should touch their mouths, their heads, and their limbs from above downwards, with (the verse), 'This art thou' (ibid. 14).

22. In the same way (sacrifices of the first fruits are performed) of *Syâmâka* (*panicum frumentaceum*) and of barley.

23. (At the sacrifice) of *Syâmâka* (the Mantra with which the food is partaken of [comp. Sûtra 16], is), 'May Agni eat as the first' (ibid. 15).

24. (At the sacrifice) of barley, 'This barley, mixed with honey' (ibid. 16).

KÂNDIKÂ 9.

1. On the *Âgrahâyana* day (or the full-moon day of the month *Mârgasrsha*) Bali-offerings (are made).

2. They have been explained by the *Srâvana* sacrifice.

3. He does not murmur (here) the Mantra, 'Adoration to the Earth's.'

asamkhâdam, *samkhâdayeran*. Comp. *Khâdira-Grîhya* III, 3, 13: *asamkhâdya* *pragiret*, and the quotations in Böhrling-Roth's Dictionary s. v. *sam-khâd* and *â-svad*.

9, 1 seq. The *Âgrahâyana* ceremony by which the rites devoted to the Serpents are concluded. *Khâdira-Grîhya* III, 3, 16 seq.

2. See above, chap. 7.

3. Comp. chap. 7, 17: To the west of that fire he touches the

4. In the morning, after he has sacrificed the (regular) morning oblation, he should have the following (plants and branches of trees) fetched, viz. Darbha grass, a Samt (branch), Vriṇa grass, a (Badari branch) with fruits, Apâmârga, and Sirtsha. He then should silently throw (a portion) of flour of fried barley into the fire, should cause the Brâhmanas to pronounce auspicious wishes, and should circumambulate the house, turning his right side towards it, starting from the room for the (sacred) fire, striking the smoke (of the sacred fire) with those objects (i. e. with the plants and branches mentioned above).

5. He should throw away those objects, after he has made use of them.

6. On solid stones he places a water-barrel with the two (Sâmans belonging to the verse), 'Vâstosh-pati' (Sâma-veda I, 275) and with (that) *Rik* (itself).

7. Let him pour two pots of water into that barrel with this verse, 'Some assemble' (Sâma-veda-Âranyakâ, vol. ii, p. 292, ed. Bibl. Indica).

8. In the evening boiled rice-grains with milk (are prepared).

9. Of that (milk-rice) he should make an oblation with (the Mantra), 'She shone forth as the first' (MB. II, 2, 1).

10. The rest (should be performed) according to the Sthâlpâka rite.

earth with his two hands turned downwards, and murmurs the Mantra, 'Adoration to the Earth's.'

6. He sings the two Kâvasha Sâmans of which the verse Sâma-veda I, 275 is considered as the Yoni, and then repeats that verse itself.

8. This Sûtra is identical with chap. 7, 18.

10. Comp. chap. 7, 20 note.

11. To the west of the fire he touches the Barhis with his two hands turned downwards, and murmurs the Vyâhr̥itis (i. e. the solemn utterances), 'In the Kshatra I establish myself' (ibid. 2. 3).

12. To the west of the fire he should have a layer spread out,

13. Of northward-pointed grass,

14. Inclined towards the north.

15. After they have spread out on that (grass) new rugs, the householder sits down (thereon) on the southern side.

16. Then without an interval the others according to their age,

17. And without an interval their wives, each with her children.

18. When they are seated, the householder touches the layer (of grass) with his two hands turned downwards, and murmurs the verse, 'Be soft to us, O Earth' (ibid. 4).

19. When he has finished that (verse), they lie down on their right sides.

20. In the same way (they lie down on their right sides) three times, turning themselves towards themselves (i. e. turning round forwards, not backwards, and thus returning to their former position?).

21. They repeat the auspicious hymns as far as they know them;

22. The complex of Sâmans called Arish̥ta, according to some (teachers).

20. The explanation which the commentary gives of this difficult Sûtra can hardly be accepted: trir âvṛitya tri/kr̥ito-bhyasya . . . abhyâtmanam âtmano gr̥ihapater âbhimukhyena, âtmana ârabhyety arthaḥ. katham nâma? yenaiva kramenopavishṭhâ tenaiva kramena samvesanam trir âvartāyeyuḥ.

22. The commentary gives a second name for this Sâman

23. Having touched water, they may do whatever they like.

KÂNDIKÂ 10.

1. The Ashṭakâ (is a festival) sacred to the night.

2. It procures prosperity.

3. It is sacred to Agni, or to the Manes, or to Pragâpati, or to the Seasons, or to the Visve devâs—thus the deity (to which the Ashṭakâ is sacred), is investigated (by different teachers).

4. There are four Ashṭakâs in (the four months of) the winter ;

5. These all he should endeavour to celebrate with (offerings of) meat ;

6. Thus says Kautsa.

7. (There are only) three Ashṭakâs (in the winter), says Audgâhamâni,

8. And so say (also) Gautama and Vârkakhandi.

9. The eighth day of the dark fortnight after the Âgrahâyana is called Apûpâshṭakâ (i. e. Ashṭakâ of the cakes).

10. Having prepared grains in the way prescribed

litany, arishabhaṅga. Nârâyana says: abodhy agnir (Sv. I, 73) mahi trîṇâm (I, 192) iti dve tvâvata (I, 193) ityâdikam sarvaloka-prasiddham prayugya.

10, 1 seq. The Ashṭakâ festivals; Khâdira-Grîhya III, 3, 28. Comp. Sâṅkhâyana-Grîhya III, 12, 1 note (S. B. E. XXIX, 102).

4, 7. As to the difference of opinion regarding the number of Ashṭakâs, comp. Weber, Naxatra, second article, p. 337. Gobhila himself follows the opinion of Audgâhamâni, for he mentions only three Ashṭakâs in the winter season, the first following after the Âgrahâyana full moon (chap. 10, 9), the second after the Taishî (10, 18), and the third after the Mâghî (IV, 4, 17).

10. See above, I, 7, 2 seq.

for Sthâlpâkas, he cooks (those grains and prepares thus) a *kāru*.

11. And (besides he prepares) eight cakes, without turning them over in the dish (in which he bakes them);

12. (Each) in one dish;

13. Without Mantras, according to Audgâhamâni;

14. Of the size of the (cakes) sacred to Tryambaka.

15. After he has baked them, he should pour (Âgya) on them, should take them from the fire towards the north, and should pour (Âgya) on them again.

16. In the way prescribed for Sthâlpâkas he cuts off (the prescribed portions) from the mess of boiled grains and from the cakes, and sacrifices with (the words), 'To the Ashṭakâ Svâhâ!'

17. The rest (should be performed) according to the Sthâlpâka rite.

18. (At the second Ashṭakâ, on) the eighth day after the full-moon day of Taisha, a cow (is sacrificed).

19. Shortly before the time of junction (of day and night, i. e. before the morning twilight) he should place that (cow) to the east of the fire, and when (that time) has come, he should sacrifice (Âgya) with

11. *Grhya-samgraha* II, 71 : *prithakapâlân kurvîta apûpân ashṭakâvidhau*.

14. Regarding the Traiyambaka cakes, comp. *Kâtyâyana Srauta-sûtra* V, 10, 1 seq.; *Vaitâna-sûtra* IX, 18, &c.

16. See above, I, 8, 5 seq.

17. Comp. chap. 7, 20 note.

18. With the following paragraphs the *Srauta* rites of the animal sacrifice should be compared; see J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer* (Erlangen, 1886).

(the verse), 'What, O beasts, you think' (MB. II, 2, 5).

20. And after having sacrificed, he should recite over (the cow the verse), 'May thy mother give leave to thee' (ibid. 6).

21. Let him sprinkle (the cow) with water in which barley is, with (the words), 'Agreeable to the Ashṭakâ I sprinkle thee.'

22. Let him carry a fire-brand round it with (the verse), 'The lord of goods, the sage (goes) round' (Sâma-veda I, 30).

23. Let him give it water to drink.

24. The remainder of what it has drunk he should pour out under (the feet of) the beast with (the formula), 'Away from the gods the Havis has been taken' (MB. II, 2, 7).

25. They then walk in a northerly direction (from the fire) and kill (the cow),

26. The head of which is turned to the east, the feet to the north, if the rite is sacred to the gods,

27. The head to the south, the feet to the west, if the rite is sacred to the Manes.

28. After it has been killed, he should sacrifice (Āgrya) with (the verse), 'If the beast has lowed' (ibid. 8).

29. And (the sacrificer's) wife should get water and should wash all the apertures of the cow's body.

30. They lay two purifiers (i. e. grass-blades) on (the cow's body) near its navel, cut it up in the direction of its hairs, and draw the omentum out.

31. He should spit it on two pieces of wood, on one (simple) branch and on another forked branch, should besprinkle it (with water), and should roast it.

32. When it has ceased to drop, he should say,
'Hew the (cow) to pieces—

33. 'So that the blood does not stain the ground
to the east of the fire.'

34. After he has roasted (the omentum), he should
pour (Āgya) on it, should take it from the fire
towards the north, and should pour (Āgya) on it
again.

35. After he has cut off (the prescribed portions
from) the omentum in the way prescribed for Sthāl-
pākas, or in the way prescribed for the Svishṭakṛit
(oblation), he sacrifices with (the words), 'To the
Ashṭakā Svāhā!'

36. The rest (should be performed) according to
the Sthālīpāka rite. The rest according to the
Sthālīpāka rite.

End of the Third Prapāthaka.

32. In the text we ought to read *visasata*, as Dr. Knauer has
observed.

35. The regulations concerning the *Avadānas* are given for
Sthālīpākas, I, 8, 5 seq., and for the Svishṭakṛit oblation, I, 8,
11 seq.

36. Comp. III, 7, 20 note.

PRAPÂTHAKA IV, KÂNDIKÂ 1.

1. He throws the two spits into the fire ;
2. That which consists of one (simple) branch, towards the east, the other one towards the west.
3. They cut off the Avadâna portions from all its limbs,
4. With the exception of the left thigh and the lungs.
5. The left thigh he should keep for the Anvash-
takyâ ceremony.
6. On the same fire he cooks one mess of rice-
grains and one of meat, stirring up the one and the
other separately, from left to right, with two pot-
ladles.
7. After he has cooked them, he should pour
(Âgya) on them, should take them from the fire
towards the north, and should pour (Âgya) on them
again.
8. Having poured the juice (of the Avadânas) into
a brazen vessel,
9. And having placed the Avadânas on a layer (of
grass) on which branches of the Plaksha (tree) have
been spread,
10. He cuts off (the prescribed portions) from the

1, 1. Comp. III, 10, 31.

3. Comp. Âsvalâyana-*Grihya* I, 11, 12 ; Khâdira-*Grihya* III, 4,
14 seq.

6. 'He cooks a mess of meat'—i.e. he cooks the Avadânas.
Comp. Khâdira-*Grihya*, l. l. 17 ; Âsv.-*Grihya* I, 11, 12.

10. See I, 8, 5 seq.

Avadânas in the way prescribed for Sthâlpâkas, (and puts those portions) into (another) brazen vessel ;

11. And (the portion) for the Svishṭakṛit oblation separately.

12. Taking of the mess of boiled rice-grains (Sûtra 6) a portion of the size of a Bilva fruit, he should mix that, together with the Avadânas (Sûtra 10), with the juice (Sûtra 8).

13. Taking a fourfold portion of Âgya he should sacrifice it with the first of the eight *Rikas*, ' Entering into fire, the fire ' (MB. II, 2, 9-16).

14. Of the mixture (Sûtra 12) he cuts off the third part and sacrifices it with the second and third (verse).

15. He places the word Svâhâ after the second (of those verses, i.e. after the third verse of the whole Mantra).

16. In the same way he sacrifices the other two-thirds (of that mixture, the one) with the fourth and fifth (verse), and (the other) with the sixth and seventh (verse).

17. Having cut off the rest, he should sacrifice the oblation to (Agni) Svishṭakṛit with the eighth (verse).

18. Even if he be very deficient in wealth, he should celebrate (the Ashṭakâ) with (the sacrifice of) an animal.

19. Or he should sacrifice a Sthâlpâka.

20. Or he should offer food to a cow.

20 seq. Regarding these Sûtras, which occur nearly identically in Sâṅkhâya III, 14, 4 seq., Âsvalâyana II, 4, 8-11, comp. the note, vol. xxix, p. 105.

21. Or he should burn down brushwood in the forest and should say, 'This is my Ashṭakā.'

22. But let him not neglect to do (one of these things). But let him not neglect to do (one of these things).

KĀNDIKĀ 2.

1. On the following day the Anvashṭakya (ceremony is performed),

2. Or on the day which follows after that.

3. To the south-east (of the house), in the intermediate direction (between south and east), they partition off (a place with mats or the like).

4. The long-side (of that place should lie) in the same (direction).

5. They should perform (the ceremonies) turning their faces towards the same (direction).

6. (It should measure) at least four prakramas (i.e. steps).

7. (It should have) its entrance from the west.

8. In the northern part of that enclosure they make the Lakṣhaṇa and carry the fire (to that place).

9. To the west of the fire he places a mortar so that it stands firmly, and husks, holding his left hand uppermost, one handful of rice-grains which he has seized with one grasp.

21. I believe that we ought to correct upadhāya into upadahya. Sāṅkhāyana III, 14, 5: *api vāranye kaksham apādahet*. Āśvalāyana II, 4, 9: *agninā vā kaksham upośhet*.

2, 1 seq. The Anvashṭakya ceremony; comp. Khādīra-Gr̥ihya III, 5, 1 seq.

8. 'They make the Lakṣhaṇa' means, they prepare the ground on which the fire shall be established, by drawing the five lines. See above, I, 1, 9. 10; Gr̥ihya-saṃgraha I, 47 seq.

10. When (the rice) has been husked,
11. He should once carefully remove the husks.
12. And then he should cut off a lump of flesh from that thigh and should cut it in small pieces on a new slaughtering-bench,
13. (With the intention) that the *Pindās* (or lumps of food offered to the Manes) should be thoroughly mixed up with flesh.
14. On the same fire he cooks one mess of rice-grains and one of meat, stirring up the one and the other separately, from right to left, with the two pot-ladles.
15. After he has cooked them, he should pour (*Āgya*) on them, should take them from the fire towards the south, and should not pour (*Āgya*) on them again.
16. In the southern part of the enclosure (*Sūtras* 3 seq.) he should have three pits dug, so that the eastern (pit is dug) first,
17. One span in length, four inches in breadth and in depth.
18. Having made the *Lakṣhaṇa* to the east of the eastern pit, they carry the fire (to that place).
19. Having carried the fire round the pits on their west side, he should put it down on the *Lakṣhaṇa*.
20. He strews (round the fire) one handful of *Darbha* grass which he has cut off in one portion.

12. As to the words 'from that thigh,' comp. above, chap. 1, 5.

14. Comp. chap. 1, 6. The sacrificial food is stirred up here from right to left, not from left to right, because it is sacred to the Manes. The mess of meat consists of the meat treated of in *Sūtra* 11.

15. Comp. above, chap. 1, 7.

18, 19. As to *lakṣhaṇa*, comp. *Sūtra* 8 note.

21. And (he strews it into) the pits,
22. Beginning with the eastern (pit).
23. To the west of the pits he should have a layer spread out,
24. Of southward-pointed Kusa grass,
25. Inclined towards the south.
26. And he should put a mat on it.
27. To that (layer of grass) they fetch for him (the following sacrificial implements), one by one, from right to left :
28. The two pots in which sacrificial food has been cooked (Sûtra 14), the two pot-ladles (Sûtra 14), one brazen vessel, one Darvî (spoon), and water.
29. (The sacrificer's) wife places a stone on the Barhis and pounds (on that stone the fragrant substance called) Sthagara.
30. And on the same (stone) she grinds some collyrium, and anoints therewith three Darbha blades, including the interstices (between the single blades?).
31. He should also get some oil made from sesamum seeds,
32. And a piece of linen tape.
33. After he has invited an odd number of blameless Brâhmanas, whose faces should be turned towards the north, to sit down on a pure spot,

27. The last words of the Sûtra, translated literally, would be : 'following the left arm.' Comp. Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Grihya II, 3, 2. They place the different objects aprâdakshinyena.

29. See chap. 3, 16.

30. See chap. 3, 13.

31. See chap. 3, 15.

32. See chap. 3, 24.

33. As to the two classes of *paitrika* and *daivika* Brâhmanas, comp. the note on Sâṅkhâyaṇa IV, 1, 2.

34. And has given them Darbha grass (in order that they may sit down thereon),

35. He gives them (pure) water and afterwards sesamum-water, pronouncing his father's name, 'N. N.!' To thee this sesamum-water, and to those who follow thee here, and to those whom thou followest. To thee Svadhâ !'

36. After he has touched water, (he does) the same for the other two.

37. In the same way (he gives them) perfumes.

38. The words in which he addresses (the Brâhmanas) when going to sacrifice, are, 'I shall offer it into the fire.'

39. After they have replied, 'Offer it,' he should cut off (the prescribed portions) from the two messes of cooked food (Sûtra 14), (and should put those portions) into the brazen vessel. He then should sacrifice, picking out (portions of the Havis) with the pot-ladle, the first (oblation) with (the words), 'Svâhâ to Soma Pitrimat,' the second with (the words), 'Svâhâ to Agni Kavyavâhana' (MB. II, 3, 1. 2).

34. Comp. the note, p. 932 of the edition of Gobhila in the Bibliotheca Indica.

35. Regarding the sesamum-water (i. e. water into which sesamum seeds have been thrown), comp. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya IV, 7, 11.

36. He repeats the same ceremony, pronouncing his grandfather's, instead of his father's, name; then he repeats it for his great-grandfather.

37. He gives perfumes to the Brâhmanas, addressing first his father, then his grandfather and his great-grandfather.

38, 39. Comp. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya IV, 7, 18 seq. Regarding the term *upaghâtamguhuyât*, comp. Grîhya-samgraha I, 111 seq. and Professor Bloomfield's note. Regarding the oblation made to Agni Kavyavâhana, comp. Âpastamba VIII, 15, 20 : *Agnim Kavyavâhanam Svishakṛīdarthe yagati*.

KÂNDIKÂ 3.

1. From now onwards he has to perform (the rites) wearing his sacrificial cord over his right shoulder and keeping silence.

2. With his left hand he should seize a Darbha blade and should (therewith) draw (in the middle of the three pits) a line from north to south, with (the formula), 'The Asuras have been driven away' (MB. II, 3, 3).

3. Seizing, again with his left hand, a fire-brand, he should place it on the south side of the pits with (the verse), 'They who assuming (manifold) shapes' (ibid. 4).

4. He then calls the Fathers (to his sacrifice) with (the verse), 'Come hither, ye Fathers, who have drunk Soma' (ibid. 5).

5. He then should place pâtra vessels of water near the pits.

6. Seizing, again with his left hand, (the first) vessel, he should pour it out from right to left on the Darbha grass in the eastern pit, pronouncing his father's name, 'N. N.! Wash thyself, and (may) those who follow thee here, and those whom thou followest, (wash themselves). To thee Svadhâ!'

7. After he has touched water, (he does) the same for the other two.

8. Seizing, again with his left hand, the Darvî spoon, he should cut off one-third of the mixture (of

3, 1. Comp. I, 2, 3 seq.

2. Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra IV, 1, 8.

3. Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra IV, 1, 9.

6. Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra IV, 1, 10.

7. See chap. 2, 36.

the different kinds of sacrificial food) and should put down (that *Pinda*), from right to left, on the Darbha grass in the eastern pit, pronouncing his father's name, 'N. N.! This *Pinda* is thine, and of those who follow thee here, and of those whom thou followest. To thee Svadhâ!'

9. After he has touched water, (he does) the same for the other two.

10. If he does not know their names, he should put down the first *Pinda* with (the formula), 'Svadhâ to the Fathers dwelling on the earth,' the second with (the formula), 'Svadhâ to the Fathers dwelling in the air,' the third with (the formula), 'Svadhâ to the Fathers dwelling in heaven.'

11. After he has put down (the three *Pindas*), he murmurs, 'Here, O Fathers, enjoy yourselves; show your manly vigour each for his part' (MB. II, 3, 6).

12. He should turn away, (should hold his breath,) and turning back before he emits his breath, he should murmur, 'The Fathers have enjoyed themselves; they have shown their manly vigour each for his part' (ibid. 7).

13. Seizing, again with his left hand, a Darbha blade (anointed with collyrium; chap. 2, 30), he should put it down, from right to left, on the *Pinda* in the eastern pit, pronouncing his father's name, 'N. N.! This collyrium is thine, and is that of those who follow thee here, and of those whom thou followest. To thee Svadhâ!'

14. After he has touched water, (he does) the same for the other two.

15. In the same way (he offers) the oil (to the fathers);

9, 14. See chap. 2, 36.

15. See chap. 2, 31.

16. In the same way the perfume.

17. Then he performs the deprecation (in the following way) :

18. On the eastern pit he lays his hands, turning the inside of the right hand upwards, with (the formula), 'Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of life! Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of vital breath!' (MB. II, 3, 8);

19. On the middle (pit), turning the inside of the left hand upwards, with (the formula), 'Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of terror! Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of sap!' (MB., loc. cit.);

20. On the last (pit), turning the inside of the right hand upwards, with (the formula), 'Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of comfort! Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of wrath!' (MB. II, 3, 9).

21. Then joining his hands he murmurs, 'Adoration to you, O Fathers! O Fathers! Adoration to you!' (MB., loc. cit.).

22. He looks at his house with (the words), 'Give us a house, O Fathers!' (MB. II, 3, 10).

23. He looks at the *Pind*as with (the words), 'May we give you an abode, O Fathers!' (MB. II, 3, 11).

24. Seizing, again with his left hand, the linen thread, he should put it down, from right to left, on the *Pinda* in the eastern pit, pronouncing his father's

16. See chap. 2, 29.

18 seq. Comp. Vâg. Samhitâ II, 32.

23. The Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ (loc. cit.) has the reading, *sato vaḥ pitaro deshma*, 'May we give you, O Fathers, of what we possess!'

24. Comp. chap. 2, 32.

name, 'N. N.! This garment is thine, and is that of those who follow thee here, and of those whom thou followest. To thee Svadhâ!' (MB. II, 3, 12).

25. After he has touched water, (he does) the same for the other two.

26. Seizing, again with his left hand, the vessel of water (Sûtra 5), he should sprinkle (water) round the *Pindas* from right to left, with (the verse), 'Bringing sap' (MB. II, 3, 13).

27. The middle *Pinda* (offered to the grandfather) the wife (of the sacrificer) should eat, if she is desirous of a son, with (the verse), 'Give fruit to the womb, O Fathers' (MB. II, 3, 14).

28. Or of those *Brâhmanas* (that person) who receives the remnants (of the sacrificial food, should eat that *Pinda*).

29. Having besprinkled (and thus extinguished) the fire-brand (Sûtra 3) with water, with (the verse), 'Gâtavedas has been our messenger for what we have offered' (MB. II, 3, 15)—

30. (The sacrificer) should besprinkle the sacrificial vessels, and should have them taken back, two by two.

31. The *Pindas* he should throw into water,

32. Or into the fire which has been carried forward (to the east side of the pits, chap. 2, 18),

33. Or he should give them to a *Brâhmaṇa* to eat,

34. Or he should give them to a cow.

35. On the occasion of a lucky event (such as the birth of a son, &c.) or of a meritorious work (such as the dedication of a pond or of a garden) he should give food to an even number (of *Brâhmanas*).

25. See chap. 2, 36.

35. Comp. *Sāṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya* IV, 4.

36. The rite (is performed) from left to right.
 37. Barley is used instead of sesamum.

KĀNDIKĀ 4.

1. By (the description of) the Sthālīpāka offered at the Anvashṭakya ceremony the Pindapitriyagñā has been declared ;
2. This is a Srāddha offered on the day of the new moon.
3. Another (Srāddha) is the Anvāhārya.
4. (It is performed) monthly.
5. The Havis is prepared (by one who has set up the sacred Srauta fires) in the Dakshināgni (i.e. in that of the three fires which is situated towards the south).
6. And from the same (fire the fire is taken which)

36, 37. Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hya IV, 4, 6. 9. Regarding the use of sesamum seeds, see above, chap. 2, 35.

4, 1. Khādīra-Gr̥hya III, 5, 35. Comp. M. M., 'India, what can it teach us?' p. 240. The word Sthālīpāka is used here, as is observed in the commentary, in order to exclude the mess of meat (chap. 2, 14) from the rites of the Pindapitriyagñā.

3. Anvāhārya literally means, what is offered (or given) after something else, supplementary. In the commentary on Gobhila, p. 666, a verse is quoted :

amāvāsyām dvitīyam yad anvāhāryam tad ukṛyate,

'The second (Srāddha) which is performed on the day of the new moon, that is called anvāhārya.' First comes the Pindapitriyagñā, and then follows the Anvāhārya Srāddha ; the last is identical with the Pārvana Srāddha, which is described as the chief form of Srāddha ceremonies, for instance in Sāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hya IV, 1. Comp. Manu III, 122. 123, and Kullūka's note ; M. M., 'India, what can it teach us?' p. 240.

5. According to the commentary this and the following Sūtras refer only to the Pindapitriyagñā, not to the Anvāhārya Srāddha. Comp. Khādīra-Gr̥hya III, 5, 36-39.

is carried forward (in order to be used at the ceremonies).

7. In the domestic fire (the Havis is prepared) by one who has not set up the (Srauta) fires.

8. One pit (only is made);

9. To the south of it the fire has its place.

10. Here the laying down of the fire-brand is omitted,

11. And (the spreading out of) the layer (of grass),

12. And the anointing (of the bunches of Darbha grass), and the anointing (of the Fathers),

13. And the (offering of) perfume,

14. And the ceremony of deprecation.

15. (The ceremony performed with) the vessel of water forms the conclusion (of the Pindapitriyagña).

16. He should, however, put down one garment (for the Fathers in common).

17. On the eighth day after the full moon of Māgha a Sthālīpāka (is prepared).

18. He should sacrifice of that (Sthālīpāka).

19. 'To the Ashṭakā Svāhā!'—with (these words) he sacrifices.

20. The rest (should be performed) according to the Sthālīpāka rite.

21. Vegetables (are taken instead of meat) as ingredient to the Anvāhārya (-rice).

22. At animal sacrifices offered to the Fathers let

9. See chap. 2, 18.

11. Chap. 2, 23.

13. Chap. 3, 16.

15. Chap. 3, 26.

17-21. Description of the third Ashṭakā festival.

20. Comp. above, III, 7, 20 note.

21. Comp. IV, 1, 12.

10. See chap. 3, 3.

12. Chap. 2, 30; 3, 13.

14. Chap. 3, 17 seq.

16. Comp. chap. 3, 24, 25.

him sacrifice the omentum with (the verse), 'Carry the omentum, O Gâtavedas, to the Fathers' (MB. II, 3, 16);

23. At (such sacrifices) offered to the gods, with (the verse), 'Gâtavedas, go to the gods with the omentum' (ibid. 17).

24. If no (god to whom the sacrifice should be offered, and no Mantra with which the oblation should be made) is known, he sacrifices, assigning (his offering to the personified rite which he is performing), thus as (for instance), 'To the Ashvakâ Svâhâ!'

25. The rest (should be performed) according to the Sthâlpâka rite.

26. If a debt turns up (which he cannot pay), he should sacrifice with the middle leaf of Golakas, with (the verse), 'The debt which' (MB. II, 3, 18).

27. Now (follows) the putting into motion of the plough.

28. Under an auspicious Nakshatra he should cook a mess of sacrificial food and should sacrifice to the following deities, namely, to Indra, to the Maruts, to Parganya, to Asani, to Bhaga.

29. And he should offer (Âgya) to Sîtâ, Âsâ, Aradâ, Anaghâ.

30. The same deities (receive offerings) at the

25. See III, 7, 20 note.

26. I am not sure about the translation of the words golakânâṁ madhyamaparṇena. The ordinary meaning of golaka is 'ball,' see, for instance, Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gṛhya IV, 19, 4. The commentary says, golakânâṁ palâsâṇaṁ madhyamaparṇena madhyamakkhadena.

29. The name of the third of those rural deities is spelt differently; Dr. Knauer gives the readings, Aradâm, Ara/hâm, Aragam, Ararâm, Aram.

furrow-sacrifice, at the thrashing-floor-sacrifice, at the sowing, at the reaping of the crop, and at the putting of the crop into the barn.

31. And at mole hills he should sacrifice to the king of moles.

32. To *Indrāṇī* a *Sthâlpâka* (is prepared).

33. Of that he should make an offering with (the verse), 'The *Ekâshakâ*, performing austerities' (MB. II, 3, 19).

34. The rest (should be performed) according to the *Sthâlpâka* ritual. The rest according to the *Sthâlpâka* ritual.

KÂNDIKÂ 5.

1. At (the sacrifices) for the obtainment of special wishes, which will be henceforth described,

2. And, according to some (teachers), also at (the sacrifices) described above (the following rites should be performed).

3. He should touch the earth, to the west of the fire, with his two hands turned downwards, with (the verse), 'We partake of the earth's' (MB. II, 4, 1).

32-34. *Khâdira-Grhya* III, 5, 40. I understand that this sacrifice stands in connection with the rural festivals which are treated of in the preceding *Sûtras*. In the commentary, from the Mantra the conclusion is drawn that the ceremony in question belongs to the day of the *Ekâshakâ*. But the *Ekâshakâ* is the *Ashakâ* of the dark fortnight of *Mâgha* (see S. B. E. XXIX, 102), and the description of the rites belonging to that day has already been given above, *Sûtras* 17-21. It very frequently occurs in the *Grhya* ritual that Mantras are used at sacrifices standing in no connection with those for which they have originally been composed.

5, 1 seq. Comp. *Khâdira-Grhya* I, 2, 6 seq.

4. In the night-time (he pronounces that Mantra so that it ends with the word) 'goods' (vasu), in the day-time (so that it ends) with 'wealth' (dhanam).

5. With the three verses, 'This praise' (MB. II, 4, 2-4) he should wipe along (with his hands) around (the fire).

6. Before sacrifices the Virûpâksha formula (MB. II, 4, 6) (should be recited).

7. And at (ceremonies) which are connected with special wishes, the Prapada formula (MB. II, 4, 5)—(in the following way) :

8. He should murmur (the Prapada formula), 'Austerities and splendour,' should perform one suppression of breath, and should, fixing his thoughts on the object (of his wish), emit his breath, when beginning the Virûpâksha formula.

9. When undertaking ceremonies for the obtainment of special wishes, let him fast during three (days and) nights,

10. Or (let him omit) three meals.

6-8. Khâdira-Grîhya I, 2, 23 ; Grîhya-samgraha I, 96. It is stated that the recitation of the Virûpâksha and Prapada formulas and also the parisamûhana (Sûtra 5) should be omitted at the so-called Kshiprahomas, i.e. at sacrifices performed without the assistance of a *yagñavid*. See Bloomfield's notes on Grîhya-samgraha I, 92. 96. Regarding the way in which a *prânâyâma* ('suppression of breath') is performed, comp. Vasishṭha XXV, 13 (S. B. E. XIV, p. 126).

9 seq. Khâdira-Grîhya IV, 1, 1 seq.

10. There are two meals a day. The words of this Sûtra, 'Or three meals,' are explained in the commentary in the following way. He should, if he does not entirely abstain from food through three days, take only three meals during that time, i.e. he should take one meal a day. The commentator adds that some read *abhaktâni* instead of *bhaktâni* ('or he should omit three meals'), in which case the result would be the same. I prefer the reading

11. At such ceremonies, however, as are repeated regularly, (let him do so only) before their first performance.

12. He should (simply) fast, however, before such ceremonies as are performed on sacrificial days (i. e. on the first day of the fortnight).

13. (At a ceremony) which ought to be performed immediately (after the occurrence by which it has been caused), the consecration follows after (the ceremony itself).

14. Let him recite the Prapada formula (Sûtras 7. 8), sitting in the forest on Darbha grass,

15. Of which the panicles are turned towards the east, if he is desirous of holy lustre,

16. To the north, if desirous of sons and of cattle,

17. To both directions, if desirous of both.

18. One who desires that his stock of cattle may increase, should offer a sacrifice of rice and barley

bhaktâni, and propose to supply, not, 'he should eat,' but 'he should omit' ('abhoganam,' Sûtra 9). Possibly the meaning is that three successive meals should be omitted; thus also the compiler of the Khâdira-Grîhya seems to have understood this Sûtra.

11. Comp., for instance, below, chap. 6, 1.

12. Comp. below, chaps. 6, 4; 8, 23.

13. My translation of this Sûtra differs from the commentary. There it is said: 'An occurrence which is perceived only when it has happened (sannipatitam eva), and of which the cause by which it is produced is unknown, for instance the appearance of a halo, is called sannipâtika. Such sannipâtika ceremonies are uparishâddaiksha. The dîkshâ is the preparatory consecration (of the sacrificer), for instance by three days of fasting. A ceremony which has its dîkshâ after itself is called uparishâddaiksha.' Similarly the commentary on Khâdira-Grîhya IV, 1, 3 says, 'uparishât sannipâtike naimittike karma kṛtvâbhoganam.'

with (the verse), 'He who has a thousand arms, the protector of cow-keepers' (MB. II, 4, 7).

19. Having murmured the Kautomata verse (ibid. 8) over fruits of a big tree, he should give them—

20. To a person whose favour he wishes to gain.

21. One (fruit) more (than he gives to that person), an even number (of fruits), he should keep himself.

22. There are the five verses, 'Like a tree' (MB. II, 4, 9-13).

23. With these firstly a ceremony (is performed) for (obtaining property on) the earth.

24. He should fast one fortnight,

25. Or, if he is not able (to do so, he may drink) once a day rice-water,

26. In which he can see his image.

27. This observance (forms part) of (all) fortnightly observances.

28. He then should in the full-moon night plunge up to his navel into a pool which does not dry up, and should sacrifice at the end of (each of those five) verses fried grains with his mouth into the water, with the word Svâhâ.

29. Now (follows) another (ceremony with the same five verses).

30. With the first (verse) one who is desirous of the enjoyment (of riches), should worship the sun, within sight of (that) person rich in wealth (from

23. The commentary explains *pârthivam*, '*pr̥thivīyartham kriyate, iti pârthivam, grāmakshetrādyartham*;' similarly the commentary on *Khādīra-Gṛīhya* IV, 1, 13 says, '*pr̥thivīpatitvaprāptīyartham idam uktam karma*.'

27. Comp. below, chap. 6, 12.

28. *Gṛīhya-saṃgraha* II, 11.

whom he hopes to obtain wealth); then he will obtain wealth.

31. With the second (verse) one who desires that his stock of horses and elephants may increase, should sacrifice fried grains, while the sun has a halo.

32. With the third (verse) one who desires that his flocks may increase, (should sacrifice) sesamum seeds, while the moon (has a halo).

33. Having worshipped the sun with the fourth (verse), let him acquire wealth; then he will come back safe and wealthy.

34. Having worshipped the sun with the fifth (verse) let him return to his house. He will safely return home; he will safely return home.

KÂNDIKÂ 6.

1. Let him daily repeat (the formula), 'Bhûh!' (MB. II, 4, 14) in order to avert involuntary death.

2. (He who does so) has nothing to fear from serious diseases or from sorcery.

3. (The ceremony for) driving away misfortune (is as follows).

4. It is performed on the sacrificial day (i. e. on the first day of the fortnight).

5. (Oblations are made with the six verses), 'From the head' (MB. II, 5, 1 seq.), verse by verse.

6. The seventh (verse is), 'She who athwart' (MB. I, 5, 6).

7. (Then follow) the verses of the Vâmadevya,

6, 1 seq. Comp. Khâdîra-Grîhya IV, 1, 19 seq.

4. Comp. above, chap. 5, 12.

6. Comp. above, II, 7, 14.

7. The text belonging to the Vâmadevya Sâman, is the *Trika*, Sâma-veda II, 32-34.

8. (And) the Mahâvyâhritis.

9. The last (verse) is, 'Pragâpati' (MB. II, 5, 8).

10. With the formula, 'I am glory' (MB. II, 5, 9) one who is desirous of glory should worship the sun in the forenoon, at noon, and in the afternoon,

11. Changing (the words), 'of the forenoon' (into 'of the noon,' and 'of the afternoon,' accordingly).

12. Worshipping (the sun) at the time of the morning twilight and of the evening twilight procures happiness, (both times) with (the formula), 'O sun! the ship' (MB. II, 5, 14), and (after that) in the morning with (the formula), 'When thou risest, O sun, I shall rise with thee' (ibid. 15); in the evening with (the formula), 'When thou goest to rest, O sun, I shall go to rest with thee' (ibid. 16).

13. One who desires to gain a hundred cart-loads (of gold), should keep the vow (of fasting) through one fortnight and should on the first day of a dark fortnight feed the Brâhmaṇas with boiled milk-rice prepared of one Kâṁsa of rice.

14. At the evening twilight (of every day of that fortnight), having left the village in a westerly direction, and having put wood on the fire at a place where

10. According to the commentary the formula *ya so -ham bha-vâmi* comprises five sections; thus it would include the sections II, 5, 9-13 of the Mantra-Brâhmaṇa. The Mantra quoted next by Gobhila (Sûtra 12) is really MB. II, 5, 14.

13. Comp. chap. 5, 24-27. One Kâṁsa is stated to be a measure equal to one Drona. The more usual spelling is *kaṁsa*, and this reading is found in the corresponding passage of the Khâdira-Grihya (IV, 2, 1).

14. As to the meaning of *kana* ('small grain of rice'), comp. Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 32, note 1.

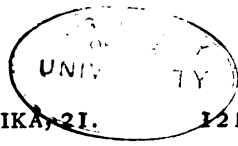
four roads meet, he should sacrifice the small grains (of that rice), turning his face towards the sun, with (the words), 'To Bhala Svâhâ ! To Bhala Svâhâ !' (ibid. 17. 18).

15. (He should repeat those rites) in the same way the two next dark fortnights.

16. During the time between those dark fortnights he should observe chastity till the end (of the rite), till the end (of the rite).

KÂNDIKÂ 7.

1. Let him select the site for building his house—
2. On even ground, which is covered with grass, which cannot be destroyed (by inundations, &c.),
3. On which the waters flow off to the east or to the north,
4. On which plants grow which have no milky juice or thorns, and which are not acrid.
5. The earth should be white, if he is a Brâhmaṇa,
6. Red, if he is a Kshatriya,
7. Black, if he is a Vaisya.
8. (The soil should be) compact, one-coloured, not dry, not salinous, not surrounded by sandy desert, not swampy.
9. (Soil) on which Darbha grass grows, (should be chosen) by one who is desirous of holy lustre,
10. (Soil covered) with big sorts of grass, by one who is desirous of strength,
11. (Soil covered) with tender grass, by one who is desirous of cattle.



12. (The site of the house) should have the form of a brick,
13. Or it should have the form of a round island.
14. Or there should be natural holes (in the ground) in all directions.
15. On such (ground) one who is desirous of fame or strength, should build his house with its door to the east ;
16. One who is desirous of children or of cattle, (should build it) with its door to the north ;
17. One who is desirous of all (those things), (should build it) with its door to the south.
18. Let him not build it with its door to the west.
19. And a back-door.
20. The house-door.
21. So that (he ?) may not be exposed to looks (?).

19-21. I have translated the words of these Sûtras without trying to express any meaning. According to the commentary the meaning is the following: 19. He should not build a house which has its door on the back-side, or which has one front-door and one back-door. 20. The house-door should not face the door of another house. 21. The house-door should be so constructed that the householder cannot be seen by *Kândâlas*, &c., when he is performing religious acts or when dining in his house. Or, if instead of *samlokî* the reading *samloki* is accepted, the Sûtra means: the house-door should be so constructed, that valuable objects, &c., which are in the house, cannot be seen by passers-by.—The commentary on *Khâdira-Grihya* IV, 2, 15 contains the remark: *dvâradvayam* (var. *lectio*, *dvâram dvâram*) *paraspâram rigu na syâd iti kekit*. This seems to me to lead to the right understanding of these Sûtras. I think we ought to read and to divide in this way: (19) *anudvâram ka*. (20. 21) *grihadvâram yathâ na samloki syât*. 'And (let him construct) a back-door, so that it does not face the (chief) house-door.' The *Khâdira* MSS. have the readings, *asallokî*, *asandraloke*, *samloka*.

22. 'Let him avoid an Asvattha tree on the east-side (of his house), and a Plaksha on the south-side, a Nyagrodha on the west-side, and on the north-side an Udumbara.

23. 'One should say that an Asvattha brings (to the house) danger from fire; one should say that a Plaksha tree brings early death (to the inhabitants of the house), that a Nyagrodha brings oppression through (hostile) arms, that an Udumbara brings diseases of the eye.

24. 'The Asvattha is sacred to the sun, the Plaksha to Yama, the Nyagrodha is the tree that belongs to Varuna, the Udumbara, to Pragâpati.'

25. He should place those (trees) in another place than their proper one,

26. And should sacrifice to those same deities.

27. Let him put wood on the fire in the middle of the house, and sacrifice a black cow,

28. Or a white goat,

22-24. These are Slokas to which the commentary very appropriately, though not exactly in the sense in which it was originally set down, applies the dictum so frequently found in the Brâhmana texts: *na hy ekasmâd aksharâd virâdhayanti*. Dr. Knauer's attempts to restore correct Slokas are perhaps a little hazardous; he inserts in the third verse *ka* after *plakshas*, and in the second he changes the first *brûyât* into *ka*, whereby the second foot of the hemistich loses its regular shape $\cup - - -$, and receives instead of it the form $\cup \cup - \cup$.

25. He should remove an Asvattha tree from the east-side, &c.

26. He should sacrifice to the deities to whom the transplanted trees are sacred.

27 seq. Here begins the description of the *vâstusamana*, which extends to Sûtra 43. As to the animal sacrifice prescribed in this Sûtra, comp. Dr. Winternitz's essay, *Einige Bemerkungen über das Bauopfer bei den Indern* (Sitzungsbericht der Anthropol. Gesellschaft in Wien, 19 April, 1887), p. 8.

29. (The one or the other) together with milk-rice.

30. Or (only) milk-rice.

31. Having mingled together the fat (of the animal), Āgrya, its flesh, and the milk-rice,

32. He should take eight portions (of that mixture) and should sacrifice (the following eight oblations):

33. The first (verse, accompanying the first oblation), is, 'Vāstoshpati!' (MB. II, 6, 1).

34. (Then follow) the (three) verses of the Vāma-devya,

35. (And the three) Mahāvyaḥrītis.

36. The last (oblation is offered with the formula), 'To Pragāpati (svāhā).'

37. After he has sacrificed, he should offer ten Balis,

38. In the different directions (of the horizon), from left to right,

39. And in the intermediate points,

40. In due order, without a transposition.

41. (He should offer a Bali) in the east with (the formula), '(Adoration) to Indra!' in the intermediate direction—'To Vāyu!' in the south—'To Yama!' in the intermediate direction—'(Svadhā) to the Fathers!' in the west—'(Adoration) to Varuṇa!' in the intermediate direction—'To Mahārāga!' in the north—'To Soma!' in the intermediate direction—'To Mahendra!' down-

34. Comp. above, chap. 6, 7 note.

36. The commentary says: 'The last oblation should be offered with the formula, "To Pragāpati svāhā!"' Probably we ought to correct the text, *Pragāpata ity uttamā*, 'the last (verse) is, "Pragāpati!" (MB. II, 5, 8);' see above, IV, 6, 9; Khādira-Gr̥hya IV, 2, 20.

wards—‘To Vāsuki!’ upwards, in the sky (i. e. throwing the Bali into the air), with (the formula), ‘Adoration to Brahman!’

42. To the east, upwards, and downwards this should be done constantly, day by day.

43. (The whole ceremony is repeated) every year or at the two sacrifices of the first fruits.

KĀNDIKĀ 8.

1. At the *Sravanâ* and *Āgrahâyant* sacrifices he should leave a remainder of fried grains.

2. Having gone out of the village in an easterly or in a northerly direction, and having put wood on the fire at a place where four roads meet, he should sacrifice (those fried grains) with his joined hands, with the single (verses of the text), ‘Hearken, Râkâ!’ (MB. II, 6, 2–5).

3. Walking eastward (he should), looking upwards, (offer a Bali) to the hosts of divine beings, with (the formula), ‘Be a giver of wealth’ (ibid. 6);

4. (Walking?) towards the side, (he should offer a Bali) to the hosts of other beings, looking downwards.

5. Returning (to the fire) without looking back, he should, together with the persons belonging to his

43. See above, III, 8, 9 seq.

8, 1. See above, III, 7; 9. Comp. *Khâdira-Grîhya* III, 2, 8 seq.

4. The commentary says: *Tiryañ tirasṭīnaṃ yathâ bhavati tathâ, iti kriyâviśeṣaṇam etat. athavâ . . . tiryañ tirasṭīnaḥ san. Arvân* ought to be corrected to *avân* (comp. *Khâdira-Grîhya* III, 2, 13).

5. The commentary explains *upetaiḥ* simply by *samṣpam âgataiḥ*.

family, as far as they have been initiated (by the Upanayana), eat the fried grains.

6. (This ceremony) procures happiness.

7. (With the two formulas), 'Obeying the will' and 'Saṅkha' (MB. II, 6, 7. 8), he should sacrifice two oblations of rice and of barley separately,

8. With reference to a person whose favour he wishes to gain.

9. This is done daily.

10. With the Ekāksharyâ verse (MB. II, 6, 9) two rites (are performed) which are connected with the observance (of fasting) for a fortnight.

11. One who is desirous of long life, should sacrifice (with that verse), in the night of the full moon, one hundred pegs of Khadira wood ;

12. Of iron, if he desires that (his enemies) may be killed.

13. Now another ceremony (performed with the same verse).

14. Having gone out of the village in an easterly or in a northerly direction, he should at a place where four roads meet, or on a mountain, set an elevated surface, consisting of the dung of beasts of the forest, on fire, should sweep the coals away, and should make an oblation of butter (on that surface) with his mouth, repeating that Mantra in his mind.

7 seq. Khâdira-Grîhya IV, 2, 24 seq.

7. I.e. he should sacrifice one oblation of rice, and one of barley.

8. Literally, to a person, &c. The meaning is, he should pronounce the name of that person. The Sûtra is repeated from IV, 5, 20; thus its expressions do not exactly fit the connection in which it stands here.

10 seq. Khâdira-Grîhya IV, 3, 1 seq.

15. If (that oblation of butter) catches fire, twelve villages (will be his).

16. If smoke rises, at least three.

17. They call this ceremony one which is not in vain.

18. One who desires that his means of livelihood may not be exhausted, should sacrifice green cow-dung in the evening and in the morning.

19. Of articles which he has bought, he should, after having fasted three (days and) nights, make an oblation with the formula, 'Here this Visvakarman' (MB. II, 6, 10).

20. Of a garment he should offer some threads (with that formula),

21. Of a cow some hairs (of its tail) ;

22. In the same way (he should offer some part) of other articles which he has bought.

23. The sacrifice of a full oblation (with the verse, 'A full oblation I sacrifice,' MB. II, 6, 11) should be performed on the sacrificial day (i.e. on the first day of the fortnight),

24. And (on such a day let him sacrifice) with (the formula), 'Indrāmavadât (?)' (MB. II, 6, 12).

25. One who is desirous of glory, (should offer) the first (oblation); one who is desirous of companions, the second.

18. Khâdira-Grîhya IV, 3, 18. On haritagomayân the commentary has the following note: *yaiḥ khalu gomayaiḥ samkule pradese haritâni trinâni prasastâny utpadyante tân kila gomayân haritagomayân âtakshate. te khalv âdrâ ihâbhipreyante. katham gñâyate. teshv eva tatprasiddheḥ.*

19. Khâdira-Grîhya IV, 3, 7.

23 seq. Khâdira-Grîhya IV, 3, 8 seq. The Prâtika quoted in Sûtra 24 is corrupt.

KÂNDIKÂ 9.

1. One who desires to become a ruler among men should fast through a period of eight nights.

2. Then he should provide a Sruva spoon, a cup (for water), and fuel, of Udumbara wood,

3. Should go out of the village in an easterly or in a northerly direction, should put wood on the fire at a place where four roads meet,

4. And should sacrifice Âgya, turning his face towards the sun, with (the formulas), ' Food indeed is the only thing that is pervaded by the metres,' and, ' Bliss indeed ' (MB. II, 6, 13. 14) ;

5. A third (oblation) in the village with (the formula), ' The food's essence is ghee ' (ibid. 15).

6. One who is desirous of cattle, (should offer this oblation) in a cow-stable.

7. If (the cow-stable) is damaged by fire (?), (he should offer) a monk's robe.

8. On a dangerous road let him make knots in the skirts of the garments (of himself and of his companions),

9. Approaching those (of the travellers) who wear garments (with skirts).

9, 1 seq. Khâdira-Grihya IV, 3, 10 seq.

7. Perhaps we ought to follow the commentary and to translate, ' When (the cow-stable) becomes heated (by the fire on which he is going to sacrifice),' &c. (' gosh/~~te~~gnim upasamâdhâyaiva homo na kartavya~~h~~, kin tv agnim upasamâdhâyâpi tâvat pratiksha~~ni~~yam yâvad gosh/~~am~~ upatapyamânam bhavati'). I have translated *kîvaram* according to the ordinary meaning of the word ; in the commentary it is taken as equivalent to *lauha~~k~~ûr~~am~~* (copper filings).

10. (Let him do so with the three formulas, MB. II, 6, 13-15) with the word Svâhâ at the end of each.

11. This will bring a prosperous journey (to himself) and to his companions. [Or: (He should do the same with the garments) of his companions. This will bring a prosperous journey.]

12. One who desires to gain a thousand cart-loads (of gold), should sacrifice one thousand oblations of flour of fried grains.

13. One who is desirous of cattle, should sacrifice one thousand oblations of the excrements of a male and a female calf;

14. Of a male and a female sheep, if he is desirous of flocks.

15. One who desires that his means of livelihood may not be exhausted, should sacrifice in the evening and in the morning the fallings-off of rice-grains, with (the formulas), 'To Hunger Svâhâ!' 'To Hunger and Thirst Svâhâ!' (MB. II, 6, 16. 17).

16. If somebody has been bitten by a venomous animal, he should murmur (the verse), 'Do not fear, thou wilt not die' (MB. II, 6, 18), and should besprinkle him with water.

17. With (the formula), 'Strong one! Protect' (MB. II, 6, 19), a Snâtaka, when lying down (to sleep), should lay down his bamboo staff near (his bed).

18. This will bring him luck.

19. (The verses), 'Thy worm is killed by Atri' (MB. II, 7, 1-4), he should murmur, besprinkling a place where he has a worm with water.

15. Khâdira-Grhya IV, 3, 6.

16 seq. Khâdira-Grhya IV, 4, 1 seq.

20. If he intends to do this for cattle, he should fetch in the afternoon an earth-clod taken out of a furrow, and should put it down in the open air.

21. In the morning he should strew the dust of it round (the place attacked by worms), and should murmur (the same texts).

KÂNDIKÂ 10.

1. To the north of the place (in which the Arghya reception will be offered to a guest), they should bind a cow (to a post or the like), and should (reverentially) approach it with (the verse), 'Arhanâ putra vâsa' (MB. II, 8, 1).

2. (The guest to whom the Arghya reception is going to be offered) should come forward murmuring, 'Here I tread on this Padyâ Virâg for the sake of the enjoyment of food' (ibid. 2).

3. (He should do so) where they are going to perform the Arghya ceremony for him,

4. Or when they perform it.

5. Let them announce three times (to the guest) separately (each of the following things which are

10, 1 seq. The Arghya reception; Khâdira-Grîhya IV, 4, 5 seq.; Grîhya-saṃgraha II, 62-65. The first words of the Mantra quoted in Sûtra 1 are corrupt. The Mantra is evidently an adaptation of the well-known verse addressed to the Âgrahâyani (Gobhila III, 9, 9; Mantra-Brâhmana II, 2, 1), or to the Ashvakâ (Pâraskara III, 3, 5, 8): prathamâ ha vyuvâsa, &c. The first word arhanâ ('duly'), containing an allusion to the occasion of the Arghya ceremony, to which this Mantra is adapted, seems to be quite right; the third word may be, as Dr. Knauer conjectures, uvâsa ('she has dwelt,' or perhaps rather 'she has shone'). For the second word I am not able to suggest a correction.

2. Regarding Padyâ Virâg, comp. Sâṅkhâya III, 7, 5 note; Pâraskara I, 3, 12.

brought to him): a bed (of grass to sit down on), water for washing the feet, the Argha water, water for sipping, and the Madhuparka (i.e. a mixture of ghee, curds, and honey).

6. Let him spread out the bed (of grass, so that the points of the grass are) turned to the north, with (the verse), 'The herbs which' (MB. II, 8, 3), and let him sit down thereon;

7. If there are two (beds of grass), with the two (verses) separately (MB. II, 8, 3. 4);

8. On the second (he treads) with the feet.

9. Let him look at the water (with which he is to wash his feet), with (the formula), 'From which side I see the goddesses.' (ibid. 5).

10. Let him wash his left foot with (the formula), 'The left foot I wash;' let him wash his right foot with (the formula), 'The right foot I wash' (MB. II, 8, 6. 7);

11. Both with the rest (of the Mantra, i.e. with the formula), 'First the one, then the other' (II, 8, 8).

12. Let him accept the Arghya water with (the formula), 'Thou art the queen of food' (ibid. 9).

13. The water (offered to him) for sipping he should sip with (the formula), 'Glory art thou' (ibid. 10).

14. The Madhuparka he should accept with (the formula), 'The glory's glory art thou' (ibid. 11).

15. Let him drink (of it) three times with (the

8. See Pāraskara I, 3, 9.

11. The commentary says, *sesheṇāvarish/enodakena*. Comp., however, *Khādīra-Gr̥hya* IV, 4, 11.

15. I have adopted the reading *sr̥t̥bhaksho*, which is given in the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa*, and have followed the opinion of the com-

formula which he repeats thrice), 'The glory's food art thou ; the might's food art thou ; the bliss's food art thou ; bestow bliss on me' (MB. II, 8, 12) ;

16. Silently a fourth time.

17. Having drunk more of it, he should give the remainder to a Brāhmaṇa.

18. After he has sipped water, the barber should thrice say to him, 'A cow !'

19. He should reply, 'Let loose the cow from the fetter of Varuṇa ; bind (with it) him who hates me. Kill him and (the enemy) of N. N., (the enemies) of both (myself and N. N.). Deliver the cow ; let it eat grass, let it drink water' (MB. II, 8, 13).

20. (And after the cow has been set at liberty), let him address it with (the verse), 'The mother of the Rudras' (MB. II, 8, 14).

21. Thus if it is no sacrifice (at which the Arghya reception is offered).

22. (He should say), 'Make it (ready),' if it is a sacrifice.

23. There are six persons to whom the Arghya reception is due, (namely),

mentator that the whole Mantra, and not its single parts, should be repeated each time that he drinks of the Madhuparka. In the Khādīra-Gr̥hya the text of the Mantra differs, and the rite is described differently (IV, 4, 15).

16, 17. Perhaps these two Sūtras should be rather understood as forming one Sūtra, and should be translated as I have done in Khādīra-Gr̥hya IV, 4, 16.

19. Iti after abhidhehi ought to be omitted. Comp. the lengthy discussions on this word, pp. 766 seq. of the edition of Gobhila in the Bibliotheca Indica. 'N. N.' is the host who offers the Arghya ; comp. Khādīra-Gr̥hya IV, 4, 18.

21, 22. In the case of a sacrifice the cow is killed ; comp. Sāṅkhāyana II, 15, 2. 3 note ; Pāraskara I, 3, 30.

24. A teacher, an officiating priest, a Snâtaka, a king, the father-in-law, a friend coming as a guest.

25. They should offer the Arghya reception (to such persons not more than) once a year.

26. But repeatedly in the case of a sacrifice and of a wedding. But repeatedly in the case of a sacrifice and of a wedding.

End of the Fourth Prapâthaka.

End of the Gobhila-Grhya-sûtra.

24. Vivâhya is explained in the commentary by vivâhayitavyo gâmâtâ. Comp., however, Sâṅkhâya II, 15, 1 note.

25, 26. Comp. Sâṅkhâya II, 15, 10 and the note.

GRĪHYA-SŪTRA OF
HIRANYAKESIN.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

TO THE

GRIHYA-SŪTRA OF

HIRANYAKESIN.

AFTER the excellent remarks of Professor Bühler on the position of Hiraṇyakesin among the Sūtra authors of the Black Yagur-veda (Sacred Books, vol. ii, p. xxiii seq.), I can here content myself with shortly indicating the materials on which my translation of this *Grihya-sūtra*, which was unpublished when I began to translate it, is based. For the first half of the work I could avail myself, in the first place, of the text, together with the commentary of *Mātridatta*, which the late Dr. Schoenberg of Vienna had prepared for publication, and which was based on a number of MSS. collated by him. It is my melancholy duty gratefully to acknowledge here the kindness with which that prematurely deceased young scholar has placed at my disposal the materials he had collected, and the results of his labour which he continued till the last days of his life. For the second half of the Sūtra his death deprived me of this important assistance; here then Professors Kielhorn of Göttingen and Bühler of Vienna have been kind enough to enable me to finish the task of this translation, by lending me two MSS. of the text and two MSS. of *Mātridatta's* commentary which they possess.

Finally, Dr. J. Kirste of Vienna very kindly sent me the proof-sheets of his valuable edition before it was published. With the aid of these my translation has been revised.

GRĪHYA-SŪTRA OF HIRANYAKESIN.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 1, SECTION 1.

1. We shall explain the Upanayana (i.e. the initiation of the student).
2. Let him initiate a Brāhmaṇa at the age of seven years,
3. A Rāganya, of eleven, a Vaisya, of twelve.
4. A Brāhmaṇa in the spring, a Rāganya in the summer, a Vaisya in the autumn.
5. In the time of the increasing moon, under an auspicious constellation, preferably (under a constellation) the name of which is masculine,
6. He should serve food to an even number of Brāhmaṇas and should cause them to say, 'An auspicious day! Hail! Good luck!'
7. (Then he) should have the boy satiated, should

1, 2. The statement commonly given in the *Grīhya-sūtras* and *Dharma-sūtras* is, that the initiation of a Brāhmaṇa shall take place in his eighth year, though there are differences of opinion whether in the eighth year after conception, or after birth (*Āsvalāyana-Grīhya* I, 19, 1. 2). *Mātridatta* states that the rule given here in the *Grīhya-sūtra* refers to the seventh year after birth. In the *Dharma-sūtra* (comp. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 18) it is stated that the initiation of a Brāhmaṇa shall take place in the eighth year after his conception. Comp. the remarks of Professor Bühler, *S. B. E.*, vol. ii, p. xxiii.

4. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 18.

6. Comp. *Āpastamba* I, 13, 8 with Bühler's note.

have his hair shaven, and after (the boy) has bathed and has been decked with ornaments—

8. He should dress him in a (new) garment which has not yet been washed.

9. In a place inclined towards the east, (or) inclined towards the north, (or) inclined towards north-east, or in an even (place), he raises (the surface on which he intends to sacrifice), sprinkles it with water,

10. Kindles fire by attrition, or fetches common (worldly) fire, puts the fire down, and puts wood on the fire.

11. He strews eastward-pointed Darbha grass round the fire ;

12. Or (the grass which is strewn) to the west and to the east (of the fire), may be northward-pointed.

13. He (arranges the Darbha blades so as to) lay the southern (blades) uppermost, the northern ones below, if their points are turned (partly) towards the east and (partly) towards the north.

14. Having strewn Darbha grass, to the south of the fire, in the place destined for the Brahman,

15. Having with the two (verses), 'I take (the fire) to myself,' and, 'The fire which (has entered)'—taken possession of the fire,

16. And having, to the north of the fire, spread out Darbha grass, he prepares the (following) objects,

9. Pâraskara I, 1, 2 ; 4, 3 ; Âsvalâyana I, 3, 1, &c.

11. Âsvalâyana l. 1. ; Sâṅkhâyaṇa I, 8, 1, &c.

13. Gobhila I, 7, 14.

14. Gobhila I, 6, 13 ; Pâraskara I, 1, 2, &c.

15. Taittirîya Saṃhitâ V, 9, 1. - Comp. also the parallel passages, Satapatha Brâhmana VII, 3, 2, 17 ; Kâtyâyana-Srauta XVII, 3, 27.

16. Gobhila I, 7, 1.

according as they are required (for the ceremony which he is going to perform) :

17. A stone, a (new) garment which has not yet been washed, a skin (of an antelope, or a spotted deer, &c.), a threefold-twisted girdle of Muṅga grass if he is a Brāhmaṇa (who shall be initiated), a bow-string for a Rāganya, a woollen thread for a Vaisya, a staff of Bilva or of Palāsa wood for a Brāhmaṇa, of Nyagrodha wood for a Rāganya, of Udumbara wood for a Vaisya.

18. He binds together the fuel, twenty-one pieces of wood, or as many as there are oblations to be made.

19. Together with that fuel he ties up the (three) branches of wood which are to be laid round the fire, (which should have the shape of) pegs.

20. (He gets ready, besides, the spoon called Darvī, a bunch of grass, the Āgya pot, the pot for the Prāṇita water, and whatever (else) is required ;

21. All (those objects) together, or (one after the other) as it happens.

22. At that time the Brahman suspends the sacrificial cord over his left shoulder, sips water, passes by the fire, on its west side, to the south side, throws away a grass blade from the Brahman's seat, touches water, and sits down with his face turned towards the fire.

17. Sāṅkhāyana II, 1, 15 seqq., &c. As to the stone, comp. below, I, 1, 4, 13.

18. Comp. Ārvalāyana I, 10, 3, and the passages quoted in the note (vol. xxix, p. 173).

20. Regarding the bunch of grass, see below, I, 2, 6, 9.

22. Gobhila I, 6, 14 seq. Comp. the passages quoted in the note.

23. He takes as 'purifiers' two straight Darbha blades with unbroken points of one span's length, cuts them off with something else than his nail, wipes them with water, pours water into a vessel over which he has laid the purifiers, fills (that vessel) up to near the brim, purifies (the water) three times with the two Darbha strainers, holding their points to the north, places (the water) on Darbha grass on the north side of the fire, and covers it with Darbha grass.

24. Having consecrated the Prokshant water by means of the purifiers as before, having placed the vessels upright, and having untied the fuel, he sprinkles (the sacrificial vessels) three times with the whole (Prokshant water).

25. Having warmed the Darvī spoon (over the fire), having wiped it, and warmed it again, he puts it down.

26. Having besprinkled (with water) the Darbha grass with which the fuel was tied together, he throws it into the fire.

27. He melts the Āgya, pours the Āgya into the Āgya pot over which he has laid the purifiers, takes some coals (from the fire) towards the north, puts (the Āgya) on these (coals), throws light (on the

23. Gobhila I, 7, 21 seq.; Sāṅkhāyana I, 8, 14 seq. The water mentioned in this Sūtra is the Praṇīta water.

24. Regarding the Prokshant water, see Sāṅkhāyana I, 8, 25 note. The word which I have translated by 'vessels' is bilavanti, which literally means 'the things which have brims.' Probably this expression here has some technical connotation unknown to me. Mātrīdatta simply says, bilavanti pātrāṇi.—'As before' means, 'as stated with regard to the Praṇīta water.'

25. Pāraskara I, 1, 3.

27. Sāṅkhāyana I, 8, 18 seq.

Āgya by means of burning Darbha blades), throws two young Darbha shoots into it, moves a fire-brand round it three times, takes it (from the coals) towards the north, pushes the coals back (into the fire), purifies the Āgya three times with the two purifiers, holding their points towards the north, (drawing them through the Āgya from west to east and) taking them back (to the west each time), throws the two purifiers into the fire,

PĀTALA 1, SECTION 2.

1. And lays the (three) pegs round (the fire).
2. On the west side (of the fire) he places the middle (peg), with its broad end to the north,
3. On the south side (of the fire the second peg), so that it touches the middle one, with its broad end to the east,
4. On the north side (of the fire the third peg), so that it touches the middle one, with its broad end to the east.
5. To the west of the fire (the teacher who is going to initiate the student), sits down with his face turned towards the east.
6. To the south (of the teacher) the boy, wearing the sacrificial cord over his left shoulder, having sipped water, sits down and touches (the teacher).
7. Then (the teacher) sprinkles water round the fire (in the following way) :
8. On the south side (of the fire he sprinkles

2, 1. The 'pegs' are the pieces of wood mentioned above, 1, 19.

7-10. Gobhila I, 3, 1 seq. The vocative Sarasvate instead of Sarasvati is given by the MSS. also in the Khādīra-Gr̥hya I, 2, 19.

water) from west to east with (the words), 'Aditi! Give thy consent!'—

9. On the west side, from south to north, with (the words), 'Anumati! Give thy consent!' On the north side, from west to east, with (the words), 'Sarasvatī! Give thy consent!'—

10. On all sides, so as to keep his right side turned towards (the fire), with (the Mantra), 'God Savitṛī! Give thy impulse!' (Taitt. Samh. I, 7, 7, 1).

11. Having (thus) sprinkled (water) round (the fire), and having anointed the fuel (with Âgya), he puts it on (the fire) with (the Mantra), 'This fuel is thy self, Gâtavedas! Thereby thou shalt be inflamed and shalt grow. In flame us and make us grow; through offspring, cattle, holy lustre, and through the enjoyment of food make us increase. Svâhâ!'

12. He then sacrifices with the (spoon called) Darvi (the following oblations):

13. Approaching the Darvi (to the fire) by the northerly junction of the pegs (laid round the fire), and fixing his mind on (the formula), 'To Pragâpati, to Manu svâhâ!' (without pronouncing that Mantra), he sacrifices a straight, long, uninterrupted (stream of Âgya), directed towards the south-east.

14. Approaching the Darvi (to the fire) by the southern junction of the pegs (laid round the fire),

11. As to the Mantra, compare Sâṅkhâyana II, 10, 4, &c.

13, 14. The two oblations described in these Sûtras are the so-called Âghâras; see Sûtra 15, and Pâraskara I, 5, 3; Âśvalâyana I, 10, 13. Regarding the northern and the southern junction of the Paridhi woods, see above, Sûtras 3 and 4. According to Mâtridatta, the words 'long, uninterrupted' (Sûtra 13) are to be supplied also in Sûtra 14.

(he sacrifices) a straight (stream of *Āgya*), directed towards the north-east, with (the Mantra which he pronounces), 'To Indra svāhā!'

15. Having (thus) poured out the two *Āghāra* oblations, he sacrifices the two *Āgyabhāgas*,

16. With (the words), 'To Agni svāhā!' over the easterly part of the northerly part (of the fire); with (the words), 'To Soma svāhā!' over the easterly part of the southerly part (of the fire).

17. Between them he sacrifices the other (oblations).

18. (He makes four oblations with the following Mantras): 'Thou whom we have set to work, *Gāta-vedas*! carry forward (our offerings). Agni! Perceive this work (i. e. the sacrifice), as it is performed (by us). Thou art a healer, a creator of medicine. Through thee may we obtain cows, horses, and men. Svāhā!

'Thou who liest down athwart, thinking, "It is I who keep (all things) asunder:" to thee who art propitious (to me), I sacrifice this stream of ghee in the fire. Svāhā!

'To the propitious goddess svāhā!

'To the accomplishing goddess svāhā!'

16. *Āsvalāyana* I, 10, 13; *Sāṅkhāyana* I, 9, 7, &c. As to the expressions *uttarārdhapūrvārdhe* and *dakṣiṇārdhapūrvārdhe*, comp. *Gobhila* I, 8, 14 and the note.

17. I.e. between the places at which the two '*Āgya* portions' are offered. Comp. *Sāṅkhāyana* I, 9, 8.

18. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIV, 9, 3, 3 (= *Bṛihad Āraṇyaka* VI, 3, 1; S. B. E., vol. xv, p. 210); *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* I, 5, 6.

PĀṬALA 1, SECTION 3.

1. This is the rite for all Darvi-sacrifices.
2. At the end of the Mantras constantly the word Svâhâ (is pronounced).
3. (Oblations) for which no Mantras are prescribed (are made merely with the words), 'To such and such (a deity) svâhâ!'—according to the deity (to whom the oblation is made).
4. He sacrifices with the Vyâhr̥itis, 'Bhûh! Bhuvaḥ! Suvaḥ!'—with the single (three Vyâhr̥itis) and with (the three) together.
5. (The Mantras for the two chief oblations are), the (verse), 'Life-giving, Agni!' (Taitt. Brâhmaṇa I, 2, 1, 11), (and),
'Life-giving, O god, choosing long life, thou whose face is full of ghee, whose back is full of ghee, Agni, drinking ghee, the noble ambrosia that comes from the cow, lead this (boy) to old age, as a father (leads) his son. Svâhâ!'
6. (Then follow oblations with the verses),
'This, O Varuṇa' (Taitt. Samh. II, 1, 11, 6),
'For this I entreat thee' (Taitt. Samh., loc. cit.),

3, 2. Gobhila I, 9, 25.

3. Sâṅkhâyana I, 9, 18.

4. Sâṅkhâyana I, 12, 12. 13; Gobhila I, 9, 27. As to suvaḥ, the spelling of the Taittirîyas for svaḥ, see Indische Studien, XIII, 105.

5, 6. In the second Mantra we should read *vrinâno* instead of *grinâno*; comp. Atharva-veda II, 13, 1. As to the Mantras that follow, comp. Pâraskara I, 2, 8; Taittirîya Âranyaka IV, 20, 3.—Regarding the Mantra *tvam Agne ayâsi* (sic), comp. Taitt. Brâh. II, 4, 1, 9; Âsvalâyana-Srauta-sûtra I, 11, 13; Kâtyâyana-Srauta-sûtra XXV, 1, 11; Indische Studien, XV, 125.

‘Thou, Agni’ (Taitt. Samh. II, 5, 12, 3),

‘Thus thou, Agni’ (Taitt. Samh., loc. cit.),

‘Thou, Agni, art quick. Being quick, appointed (by us) in our mind (as our messenger), thou who art quick, carriest the offering (to the gods). O quick one, bestow medicine on us! Svâhâ!’—(and finally) the (verse),

‘Pragâpati!’ (Taitt. Samh. I, 8, 14, 2).

7. (With the verse), ‘What I have done too much in this sacrifice, or what I have done here deficiently, all that may Agni Svishṭakṛit, he who knows it, make well sacrificed and well offered for me. To Agni Svishṭakṛit, the offerer of well-offered (sacrifices), the offerer of everything, to him who makes us succeed in our offerings and in our wishes, svâhâ!’—he offers (the Svishṭakṛit oblation) over the easterly part of the northerly part (of the fire), separated from the other oblations.

8. Here some add as subordinate oblations, before the Svishṭakṛit, the *Gaya*, *Abhyâtâna*, and *Râshṭra-bhṛit* (oblations).

9. The *Gaya* (oblations) he sacrifices with (the thirteen Mantras), ‘Thought, svâhâ! Thinking, svâhâ!’—or, ‘To thought svâhâ! To thinking svâhâ!’ (&c.);

10. The *Abhyâtâna* (oblations) with (the eighteen Mantras), ‘Agni is the lord of beings; may he protect me’ (&c.).

11. (The words), ‘In this power of holiness, in

7. Âsvalâyana-Gṛīhya I, 10, 23; Satapatha Brâhmaṇa XIV, 9, 4, 24.

8. Comp. the next Sûtras and Pâraskara I, 5, 7-10.

9. Taittirīya Samhitâ III, 4, 4.

10. Taittirīya Samhitâ III, 4, 5.

11. See the end of the section quoted in the last note.

this worldly power (&c.)' are added to (each section of) the Abhyâtâna formulas.

12. With (the last of the Abhyâtâna formulas), 'Fathers! Grandfathers!' he sacrifices or performs worship, wearing the sacrificial cord over his right shoulder.

13. The Râshtrabhrîṭ (oblations he sacrifices) with (the twelve Mantras), 'The champion of truth, he whose law is truth.' After having quickly repeated (each) section, he sacrifices the first oblation with (the words), 'To him svâhâ!' the second (oblation) with (the words), 'To them svâhâ!'

14. Having placed a stone near the northerly junction of the pegs (which are laid round the fire), (the teacher)—

PATALA 1, SECTION 4.

1. Makes the boy tread on (that stone) with his right foot, with (the verse), 'Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm. Destroy those who seek to do thee harm; overcome thy enemies.'

12. 'He performs worship with that Mantra, wearing the sacrificial cord over his right shoulder, to the Manes. According to others, he worships Agni. But this would stand in contradiction to the words (of the Mantra).' *Mâtridatta*.

13. *Taittirîya Samhitâ* III, 4, 7. 'To him' (*tasmai*) is masculine, 'to them' (*tâbhyaḥ*) feminine. The purport of these words will be explained best by a translation of the first section of the Râshtrabhrîṭ formulas: 'The champion of truth, he whose law is truth, Agni is the Gandharva. His Apsaras are the herbs; "sap" is their name. May he protect this power of holiness and this worldly power. May they protect this power of holiness and this worldly power. To him svâhâ! To them svâhâ!'

14. See above, section 2, § 13.

4, 1. Comp. *Sāṅkhâya* I, 13, 12; *Pâraskara* I, 7, 1.

2. After (the boy) has taken off his old (garment), (the teacher) makes him put on a (new) garment that has not yet been washed, with (the verses),

‘The goddesses who spun, who wove, who spread out, and who drew out the skirts on both sides, may those goddesses clothe thee with long life. Blessed with life put on this garment.

‘Dress him; through (this) garment make him reach a hundred (years) of age; extend his life. *Bṛihaspati* has given this garment to king *Soma* that he may put it on.

‘Mayst thou live to old age; put on the garment! Be a protector of the human tribes against imprecation. Live a hundred years, full of vigour; clothe thyself in the increase of wealth.’

3. Having (thus) made (the boy) put on (the new garment, the teacher) recites over him (the verse),

‘Thou hast put on this garment for the sake of welfare; thou hast become a protector of thy friends against imprecation. Live a hundred long years; a noble man, blessed with life, mayst thou distribute wealth.’

4. He then winds the girdle three times from left to right round (the boy, so that it covers) his navel. (He does so only) twice, according to some (teachers). (It is done) with (the verse),

2. Pāraskara I, 4, 13. 12; Atharva-veda II, 13, 2. 3 (XIX, 24). Instead of *paridâtavâ u*, we ought to read, as the Atharva-veda has, *paridhâtavâ u*.

3. Atharva-veda II, 13, 3; XIX, 24, 6.

4. Sāṅkhâya II, 2, 1; Pāraskara II, 2, 8. The text of the Mantra as given by *Hiraṇyakesin* is very corrupt, but the corruptions may be as old as the *Hiraṇyakesi-sûtra* itself, or even older.

‘Here she has come to us who drives away sin, purifying our guard and our protection, bringing us strength by (the power of) inhalation and exhalation, the sister of the gods, this blessed girdle.’

5. On the north side of the navel he makes a threefold knot (in the girdle) and draws that to the south side of the navel.

6. He then arranges for him the skin (of an antelope, &c., see Sūtra 7) as an outer garment, with (the Mantras),

‘The firm, strong eye of Mitra, glorious splendour, powerful and flaming, a chaste, mobile vesture, this skin put on, a valiant (man), N. N.!

‘May Aditi tuck up thy garment, that thou mayst study the Veda, for the sake of insight and belief and of not forgetting what thou hast learnt, for the sake of holiness and of holy lustre!’

7. The skin of a black antelope (is worn) by a Brāhmaṇa, the skin of a spotted deer by a Rāganya, the skin of a he-goat by a Vaisya.

8. He then gives him in charge (to the gods), a Brāhmaṇa with (the verse), ‘We give this (boy) in charge, O Indra, to Brahman, for the sake of great learning. May he (Brahman?) lead him to old age, and may he (the boy) long watch over learning.’

6. I propose to correct *garishṇu* into *karishṇu*. See Sāṅkhāyana II, 1, 30.

7. Sāṅkhāyana II, 1, 2. 4. 5, &c.

8. In the first hemistich I propose to correct *pari dadhmasi* into *pari dadmasi*. The verse seems to be an adaptation of a Mantra which contained a form of the verb *pari-dhâ* (comp. Atharva-veda XIX, 24, 2); thus the reading *pari... dadhmasi* found in the MSS. may be easily accounted for. The second hemistich is very corrupt, but the Atharva-veda (loc. cit. : *yathainam garase nayât*) shows at least the general sense.

A Râganya (he gives in charge to the gods) with (the verse), 'We give this boy in charge, O Indra, to Brahman, for the sake of great royalty. May he lead him to old age, and may he long watch over royalty.'

A Vaisya (he gives in charge) with (the verse), 'We give this boy in charge, O Indra, to Brahman, for the sake of great wealth. May he lead him to old age, and may he long watch over wealth.'

9. (The teacher) makes him sit down to the west of the fire, facing the north, and makes him eat the remnants of the sacrificial food, with these (Mantras), 'On thee may wisdom, on thee may offspring' (Taitt. Âranyaka, Ândhra redaction, X, 44),—altering (the text of the Mantras).

10. Some make (the student) eat 'sprinkled butter.'

11. (The teacher) looks at (the student) while he is eating, with the two verses, 'At every pursuit we invoke strong (Indra)' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 2, 1), (and), 'Him, Agni, lead to long life and splendour' (Taitt. Samh. II, 3, 10, 3).

12. Some make (the boy) eat (that food with these two verses).

13. After (the boy) has sipped water, (the teacher) causes him to touch (water) and recites over him (the verse), 'A hundred autumns are before us, O gods, before ye have made our bodies decay, before (our)

9. The text of those Mantras runs thus, 'On me may wisdom, &c.'; he alters them so as to say, 'On thee,' &c.

10. Regarding the term 'sprinkled butter,' comp. Âsvalâyana-Grihya IV, 1, 18. 19.

13. Rig-veda I, 89. 9.

sons have become fathers ; do not destroy us before we have reached (our due) age.'

End of the First Pātala.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 2, SECTION 5.

1. 'To him who comes (to us), we have come. Drive ye away death! May we walk with him safely; may he walk here in bliss; (may he) walk in bliss until (he returns) to his house'—this (verse the teacher repeats) while (the boy) walks round the fire so as to keep his right side turned towards it.

2. (The teacher) then causes him to say, 'I have come hither to be a student. Initiate me! I will be a student, impelled by the god Savitri.'

3. (The teacher then) asks him :

4. 'What is thy name?'

5. He says, 'N. N!'—what his name is.

6. (The teacher says), 'Happily, god Savitri, may I attain the goal with this N. N.'—here he pronounces (the student's) two names.

7. With (the verse), 'For bliss may the goddesses afford us their protection; may the waters afford drink to us. With bliss and happiness may they overflow us'—both wipe themselves off.

5, 1. I read, pra su *mṛityum* yuyotana; comp. Mantra-Brāhmaṇa I, 6, 14 (Rig-veda I, 136, 1, &c.). As to the last Pāda, comp. Rig-veda III, 53, 20.

2 seq. Comp. Gobhila II, 10, 21 seq.; Pāraskara II, 2, 6; Sāṅkhāyana II, 2, 4, &c.

5. Mātridatta, 'As it is said below, "he pronounces his two names" (Sūtra 6), the student should here also pronounce his two names, for instance, "I am Devadatta, Kārttika."'

6. 'His common (vyāvahārika) name and his Nakshatra name.' Mātridatta.

7. Rig-veda X, 9, 4.

8. Then (the teacher) touches with his right hand (the boy's) right shoulder, and with his left (hand) his left (shoulder), and draws (the boy's) right arm towards himself with the Vyâhr̥itis, the Sāvitr̥i verse, and with (the formula), 'By the impulse of the god Savitr̥i, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pûshan's hands I initiate thee, N. N. I'

9. He then seizes with his right hand (the boy's) right hand together with the thumb, with (the words), 'Agni has seized thy hand; Soma has seized thy hand; Savitr̥i has seized thy hand; Sarasvatî has seized thy hand; Pûshan has seized thy hand; Brihaspati has seized thy hand; Mitra has seized thy hand; Varuna has seized thy hand; Tvasht̥ri has seized thy hand; Dhât̥ri has seized thy hand; Vishnu has seized thy hand; Pragâpati has seized thy hand.'

10. 'May Savitr̥i protect thee. Mitra art thou by rights; Agni is thy teacher.

'By the impulse of the god Savitr̥i become Brihaspati's pupil. Eat water. Put on fuel. Do the service. Do not sleep in the day-time'—thus (the teacher) instructs him.

11. Then (the teacher) gradually moves his right

8. The word which I have translated 'draws . . . towards himself' is the same which is also used in the sense of 'he initiates him' (upanayate). Possibly we should correct the text: *dakshinam bâhum anv abhyâtman upanayate*, 'he turns him towards himself from left to right (literally, following his right arm).' Comp. Sâṅkhâya II, 3, 2.—Regarding the Mantra, comp. Sâṅkhâya II, 2, 12, &c.

9. Sâṅkhâya II, 2, 11; 3, 1, &c.

10. Sâṅkhâya II, 3, 1; 4, 5. We ought to read *apo-sâna*, instead of *apo-sânaḥ* as the MSS. have.

11. Sâṅkhâya II, 4, 1, &c.

hand down over (the boy's) right shoulder and touches the place of his heart with (the formulas), 'Thy heart shall dwell in my heart; my mind thou shalt follow with thy mind; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart; may *Br̥haspati* join thee to me!

'To me alone thou shalt adhere. In me thy thoughts shall dwell. Upon me thy veneration shall be bent. When I speak, thou shalt be silent.'

12. With (the words), 'Thou art the knot of all breath; do not loosen thyself'—(he touches) the place of his navel.

13. After (the teacher) has recited over him (the formula),

'*Bhûh̥! Bhuvaḥ! Suvaḥ!* By offspring may I become rich in offspring! By valiant sons, rich in valiant sons! By splendour, rich in splendour! By wealth, rich in wealth! By wisdom, rich in wisdom! By pupils, rich in holy lustre!'

And (again the formulas),

'*Bhûh̥!* I place thee in the *Rik̥as*, in *Agni*, on the earth, in voice, in the *Brahman*, N. N.!

'*Bhuvaḥ!* I place thee in the *Yagus*, in *Vāyu*, in the air, in breath, in the *Brahman*, N. N.!

'*Suvaḥ!* I place thee in the *Sām̐ans*, in *Sūrya*, in heaven, in the eye, in the *Brahman*, N. N.!

'May I be beloved (?) and dear to thee, N. N.!

13. The reading of the last Mantra is doubtful. *Ish/atas* should possibly be *ish/as*, but the genitive *analasya*, or, as some of the MSS. have, *ana/asya* (read, *analasasya*?), points rather to a genitive like *ikk̐h̐atas*. If we write *ikk̐h̐atas* and *analasasya*, the translation would be: 'May I be dear to thee, who loves me, N. N.! May I be dear to thee, who art zealous, N. N.!' Comp. *Sāṅkhāyana* II, 3, 3.

May I be dear to thee, the fire (?), N. N. ! Let us dwell here ! Let us dwell in breath and life ! Dwell in breath and life, N. N. ! —

14. He then seizes with his right hand (the boy's) right hand together with the thumb, with the five sections, 'Agni is long-lived.'

15. 'May (Agni) bestow on thee long life everywhere' (Taitt. Samh. I, 3, 14, 4) —

PATALA 2, SECTION 6.

1. (This verse the teacher) murmurs in (the boy's) right ear ;

2. (The verse), 'Life-giving, Agni' (Taitt. Samh. I, 3, 14, 4) in his left ear.

3. Both times he adds (to the verses quoted in the last Sûtras the formula), 'Stand fast in Agni and on the earth, in Vâyu and in the air, in Sûrya and in heaven. The bliss in which Agni, Vâyu, the sun, the moon, and the waters go their way, in that bliss go thy way, N. N. ! Thou hast become the pupil of breath, N. N. !'

4. Approaching his mouth to (the boy's) mouth he murmurs, 'Intelligence may Indra give thee, intelligence the goddess Sarasvatî. Intelligence may the two Asvins, wreathed with lotus, bestow on thee.'

5. He then gives (the boy) in charge (to the gods and demons, with the formulas), 'To Kashaka (?) I

14. Comp. above, Sûtra 9.

6, 3. Âsvalâyana I, 20, 8.

4. Âsvalâyana I, 15, 2 ; 22, 26 ; Pâraskara II, 4, 8.

5. Comp. Sâṅkhâya II, 3, 1 ; Pâraskara II, 2, 21. The name

give thee in charge. To Antaka I give thee in charge. To Aghora ("the not frightful one") I give thee in charge. To Disease . . . to Yama . . . to Makha . . . to Vasint ("the ruling goddess") . . . to the earth together with Vaisvânara . . . to the waters . . . to the herbs . . . to the trees . . . to Heaven and Earth . . . to welfare . . . to holy lustre . . . to the Visve devâs . . . to all beings . . . to all deities I give thee in charge.'

6. He now teaches him the Sâvitri, if he has (already) been initiated before.

7. If he has not been initiated (before, he teaches him the Sâvitri) after three days have elapsed.

8. (He does so) immediately, says Pushkarasâdi.

9. Having placed to the west of the fire a bunch of grass with its points directed towards the north, (the teacher) sits down thereon, facing the east, with (the formula), 'A giver of royal power art thou, a teacher's seat. May I not withdraw from thee.'

10. The boy raises his joined hands towards the sun, embraces (the feet of) his teacher, sits down to the south (of the teacher), addresses (him), 'Recite, sir!' and then says, 'Recite the Sâvitri, sir!'

11. Having recited over (the boy the verse), 'We call thee, the lord of the hosts' (Taitt. Samh. II, 3, 14, 3), he then recites (the Sâvitri) to him, firstly Pâda by Pâda, then hemistich by hemistich, and then the whole verse (in the following way),

in the first section of the Mantra is spelt Kashakâya and Kaskâya. Comp. Mantra-Brâhmana I, 6, 22: *Kṛisana*, *idam* te paridâdâmy amum; Atharva-veda IV, 10, 7: *Karsanas tvâbhirakshatu*.

6. 'A repetition of the initiation takes place as a penance.' *Mâtridatta*.

9-11. Comp. Sâṅkhâya II, 5, &c.

- ‘Bhûs! Tat Savitur varenyam (That adorable splendour)—
 ‘Bhuvo! Bhargo devasya dhîmahî (of the divine Savitri may we obtain)—
 ‘Suvar! Dhiyo yo naḥ prakodayât (who should rouse our prayers).—
 ‘Bhûr bhuvas! Tat Savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhîmahî—
 ‘Suvar! Dhiyo yo naḥ prakodayât.—
 ‘Bhûr bhuvaḥ suvas! Tat Savitur . . . prakodayât.’

PĀTALA 2, SECTION 7.

1. He then causes (the student) to put on the fire seven pieces of fresh Palâsa wood, with unbroken tops, of one span's length, which have been anointed with ghee.

2. One (of these pieces of wood he puts on the fire) with (the Mantra), ‘To Agni I have brought a piece of wood, to the great Gâtavedas. As thou art inflamed, Agni, through that piece of wood, thus inflame me through wisdom, insight, offspring, cattle, holy lustre, and through the enjoyment of food. Svâhâ!’—

3. (Then he puts on the fire) two (pieces of wood with the same Mantra, using the dual instead of the

7, 1 seq. Comp. Âsvalâyana I, 21, 1; Sâṅkhâyaṇa II, 10, &c.
 ‘The putting of fuel on the fire, and what follows after it, form a part of the chief ceremony, not of the recitation of the Sâvitri. Therefore in the case of one who has not yet been initiated (see I, 2, 6, 7), it ought to be performed immediately after (the student) has been given in charge (to the gods and demons; I, 2, 6, 5).’
 Mâtridatta.

2. Pâraskara II, 4, 3.

singular), 'To Agni (I have brought) two pieces of wood;'

4. (Then) four (pieces of wood, using the plural), 'To Agni (I have brought) pieces of wood.'

5. He then sprinkles (water) round (the fire) as above.

6. 'Thou hast given thy consent; ' 'Thou hast given thy impulse '—thus he changes the end of each Mantra.

7. He then worships the (following) deities (with the following Mantras),

8. Agni with (the words), 'Agni, lord of the vow, I shall keep the vow;'

9. Vāyu with (the words), 'Vāyu, lord of the vow, (&c.);'

10. Āditya (the sun) with (the words), 'Āditya, lord of the vow, (&c.);'

11. The lord of the vows with (the words), 'Lord of the vows, ruling over the vows (&c.).'

12. He then gives an optional gift to his Guru (i. e. to the teacher).

13. (The teacher) makes him rise with (the verse which the student recites), 'Up! with life' (Taitt. Samh. I, 2, 8, 1); he gives him in charge (to the sun) with (the words), 'Sun! This is thy son; I give him in charge to thee; ' and he worships the sun with (the Mantra), 'That bright eye created by the gods which rises in the east : may we see it a hundred autumns; may we live a hundred autumns; may we

5. Comp. above, I, 1, 2, 7 seq.

6. He says, 'Anumati! Thou hast given thy consent!' &c.

8 seq. Comp. Gobhila II, 10, 16.

12. Comp. Sāṅkhāyana I, 14, 13 seq.

13. Pāraskara I, 8, 7; I, 6, 3.

rejoice a hundred autumns; may we be glad a hundred autumns; may we prosper a hundred autumns; may we hear a hundred autumns; may we speak a hundred autumns; may we live undecaying a hundred autumns; and may we long see the sun.'

14. 'May Agni further give thee life. May Agni further grant thee bliss. May Indra with the Maruts here give (that) to thee; may the sun with the Vasus give (it) to thee'—with (this verse the teacher) gives him a staff, and then hands over to him a bowl (for collecting alms).

15. Then he says to him, 'Go out for alms.'

16. Let him beg of his mother first;

17. Then (let him beg) in other houses where they are kindly disposed towards him.

18. He brings (the food which he has received) to his Guru (i. e. to the teacher), and announces it to him by saying, '(These are) the alms.'

19. (The teacher accepts it) with the words, 'Good alms they are.'

20. 'May all gods bless thee whose first garment we accept. May after thee, the prosperous one, the well-born, many brothers and friends be born'—with (this verse the teacher) takes (for himself) the former garment (of the student).

21. When the food (with which the Brâhmanas shall be entertained) is ready, (the student) takes some portion of boiled rice, cakes, and flour, mixes

14. Sâṅkhâya II, 6, 2, &c.

16 seq. Sâṅkhâya II, 6, 4 seq.; Âpastamba I, 3, 28 seq.

17. The commentary explains *râtikuleshu* by *gṇâtiprabhrîtishu*;—comp. *yo'sya râtir bhavati*, I, 3, 9, 18.

20. See above, I, 1, 4, 2, and comp. Atharva-veda II, 13, 5.

(these substances) with clarified butter, and sacrifices with (the formulas), 'To Agni svâhâ! To Soma svâhâ! To Agni, the eater of food, svâhâ! To Agni, the lord of food, svâhâ! To Pragâpati svâhâ! To the Visve devâs svâhâ! To all deities svâhâ! To Agni Svishṭakṛit svâhâ!'

22. Thus (let him sacrifice) wherever (oblations of food are prescribed) for which the deities (to whom they shall be offered) are not indicated.

23. If the deity is indicated, (let him sacrifice) with (the words), 'To such and such (a deity) svâhâ!'—according to which deity it is.

24. Taking (again) some portion of the same kinds of food, he offers it as a Bali on eastward-pointed Darbha grass, with (the words), 'To Vâstupati (i. e. Vâstoshpati) svâhâ!'

25. After he has served those three kinds of food to the Brâhmaṇas, and has caused them to say, 'An auspicious day! Hail! Good luck!'—

PATALA 2, SECTION 8.

1. He keeps through three days the (following) vow :

2. He eats no pungent or saline food and no vegetables ; he sleeps on the ground ; he does not drink out of an earthen vessel ; he does not give the remnants of his food to a Sûdra ; he does not eat honey or meat ; he does not sleep in the day-

23. Comp. above, I, 1, 3, 3.

24. 'The same,' of course, refers to Sûtra 21.

25. See above, I, 1, 1, 6.

8, 1. This is the Sâvitra-vrata. Comp. I, 2, 6, 7 ; Sâṅkhâyaṇa, Introduction, p. 8.

2. Regarding the term 'pungent food,' comp. Professor Bühler's notes on Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 23 ; II, 6, 15, 15.

time; in the morning and in the evening he brings (to his teacher) the food which he has received as alms and a pot of water; every day (he fetches) a bundle of firewood; in the morning and in the evening, or daily in the evening he puts fuel on (the fire, in the following way):

3. Before sprinkling (water) round (the fire), he wipes (with his wet hand) from left to right round (the fire) with the verse, 'As you have loosed, O Vasus, the buffalo-cow' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 7, 15, 7), and sprinkles (water) round (the fire) as above.

4. (Then) he puts (four) pieces of wood (on the fire) with the single (Vyâhr̥itis) and with (the three Vyâhr̥itis) together, and (four other pieces) with (the following four verses),

'This fuel is thine, Agni; thereby thou shalt grow and gain vigour. And may we grow and gain vigour. Svâhâ!

'May Indra give me insight; may Sarasvatī, the goddess, (give) insight; may both Asvins, wreathed with lotus, bestow insight on me. Svâhâ!

'The insight that dwells with the Apsaras, the mind that dwells with the Gandharvas, the divine insight and that which is born from men: may that insight, the fragrant one, rejoice in me! Svâhâ!

'May insight, the fragrant one, that assumes all shapes, the gold-coloured, mobile one, come to me. Rich in sap, swelling with milk, may she, insight, the lovely-faced one, rejoice in me! Svâhâ!'

5. Having wiped round (the fire) in the same way, he sprinkles (water) round (the fire) as above.

3. See I, 1, 2, 7 seq.; Âpastamba Dharma-sûtra I, 1, 4, 18.

4. Âpastamba I, 1, 4, 16; Sâṅkhâya II, 10, 4, &c.

5. See Sûtra 3 and the note.

6. He worships the fire with the Mantras, 'What thy splendour is, Agni, may I thereby' (Taitt. Samh. III, 5, 3, 2), and 'On me may insight, on me offspring' (Taitt. Âranyaka X, 44).

7. After the lapse of those three days (Sûtra 1) he serves in the same way the three kinds of food (stated above) to the Brâhmanas, causes them to say, 'An auspicious day! Hail! Good luck!' and discharges himself of his vow by (repeating) these (Mantras) with (the necessary) alterations, 'Agni, lord of the vow, I have kept the vow' (see above, I, 2, 7, 8).

8. He keeps the same observances afterwards (also),

9. Dwelling in his teacher's house. He may eat, (however,) pungent and saline food and vegetables.

10. He wears a staff, has his hair tied in one knot, and wears a girdle,

11. Or he may tie the lock on the crown of the head in a knot.

12. He wears (an upper garment) dyed with red Loth, or the skin (of an antelope, &c.).

13. He does not have intercourse with women.

14. (The studentship lasts) forty-eight years, or

6. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 21, 4.

7. See I, 2, 7, 21. 25.

8. He keeps the observances stated in Sûtra 2.

9. See above, Sûtra 2. Comp. Âpastamba Dharma-sûtra I, 1, 2, 11, and Sûtra 23 of the same section, which stands in contradiction to this Sûtra of Hiranyakesin.

10, 11. Comp. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 31. 32. Mâtridatta has received into his explanation of the eleventh Sûtra the words, 'he should shave the rest of the hair,' which in the Âpastambîya-sûtra are found in the text.

14. Âsvalâyana-Grîhya I, 22, 3; Âpastamba Dharma-sûtra I, 1, 2, 12 seq.

twenty-four (years), or twelve (years), or until he has learnt (the Veda).

15. He should not, however, omit keeping the observances.

16. At the beginning and on the completion of the study of a *Kānda* (of the Black Yagur-veda he sacrifices) with (the verse), 'The lord of the seat, the wonderful one, the friend of Indra, the dear one, I have entreated for the gift of insight. Svāhā!'

In the second place the *Rishi* of the *Kānda* (receives an oblation).

(Then follow oblations with the verses), 'This, O Varuṇa;' 'For this I entreat thee;' 'Thou, Agni;' 'Thus thou, Agni;' 'Thou, Agni, art quick;' 'Pragâpati!' and, 'What I have done too much in this sacrifice.' Here some add as subordinate oblations the *Gaya*, *Abhyâtâna*, and *Râshṭrabhrîṭ* (oblations) as above.

End of the Second Pāṭala.

PRAŚNA I, PĀṬALA 3, SECTION 9.

1. After he has studied the Veda, the bath (which signifies the end of his studentship, is taken by him).

2. We shall explain that (bath).

3. During the northern course of the sun, in the time of the increasing moon, under (the Nakshatra) *Rohiṇī*, (or) *Mṛigasiras*, (or) *Tishya*, (or) *Uttarâ*

16. Rig-veda I, 18, 6. As the *Rishis* of the single *Kāndas* are considered, *Pragâpati*, *Soma*, *Agni*, the *Visve devâs*, *Svayambhû*. Regarding the Mantras quoted in the last section of this *Sûtra*, see above, I, 1, 3, 5-7.

Phalgunī, (or) Hasta, (or) Kītrā, or the two Visākhās: under these (Nakshatras) he may take the bath.

4. He goes to a place near which water is, puts wood on the fire, performs the rites down to the oblations made with the Vyāhṛitis, and puts a piece of Palāsa wood on (the fire) with (the verse), 'Let us prepare this song like a chariot, for Gâtavedas who deserves it, with our prayer. For his foresight in this assembly is a bliss to us. Agni! Dwelling in thy friendship may we not suffer harm. Svāhâ!'

5. Then he sacrifices with the Vyāhṛitis as above,

6. (And another oblation with the verse), 'The threefold age of Gamadagni, Kasyapa's threefold age, the threefold age that belongs to the gods: may that threefold age be mine. Svāhâ!'

7. (Then follow oblations with the verses), 'This, O Varuṇa,' &c. (see above, I, 2, 8, 16, down to the end of the Sūtra).

8. After he has served food to the Brāhmanas, and has caused them to say, 'An auspicious day! Hail! Good luck!' he discharges himself of his vow by (repeating) these (Mantras), 'Agni, lord of the vow, I have kept the vow.'

9. Having (thus) discharged himself of his vow, he worships the sun with the two (verses), 'Upwards

9, 4. Comp. I, 1, 3, 4; Rig-veda I, 94, 1. 'Where the words are used, "He puts wood on the fire" (agnim upasamādhāya), he should prepare the ground by raising it, &c., should carry the fire to that place, should put wood on it, and then he should sacrifice in the fire. Where those words are not used, he should (only) strew grass round the fire which is (already) established in its proper place, and should thus perform the sacrifice.' Mâtṛidatta.

6. Sāṅkhāyana I, 28, 9.

8. Comp. I, 2, 7, 25; 8, 7.

that (*Gâtavedas*)' (*Taitt. Samh.* I, 4, 43, 1), and, 'The bright' (*ibid.*).

10. With (the words), '(Loosen) from us thy highest band, *Varuna*,' he takes off the upper garment which he has worn during his studentship, and puts on another (garment). With (the words), '(Loosen) the lowest (fetter),' (he takes off) the under garment; with (the words), '(Take) away the middle (fetter),' the girdle. With (the words), 'And may we, O *Âditya*, under thy law (&c.),' (he deposes) his staff. The girdle, the staff, and the black antelope's skin he throws into water, sits down to the west of the fire, facing the east, and touches the razor (with which he is going to be shaven), with (the formula), 'Razor is thy name; the axe is thy father. Adoration to thee! Do no harm to me!'

11. Having handed over (that razor) to the barber, he touches the water with which his hair is to be moistened, with (the formula), 'Be blissful, (O waters), when we touch you.' [(The barber) then pours together warm and cold water. Having poured warm (water) into cold (water)—]

12. (The barber) moistens the hair near the right ear with (the words), 'May the waters moisten thee for life, for old age and splendour' (*Taitt. Samhitâ* I, 2, 1, 1).

10. The words quoted in this *Sûtra* are the parts of a *Rik* which is found in *Taittirîya Samhitâ* I, 5, 11, 3.

11. The words which I have included in brackets are wanting in some of the MSS., and are not explained in the commentaries. They are doubtless a spurious addition. *Comp. Âsvalâyana* I, 17, 6, &c.

12. *Pâraskara* II, 1, 9. The same expression *dakshinam godânam*, of which I have treated there in the note, is used in this *Sûtra*. *Comp.*, besides, *Sânkhâyana-Grihya* I, 28, 9; *Âpa-*

13. With (the words), 'Herb ! protect him' (Taitt. Samh., loc. cit.), he puts an herb with the point upwards into (the hair).

14. With (the words), 'Axe ! do no harm to him !' (Taitt. Samh., loc. cit.), he touches (that herb) with the razor.

15. With (the words), 'Heard by the gods, I shave that (hair)' (Taitt. Samh., loc. cit.), he shaves him.

16. With (the formula), 'If thou shavest, O shaver, my hair and my beard with the razor, the wounding, the well-shaped, make our face resplendent, but do not take away our life'—(the student who is going to take the bath), looks at the barber.

17. He has the beard shaven first, then the hair in his arm-pits, then the hair (on his head), then the hair of his body, then (he has) his nails (cut).

18. A person who is kindly disposed (towards the student), gathers the hair, the beard, the hair of the body, and the nails (that have been cut off), in a lump of bull's dung, and buries (that lump of dung) in a cow-stable, or near an Udumbara tree, or in a clump of Darbha grass, with (the words), 'Thus I

stamba-Srauta-sūtra X, 5, 8; Satapatha-Br. III, 1, 2, 6. According to Mâtṛidatta, there is some difference of opinion between the different teachers as to whether the Mantras for the moistening of the hair and the following rites are to be repeated by the teacher or by the barber.

13. Âsvalâyana I, 17, 8; Pâraskara II, 1, 10; Âpastamba-Sraut., loc. cit.; Kâtyâyana-Sraut. VII, 2, 10. The parallel texts prescribe that one Kusa blade, or three Kusa blades, should be put into the hair.

14. Yâgyñikadeva in his commentary on Kâtyâyana (loc. cit.) says, kshureṇâbbhinidhâya kshuradhârâm antarthitatrîṇasyopari nidhâya.

16. Âsvalâyana I, 17, 16. Comp. also Rig-veda I, 24, 11.

hide the sin of N. N., who belongs to the Gotra N. N.'

19. Having rubbed himself with powder such as is used in bathing, he cleanses his teeth with a stick of Udumbara wood—

PĀTALA 3, SECTION 10.

1. With (the formula), 'Stand in your places for the sake of the enjoyment of food. Stand in your places for the sake of long life. Stand in your places for the sake of holy lustre. May I be blessed with long life, an enjoyer of food, adorned with holy lustre.'

2. Then (the teacher) makes him wash himself with lukewarm water, with the three verses, 'O waters, ye are wholesome' (Taitt. Saṃh. IV, 1, 5, 1), with the four verses, 'The gold-coloured, clean, purifying (waters)' (Taitt. Saṃh. V, 6, 1), and with the Anuvāka, 'The purifier, the heavenly one' (Taitt. Brāhmaṇa I, 4, 8).

3. Or (instead of performing these rites in the neighbourhood of water) they make an enclosure in a cow-stable and cover it (from all sides); that (the student) enters before sunrise, and in that (enclosure) the whole (ceremony) is performed. 'On that day the sun does not shine upon him,' some say. 'For he who shines (i. e. the sun), shines by the splendour of those who have taken the bath. Therefore the face of a Snātaka is, as it were, resplendent (?).'

4. (His friends or relations) bring him all sorts of

10, 3. Rephāyatīva dīpyatīva. Mātrīdatta. Comp. Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra II, 6, 14, 13, and Bühler's note, S. B. E., vol. ii, p. 135.

4. Comp. above, I, 2, 8, 4.

perfumes, or ground sandal wood; he besprinkles that (with water), and worships the gods by raising his joined hands towards the east, with (the formulas), 'Adoration to Graha (the taker) and to Abhigraha (the seizer)! Adoration to Sāka and Gaṇḍabha! Adoration to those deities who are seizers!' (Then) he anoints himself with (that salve of sandal wood) with (the verse), 'The scent that dwells with the Apsaras, and the splendour that dwells with the Gandharvas, divine and human scent: may that here enter upon me!'

5. They bring him a pair of (new) garments that have not yet been washed. He besprinkles them (with water) and puts on the under garment with (the formula), 'Thou art Soma's body; protect my body! Thou who art my own body, enter upon me; thou who art a blissful body, enter upon me.' Then he touches water, (puts on) the upper garment with the same (Mantra), and sits down to the west of the fire, facing the east.

6. They bring him two ear-rings and a perforated pellet of sandal wood or of Badari wood, overlaid with gold (at its aperture); these two things he ties to a Darbha blade, holds them over the fire, and pours over them (into the fire) oblations (of ghee) with (the Mantras),

'May this gold which brings long life and splendour and increase of wealth, and which gets through (all adversities), enter upon me for the sake of long life, of splendour, and of victory. Svāhā!

6. Regarding the first Mantra, comp. Vāgas. Samhitā XXXIV, 50. In the fifth Mantra we ought to read oshadhis trāyamānā. Comp. below, I, 3, 11, 3; Pāraskara I, 13; Atharva-veda VIII, 2, 6.

‘(This gold) brings high gain, superiority in battles, superiority in assemblies; it conquers treasures. All perfections unitedly dwell together in this gold. Svâhâ!

‘I have obtained an auspicious name like (the name) of a father of gold. Thus may (the gold) make me shine with golden lustre; (may it make me) beloved among many people; may it make me full of holy lustre. Svâhâ!

‘Make me beloved among the gods; make me beloved with Brahman (i. e. among the Brâhmaṇas), beloved among Vaiśyas and Sûdras; make me beloved among the kings (i. e. among the Kshatriyas). Svâhâ!

‘This herb is protecting, overcoming, and powerful. May it make me shine with golden lustre; (may it make me) beloved among many people; may it make me full of holy lustre. Svâhâ!’

7. Having thrice washed (the two ear-rings) in a vessel of water with the same five (Mantras), without the word Svâhâ, (moving them round in the water) from left to right—

PATALA 3, SECTION 11.

1. He puts on the two ear-rings, the right one to his right ear, the left one to his left ear, with (the verse which he repeats for each of the two ear-rings), ‘Virâḡ and Svarâḡ, and the aiding powers that dwell in our house, the prosperity that dwells in the face of royalty: therewith unite me.’

2. With (the Mantra), ‘With the seasons and the combinations of seasons, for the sake of long life, of

11, 2. The end of the Mantra is corrupt. We ought to read, as

splendour, with the sap that dwells in the year: therewith we make them touch the jaws'—he clasps the two ear-rings.

3. With (the Mantra), 'This herb is protecting, overcoming, and powerful. May it make me shine with golden lustre; (may it make me) beloved among many people; may it make me full of holy lustre. Thou art not a bond'—he ties the pellet (of wood, mentioned above, Section 10, Sūtra 6) to his neck.

4. He puts on a wreath with the two (verses),
'Beautiful one, elevate thyself to beauty, beautifying my face. Beautify my face and make my fortune increase'—(and),

'(The wreath) which Gamadagnī has brought to Śraddhā to please her, that I put on (my head) together with fortune and splendour.'

5. 'The salve coming from the Trikakud (mountain), born on the Himavat, therewith I anoint you (i. e. the eyes), and with fortune and splendour. (I put ?) into myself the demon of the mountain (?)'—with (this verse) he anoints himself with Traikakuda salve, (or) if he cannot get that, with some other (salve).

6. With (the verse), 'My mind that has fled away' (Taitt. Saṃhitā VI, 6, 7, 2) he looks into a mirror.

Dr. Kirste has shown, *tena samhanu kṛīmāsi* (Av. V, 28, 13). Mātridatta says, *samgrīhīte-pidhānenāpidadhāti pratigrahasam-grahanayoh samyuktatvād ekāpavargatvāt*.

3. The Mantra, with the exception of the last words, is identical with the last verse of Section 10, Sūtra 6. Here the MSS. again have oshadhe for oshadhis.

4. Comp. Atharva-veda VI, 137: *yām Gamadagnir akhanad duhitre*, &c.; Pāraskara II, 6, 23.

5. Regarding the Traikakuda salve, comp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 69, and see Atharva-veda IV, 9, 9.

7. With (the formula), 'On the impulse of the god,' &c., he takes a staff of reed (which somebody hands him), and with (the formula), 'Thou art the thunderbolt of Indra. O Asvins, protect me!'—he thrice wipes it off, upwards from below.

8. With (the formula), 'Speed! Make speed away from us those who hate us, robbers, creeping things, beasts of prey, Rakshas, Pisākas. Protect us, O staff, from danger that comes from men; protect us from every danger; from all sides destroy the robbers'—(and with the verse), 'Not naked (i. e. covered with bark) thou art born on all trees, a destroyer of foes. Destroy all hosts of enemies from every side like Maghavan (Indra)'—he swings (the staff) three times from left to right over his head.

9. With (the formula), 'The divine standing-places are you. Do not pinch me'—he steps into the shoes.

10. With (the formula), 'Pragâpati's shelter art thou, the Brahman's covering'—he takes the parasol.

11. With the verse, 'My staff which fell down in the open air to the ground, that I take up again for the sake of long life, of holiness, of holy lustre'—he takes up his staff, if it has fallen from his hand.

End of the Third Pāṭala.

7. He takes the staff with the well-known Sâvitṛa formula, 'On the impulse of the god Savitṛi . . . I take thee.'

9. Ârvalâyana III, 8, 19; Pâraskara II, 6, 30.

10. Ârvalâyana III, 8, 19; Pâraskara II, 6, 29.

11. Instead of yamâyushe I propose to read âyushe. Comp. Pâraskara II, 2, 12.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 4, SECTION 12.

1. They bring him a chariot, (or) a horse, or an elephant.

2. 'Thou art the (Sâman called) Rathantara; thou art the Vâmadevya; thou art the Brîhat;' the (verse), 'The two Aṅkas, the two Nyaṅkas' (Taitt. Samhitâ I, 7, 7, 2); (the verse), 'May this your chariot, O Asvins, not suffer damage, neither in pain nor in joy. May it make its way without damage, dispersing those who infest us;' (and the formula), 'Here is holding, here is keeping asunder; here is enjoyment, here may it enjoy itself:' with (these texts) he ascends the chariot, if he enters (the village) on a chariot.

3. 'A horse art thou, a steed art thou'—with these eleven 'horses' names' (Taitt. Samh. VII, 1, 12) (he mounts) the horse, if (he intends to enter the village) on horseback.

4. With (the formula), 'With Indra's thunderbolt I bestride thee; carry (me); carry the time; carry me forward to bliss. An elephant art thou. The elephant's glory art thou. The elephant's splendour art thou. May I become endowed with the elephant's glory, with the elephant's splendour'—(he mounts) the elephant, if (he intends to proceed to the village) on it.

12, 2. Comp. Pâraskara III, 14, 3-6.

3. In this Sûtra three 'horses' names' are given as the Prâtîka of the Yagus quoted, 'Thou art asva, thou art haya, thou art maya.' Mâtrîdatta observes that the third of them is not found in the Taittirîya Samhitâ, which gives only ten, and not eleven, horses' names.

4. Pâraskara III, 15, 1 seq.

5. He goes to a place where they will do honour to him.

6. With (the verse), 'May the quarters (of the horizon) stream together with me; may all delight assemble (here). May all wishes that are dear to us, come near unto us; may (our) dear (wishes) stream towards us'—he worships the quarters of the horizon.

7. While approaching the person who is going to do honour to him, he looks at him with (the words), 'Glory art thou; may I become glory with thee.'

8. Then (the host who is going to offer the Argha reception to the Snātaka), having prepared the dwelling-place (for his reception), says to him, 'The Argha (will be offered)!'

9. (The guest) replies, 'Do so!'

10. They prepare for him (the Madhuparka or 'honey mixture') consisting of three or of five substances.

11. The three substances are, curds, honey, and ghee.

12. The five substances are, curds, honey, ghee, water, and ground grains.

13. Having poured curds into a brass vessel, he pours honey into it, (and then the other substances stated above).

14. Having poured (those substances) into a smaller vessel, and having covered it with a larger (cover than the vessel is), (the host) makes (the guest) accept (the following things) separately, one after the other, viz. a bunch of grass (to sit down on),

5. Âsvalâyana III, 9, 3; Sâṅkhâya III, 1, 14.

10 seq. Pâraskara I, 3, 5; Âsvalâyana I 24, 5 seq.

14. Pâraskara, loc. cit.; Âsvalâyana, loc. cit., § 7.

water for washing the feet, the Argha water, water for sipping, and the honey-mixture (Madhuparka).

15. Going after (the single objects which are brought to the guest, the host) in a faultless, not faltering (?) voice, announces (each of those objects to the guest).

16. The bunch of grass (he announces by three times saying), 'The bunch of grass!'

17. (The guest) sits down thereon facing the east, with (the formula), 'A giver of royal power art thou, a teacher's seat; may I not withdraw from thee.'

18. (The host) then utters to him the announcement, 'The water for washing the feet!'

19. With that (water) a Sûdra or a Sûdra woman washes his feet; the left foot first for a Brâhmana, the right for a person of the two other castes.

PATALA 4, SECTION 13.

1. With (the formula), 'The milk of Virâg art thou. May the milk of Padyâ Virâg (dwell) in me' —(the guest) touches the hands of the person that

15. The text is corrupt and the translation very doubtful. The MSS. have, *anusamvraginâ so-nupakiñkayâ vâkâ*. Mâtridatta's note, which is also very corrupt, runs thus: *anusamvraginâ saha kûrtâdinâ dravyena tad agratah kritvânugantâ. anusamvragineti* (sic; *anugakhamnnusamv*°, Dr. Kielhorn's MS.) *pramâdapâ/ha/*. *sampradâtânupakiñkayâ na vidyata upaghâtikâ vâg yasya* [yasyâ, Dr. K.'s MS.] *seyam anupakiñkâ vâk . . . keid anusamvragineti* (*anusamvragineti*, Dr. Kirste) *pâ/hântaram kritvâ vâgvishesham ikkhanti yathâ mrishâ vâk samskritâ vâk tathâ keti. apare yathâpâ/ham evârtham ikkhanti*.—Perhaps we may correct, *anusamvraginayânupakiñkayâ vâkâ*. Comp. below, I, 4, 13, 16.

17. See above, I, 2, 6, 9.

19. Pâraskara I, 3, 10. 11; Âsvalâyana I, 24, 11.

13, 1. Comp. Sâñkhâyana III, 7, 5, &c.

washes his feet, and then he touches himself with (the formula), 'May in me dwell brilliancy, energy, strength, life, renown, splendour, glory, power!'

2. (The host) then makes to him the announcement, 'The Argha water!'

3. (The guest) accepts it with (the formula), 'Thou camest to me with glory. Unite me with brilliancy, splendour, and milk. Make me beloved by all creatures, the lord of cattle.'

4. 'To the ocean I send you, the imperishable (waters); go back to your source. May I not suffer loss in my offspring. May my sap not be shed'—this (verse the guest) recites over the remainder (of the Argha water), when it is poured out (by the person who had offered it to him).

5. Then he utters to him the announcement, 'The water for sipping!'

6. With (the formula), 'Thou art the first layer for Ambrosia,' he sips water.

7. Then he utters to him the announcement, 'The honey-mixture!'

8. He accepts that with both hands with the Sâvitra (formula), and places it on the ground with (the formula), 'I place thee on the navel of the earth in the abode of *Idâ*.' He mixes (the different substances) three times from left to right with his thumb and his fourth finger, with (the formula), 'What is the honied, highest form of honey which consists in the enjoyment of food, by that honied,

3. Pâraskara I, 3, 15.

4. Pâraskara I, 3, 14.

6. Âsvalâyana I, 21, 13.

8. Pâraskara I, 3, 18 seq.; Âsvalâyana I, 21, 15 seq.—The Sâvitra formula is, 'On the impulse of the god *Savitri* . . . I take thee.' Comp. above, I, 3, 11, 7.

highest form of honey may I become highest, honied, and an enjoyer of food.' He partakes of it three times with (the formula), 'I eat thee for the sake of brilliancy, of luck, of glory, of power, and of the enjoyment of food,' and gives the remainder to a person who is kindly disposed towards him.

9. Or he may eat the whole (Madhuparka). Then he sips water with (the formula), 'Thou art the covering of Ambrosia.'

10. Then he utters to him the announcement, 'The cow!'

11. That (cow) is either killed or let loose.

12. If he chooses to let it loose, (he murmurs), 'This cow will become a milch cow.'

'The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Âdityas, the navel of immortality. To the people who understand me, I say, "Do not kill the guiltless cow, which is Aditi."

'Let it drink water! Let it eat grass'—

(And) gives order (to the people), 'Om! Let it loose.'

13. If it shall be killed, (he says), 'A cow art thou; sin is driven away from thee. Drive away my sin and the sin of N. N.! Kill ye him who ever hates me. He is killed whosoever hates me. Make (the cow) ready!'

14. If (the cow) is let loose, a meal is prepared with other meat, and he announces it (to the guest) in the words, 'It is ready!'

9. Âsvalâyana I, 21, 27. 28.

10 seq. Âsvalâyana I, 21, 30 seq.; Pâraskara I, 3, 26 seq.; Sâṅkhâyaṇa II, 15, 2. 3 note; Gobhila IV, 10, 18 seq.

13. N. N., of course, means the host's name.

14 seq. Comp. Gobhila I, 3, 16 seq.; Âpastamba II, 2, 3, 11.

15. He replies, 'It is well prepared; it is the Virâg; it is food. May it not fail! May I obtain it! May it give me strength! It is well prepared!'—and adds, 'Give food to the Brâhmanas!'

16. After those (Brâhmanas) have eaten, (the host) orders blameless (?) food to be brought to him (i. e. to the guest).

17. He accepts that with (the formula), 'May the heaven give it to thee; may the earth accept it. May the earth give it to thee; may breath accept it. May breath eat thee; may breath drink thee.'

18. With (the verse), 'May Indra and Agni bestow vigour on me' (Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 3, 3) he eats as much as he likes, and gives the remainder to a person who is kindly disposed towards him.

19. If he desires that somebody may not be estranged from him, he should sip water with (the Mantra), 'Whereon the past and the future and all worlds rest, therewith I take hold of thee; I (take hold) of thee; through the Brahman I take hold of thee for myself, N. N.!'—

PĀṬALA 4, SECTION 14.

1. And should, after that person has eaten, seize his right hand.

2. If he wishes that one of his companions, or a pupil, or a servant should faithfully remain with him and not go away, he should bathe in the morning, should put on clean garments, should show

16. The meaning of *anusamvṛginam* (comp. above, I, 4, 12, 15) is uncertain. See the commentary, p. 120 of Dr. Kirste's edition.

14, 2. *Mâtridatta*: 'The description of the Samâvartana is finished.'

patience (with that servant, &c.) during the day, should speak (only) with Brâhmaṇas, and by night he should go to the dwelling-place of that person, should make water into a horn of a living animal, and should three times walk round his dwelling-place, sprinkling (his urine) round it, with (the Mantra), 'From the mountain (I sever ?) thee, from thy brother, from thy sister, from all thy relations. *pariṣṭdaḥ kleshyati* (i. e. *kvaishyasi* ?) *sasvat parikupilena samkrâmenâvikkhidâ, ūlena parimīdho-si parimīdho-sy ūlena.*

3. He puts down the horn of the living animal in a place which is generally accessible.

4. One whose companions, pupils, or servants use to run away, should rebuke them with (the Mantra), 'May he who calls hither (?), call you hither! He who brings back, has brought you back (?). May the rebuke of Indra always rebuke you. If you, who worship your own deceit, despise me (?), . . . may Indra bind you with his bond, and may he drive you back again to me.'

Now some ceremonies connected with special wishes of the person who has performed the Samâvartana and has settled in a house, will be described.' In my opinion, it would be more correct to consider Sūtra 18 of the preceding section as the last of the aphorisms that regard the Samâvartana. With Sūtra 2 compare Pâraskara III, 7; Âpastamba VIII, 23, 6. It seems impossible to attempt to translate the hopelessly corrupt last lines of the Mantra.

4. A part of this Mantra also is most corrupt. In the first line I propose to write, *nivarto vo nyavîvritat*. With the last line comp. Pâraskara III, 7, 3. I think that the text of Pâraskara should be corrected in the following way: *pari tvâ hvalano hvalan nivartas tvâ nyavîvritat, indraḥ pâsena sitvâ tvâ mahyam . . .* (three syllables) *ânayet*. The Âpastambîya Mantrapâṭha, according to Dr. Winternitz's copy, gives the following text: *anupohvad anuhvayo vivartto*

5. Then he enters his house, puts a piece of Sidhraka wood on (the fire), and sacrifices with the 'on-drawing verse,' 'Back-bringer, bring them back' (Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 10, 1).

6. Now (we shall explain) how one should guard his wife.

7. One whose wife has a paramour, should grind big centipedes (?) to powder, and should insert (that powder), while his wife is sleeping, into her secret parts, with the Mantra, 'Indra . . . from other men than me.'

8. Now (follows the sacrifice for procuring) prosperity in trade.

9. He cuts off (some portion) from (every) article of trade and sacrifices it—

PATALA 4, SECTION 15.

1. With (the verse), 'If we trade, O gods, trying by our wealth to acquire (new) wealth, O gods, may

vo nyavivṛidhat. aindraḥ parikroso tu vaḥ parikrosatu sarvataḥ. yadi mām atimanyādvā ā devā devavattara indraḥ pāsena sitkvā vo mahyam id vasam ānayāt svāhā. Comp. Prof. Pischel's remarks, Philologische Abhandlungen, Martin Hertz zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von ehemaligen Schülern dargebracht (Berlin, 1888), p. 69 seq.

7. On sthūrā *dridhā*[h] Mātridatta says, sthūrā *dridhā* sthūrāḥ satapadyaḥ. A part of the Mantra is untranslatable on account of the very corrupt condition of the text. The reading given by most of the MSS. is, Indrāya yāsya sepham alikam anyebhyaḥ purushebhyo nyatra mat. The Āpastambīya Mantrapāṭha reads, indrāyāsya phaligam anyebhyaḥ purushebhyonyatra mat. The meaning very probably is that Indra is invoked to keep away from the woman the sepha of all other men except her husband's.

15, 1. Comp. Atharva-veda III, 15, 5; Gobhila IV, 8, 19.

Soma thereon bestow splendour, Agni, Indra, *Bṛihaspati*, and *Īśāna*. Svâhâ !'

2. Now (follows) the way for appeasing anger.

3. He addresses the angry person with (the verses), 'The power of wrath that dwells here on thy forehead, destroying thy enemy (?), may the chaste, wise gods take that away.

'If thou shootest, as it were, the thought dwelling in thy face, upwards to thy forehead, I loosen the anger of thy heart like the bow-string of an archer.

'Day, heaven, and earth : we appease thy anger, as the womb of a she-mule (cannot conceive).'

4. Now (follows) the way for obtaining the victory in disputes.

5. He puts wood on the fire at night-time in an inner apartment, performs the rites down to the *Vyâhrîti* oblations, and sacrifices small grains mixed with *Āgya*, with (the verse), 'Tongueless one, thou who art without a tongue ! I drive thee away through my sacrifice, so that I may gain the victory in the dispute, and that N. N. may be defeated by me. Svâhâ !'

6. Then in the presence (of his adversary), turned towards him, he murmurs (the verses), 'I take away the speech from thy mouth, (the speech) that dwells in thy mind, (the speech) from thy heart. Out of every limb I take thy speech. Wheresoever thy speech dwells, thence I take it away.

3. Pâraskara III, 13, 5. Possibly we ought to correct *mṛid-dhasya* into *mṛidhrasya*. *Avadyâm* ought to be *ava gyâm* ; see *Atharva-veda* VI, 42, 1.

5. The commentary explains *kaṇâs* (small grains) as oleander (*karavîra*) seeds.

6. Comp. Pâraskara III, 13, 6. The text of the Mantras is corrupt.

‘Rudra with the dark hair-lock! Hero! At every contest strike down this my adversary, as a tree (is struck down) by a thunderbolt.

‘Be defeated, be conquered, when thou speakest. Sink down under the earth, when thou speakest, struck down by me irresistibly (?) with the hammer of . . . (?). That is true what I speak. Fall down, inferior to me, N. N.!’

7. He touches the assembly-hall (in which the contest is going on), and murmurs, ‘The golden-armed, blessed (goddess), whose eyes are not faint, who is decked with ornaments, seated in the midst of the gods, has spoken for my good. Svâhâ!’

8. ‘For me have the high ones and the low ones, for me has this wide earth, for me have Agni and Indra accomplished my divine aim’—with (this verse) he looks at the assembly, and murmurs (it) turned towards (the assembly).

End of the Fourth Patala.

PRASNA I, PATALA 5, SECTION 16.

1. When he has first seen the new moon, he sips water, and holding (a pot of) water (in his hands) he worships (the moon) with the four (verses), ‘Increase’ (Taitt. Samh. I, 4, 32), ‘May thy milk’ (ibid. IV, 2, 7, 4), ‘New and new again (the moon) becomes, being born’ (ibid. II, 4, 14, 1), ‘That Soma which the Âdityas make swell’ (ibid. II, 4, 14, 1).

7. Probably we should write *agîtâkshî*.

8. *Mâtridatta* says, *prativâdinam abhigapaty eva*.

16. This chapter contains different *Prâyasaittas*.

2. When he has yawned, he murmurs, '(May) will and insight (dwell) in me.'

3. If the skirt (of his garment) is blown upon him (by the wind), he murmurs, 'A skirt art thou. Thou art not a thunderbolt. Adoration be to thee. Do no harm to me.'

4. He should tear off a thread (from that skirt) and should blow it away with his mouth.

5. If a bird has befouled him with its excrements, he murmurs, 'The birds that timidly fly together with the destroyers, shall pour out on me happy, blissful splendour and vigour.'

Then let him wipe off that (dirt) with something else than his hand, and let him wash himself with water.

6. 'From the sky, from the wide air a drop of water has fallen down on me, bringing luck. With my senses, with my mind I have united myself, protected by the prayer that is brought forth by the righteous ones'—this (verse) he should murmur, if a drop of water unexpectedly falls down on him.

7. 'If a fruit has fallen down from the top of a tree, or from the air, it is Vāyu (who has made it fall). Where it has touched our bodies or the garment, (there) may the waters drive away destruction'—this (verse) he should murmur, if a fruit unexpectedly falls down on him.

8. 'Adoration to him who dwells at the cross-roads,

2. *Āsvalāyana-Grīhya* III, 6, 7. 3. *Pāraskara* III, 15, 17.

5. I propose to read, *nirṛīthaiḥ saha*.

6. *Atharva-veda* VI, 124, 1. Read *sukṛitām kṛitena*.

7. *Atharva-veda* VI, 124, 2. The *Atharva-veda* shows the way to correct the corrupt third Pāda.

8 seq. Comp. *Pāraskara* III, 15, 7 seq.

whose arrow is the wind, to Rudra! Adoration to Rudra who dwells at the cross-roads!—this (formula) he murmurs when he comes to a cross-road;

9. 'Adoration to him who dwells among cattle, whose arrow is the wind, to Rudra! Adoration to Rudra who dwells among cattle!—thus at a dung-heap;

10. 'Adoration to him who dwells among the serpents, whose arrow is the wind, to Rudra! Adoration to Rudra who dwells among the serpents!—thus at a place that is frequented by serpents.

11. 'Adoration to him who dwells in the air, whose arrow is the wind, to Rudra! Adoration to Rudra who dwells in the air!—this (formula) let him murmur, if overtaken by a tornado.

12. 'Adoration to him who dwells in the waters, whose arrow is the wind, to Rudra! Adoration to Rudra who dwells in the waters!—this (formula) he murmurs when plunging into a river which is full of water.

13. 'Adoration to him who dwells there, whose arrow is the wind, to Rudra! Adoration to Rudra who dwells there!—this (formula) he murmurs when approaching a beautiful place, a sacrificial site, or a big tree.

14. If the sun rises whilst he is sleeping, he shall fast that day and shall stand silent during that day;

15. The same during the night, if the sun sets whilst he sleeps.

16. Let him not touch a sacrificial post. By

14, 15. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 13. 14; Gobhila III, 3, 34, &c.

16. Gobhila III, 3, 34. Should it be esha te vâyur iti?

touching it, he would bring upon himself (the guilt of) whatever faults have been committed at that sacrifice. If he touches one (sacrificial post), he should say, 'This is thy wind;' if two (posts), 'These are thy two winds;' if many (posts), 'These are thy winds.'

17. 'The voices that are heard after us (?) and around us, the praise that is heard, and the voices of the birds, the deer's running (?) athwart: that we fear (?) from our enemies'—this (verse) he murmurs when setting out on a road.

18. 'Like an Udgâtri, O bird, thou singest the Sâman; like a Brahman's son thou recitest thy hymn, when the Soma is pressed.

'A blessing on us, O bird; bring us luck and be kind towards us!'—(This Mantra) he murmurs against an inauspicious bird;

19. 'If thou raisest thy divine voice, entering upon living beings, drive away our enemies by thy voice. O death, lead them to death!'—(thus) against a solitary jackal.

20. Then he throws before the (jackal, as it were), a fire-brand that burns at both ends, towards that region (in which the jackal's voice is heard), with (the words), 'Fire! Speak to the fire! Death! Speak to the death!' Then he touches water,

17. The Mantra is very corrupt. Perhaps anihûtam should be corrected into anuhûtam, which is the reading of the Âpastambîya Mantrapâtha. In the last Pâda bhayâmasi is corrupt; the meaning seems to be, 'that we (avert from ourselves and) turn it to our enemies.' Probably Dr. Kirste is right in reading bhagâmasi.

18. Comp. Rig-veda II, 43, 2.

19. As to ekasrika, 'solitary jackal,' comp. Bühler's note on Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 17 (S. B. E., II, 38). Mâtridatta says, *srigâlo mrigasabdām kurvāna ekasrika ity ukyate*.

21. And worships (the jackal) with the Anuvāka, 'Thou art mighty, thou carriest away' (Taitt. Samhitā I, 3, 3).

PATALA 5, SECTION 17.

1. A she-wolf (he addresses) with (the verse), 'Whether incited by others or whether on its own accord the Bhayedāka (? Bhayodāka, var. lect.) utters this cry, may Indra and Agni, united with Brahman, render it blissful to us in our house.'

2. A bird (he addresses) with (the verse), 'Thou fliest, stretching out thy legs; the left eye . . .; may nothing here suffer harm (through thee);'

3. An owl (piṅgalā) with (the verse), 'The bird with the golden wings flies to the abode of the gods. Flying round the village from left to right portend us luck by thy cry, O owl!'

4. 'May my faculties return into me; may life return, prosperity return; may the divine power return into me; may my goods return to me.

'And may these fires that are stationed on the (altars called) Dhishṛyās, be in good order here, each in its right place. Svāhā!

'My self has returned, life has returned to me; breath has returned, design has returned to me. (Agni) Vaisvānara, grown strong with his rays, may he dwell in my mind, the standard of immortality. Svāhā!

'The food which is eaten in the evening, that does

17, 2. The commentary explains sakuni (bird) by dhvāṅksha (crow). In the translation of the Mantra (Taitt. Ār. IV, 35) I have left out the unintelligible words nipepi ka. The way to correct the last Pāda is shown by Atharva-veda VI, 57, 3; X, 5, 23.

4. Comp. Āsvalāyana-Gṛihya III, 6, 8.

not satiate in the morning him whom hunger assails. May all that (which we have seen in our dreams), do no harm to us, for it has not been seen by day. To Day svâhâ!—with these (verses) he sacrifices sesamum seeds mixed with Âgya, if he has seen a bad dream.

5. Now the following expiations for portents are prescribed. A dove sits down on the hearth, or the bees make honey in his house, or a cow (that is not a calf) sucks another cow, or a post puts forth shoots, or an anthill has arisen (in his house): cases like these (require the following expiation):

6. He should bathe in the morning, should put on clean garments, should show patience (with everybody) during the day, and should speak (only) with Brâhmanas. Having put wood on the fire in an inner apartment, and having performed the rites down to the Vyâhṛiti oblations, he sacrifices with (the verses), 'This, O Varuna,' &c. (see above I, 2, 8, 16, down to the end of the Sūtra). Then he serves food to the Brâhmanas and causes them to say, 'An auspicious day! Hail! Good luck!'

PATALA 5, SECTION 18.

1. 'May Indra and Agni make you go. May the two Asvins protect you. Brîhaspati is your herdsman. May Pûshan drive you back again'—

5. Sâṅkhâya V, 5. 8. 11; Âśvalâyana III, 7, &c. Kuptvâ is corrupt; we should expect a locative. We ought to correct kuptvâm, as Dr. Kirste has observed, comp. Âpastamba-Grihya VIII, 23, 9.

6. Comp. above, I, 4, 14, 2; 15, 5; I, 2, 8, 16; I, 3, 9, 7. 8.

18, 1 seq. Comp. Sâṅkhâya III, 9; Gobhila III, 6; Âśvalâyana II, 10.

this (verse) he recites over the cows when they go away (to their pasture-grounds), and (the verse), 'May Pûshan go after our cows' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 11, 2).

2. With (the verse), 'These cows that have come hither, free from disease and prolific, may they swim (full of wealth) like rivers; may they pour out (wealth), as (rivers discharge their floods) into the ocean'—he looks at the cows, when they are coming back.

3. With (the formula), 'You are a stand at rest; may I (?) become your stand at rest. You are immovable. Do not move from me. May I not move from you, the blessed ones'—(he looks at them) when they are standing still.

4. With (the formula), 'I see you full of sap. Full of sap you shall see me'—(he looks at them) when they are gone into the stable, and with (the formula), 'May I be prosperous through your thousandfold prospering.'

5. Then having put wood on the fire amid the cows, and having performed the rites down to the Vyâhrîti (oblations), he makes oblations of milk with (the verses),

'Blaze brightly, O Gâtavedas, driving destruction away from me. Bring me cattle and maintenance from all quarters of the heaven. Svâhâ !

'May Gâtavedas do no harm to us, to cows and horses, to men and to all that moves. Come hither,

3. The Mantra is very corrupt. I think it ought to be corrected somehow in the following way: *saṁsthâ stha saṁsthâ vo bhûyâsam akyutâ stha mâ mak kyodhvam mâham bhavatibhyas kyoshi*. Comp. also Dr. Kirste's note.

5. In the second verse I propose to change *abibhrad* into

Agni, fearlessly; make me attain to welfare! Svāhā!—

And with (the two verses), 'This is the influx of the waters,' and 'Adoration to thee, the rapid one, the shining one' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 6, 1, 3).

6. (Then follow oblations with the verses), 'This, O Varuṇa' (&c.; see I, 2, 8, 16, down to the end of the Sūtra).

End of the Fifth Pātala.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 6, SECTION 19.

1. After he has returned from the teacher's house, he should support his father and mother.

2. With their permission he should take a wife belonging to the same caste and country, a 'naked' girl, a virgin who should belong to a different Gotra (from her husband's).

3. Whatever he intends to do (for instance, taking a wife), he should do on an auspicious day only, during one of the following five spaces of time, viz. in the morning, the forenoon, at midday, in the afternoon, or in the evening.

abibhyad; comp. Atharva-veda XIX, 65, 1: *ava tām gahi harasā Gâtavedo bibhyad ugro rāṣhā divam ā roha sūrya*. The last words of this verse should be *sriyam mā pratipādaya*, or something similar.

19, 2. *sagâtām savarnām samânâbhiganâm ka. Mâtridatta*. As to the meaning of 'a naked girl,' (i. e. a girl who has not yet the monthly illness), comp. Gobhila III, 4, 6 and note.

3. According to *Mâtridatta*, 'morning' means one *Nâḍikâ* before and one *Nâḍikâ* after sunrise; 'forenoon' means one *Nâḍikâ* before and one *Nâḍikâ* after the moment at which the first quarter of the day has elapsed; and thus each of the other three day-times

4. Having put wood on the fire, and having performed (the preparatory rites) down to the laying of (three) branches round (the fire, the bridegroom) looks at the bride who is led to him, with (the verse), 'Auspicious ornaments does this woman wear. Come up to her and behold her. Having brought luck to her, go away back to your houses.'

5. To the south of the bridegroom the bride sits down.

6. After she has sipped water, she touches him, and he sprinkles (water) round (the fire) as above.

7. After he has performed the rites down to the oblations made with the Vyâhr̥itis, he sacrifices with (the following Mantras),

'May Agni come hither, the first of gods. May he release the offspring of this wife from the fetter of death. That may this king Varuṇa grant, that this wife may not weep over distress (falling to her lot) through her sons. Svâhâ!

'May Agni Gârhapatya protect this woman. May he lead her offspring to old age. With fertile womb may she be the mother of living children. May she experience delight in her sons. Svâhâ!

'May no noise that comes from thee, arise in the house by night. May the (she-goblins called) the weeping ones take their abode in another (woman)

is understood to comprise two Nâdikâs. As the whole day consists of sixty Nâdikâs, it is the sixth part of the day (= 10 Nâdikâs) which is considered as auspicious for such purposes as taking a wife.

4. See I, 1, 2, 1 seq. Rig-veda X, 85, 33; Pâraskara I, 8, 9, &c.

6. See I, 1, 2, 7 seq.

7. Pâraskara I, 6, 11. With the third verse comp. Atharva-veda XI, 9, 14.

than thee. Mayst thou not be beaten at thy breast by (the she-goblin) Vikeś ("the rough-haired one"). May thy husband live, and mayst thou shine in thy husband's world, beholding thy genial offspring! Svâhâ!

'May Heaven protect thy back, Vâyu thy thighs, and the two Āsvins thy breast. May Savitṛi protect thy suckling sons. Until the garment is put on (thy sons?), may Bṛihaspati guard (them?), and the Visve devās afterwards. Svâhâ!

'Childlessness, the death of sons, evil, and distress, I take (from thee), as a wreath (is taken) from the head, and (like a wreath) I put all evil on (the head of) our foes. Svâhâ!

'With this well-disposed prayer which the gods have created, I kill the Pisākas that dwell in thy womb. The flesh-devouring death-bringers I cast down. May thy sons live to old age. Svâhâ!'

8. After he has sacrificed with (the verses), 'This, O Varuṇa,' 'For this I entreat thee,' 'Thou Agni,' 'Thus thou, Agni,' 'Thou, Agni, art quick,' 'Pragâpati'—he makes her tread on a stone, with (the verse), 'Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm. Destroy those who seek to do thee harm; overcome thy enemies.'

9. To the west of the fire he strews two layers of northward-pointed Darbha grass, the one more to the west, the other more to the east. On these both (the bridegroom and the bride) station themselves, the one more to the west, the other more to the east.

8. See above, I, 1, 3, 5; I, 1, 4, 1.

PRAŚNA I, PĀṬALA 6, SECTION 20.

1. Facing the east, while she faces the west, or facing the west, while she faces the east, he should seize her hand. If he desires to generate male children, let him seize her thumb; if he desires (to generate) female children, her other fingers; if he desires (to generate) both (male and female children), let him seize the thumb together with the other fingers, (so as to seize the hand) up to the hairs (on the hair-side of the hand).

(He should do so with the two Mantras),

‘Sarasvatī! Promote this (our undertaking), O gracious one, rich in studs, thou whom we sing first of all that is.

‘I seize thy hand that we may be blessed with offspring, that thou mayst live to old age with me, thy husband. Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitrī, Purandhi, the gods have given thee to me that we may rule our house.’

2. He makes her turn round, from left to right, so that she faces the west, and recites over her (the following texts),

‘With no evil eye, not bringing death to thy husband, bring luck to the cattle, be full of joy and

20, 1. Sāṅkhāyana I, 13, 2; Âśvalāyana I, 7, 3 seq., &c. The text of the first Mantra ought to be corrected according to Pâraskara I, 7, 2; in the second Mantra we ought to read *yathâsa* instead of *yathâsat*; comp. Rig-veda X, 85, 36; Pâraskara I, 6, 3. The bridegroom and the bride, of course, are to face each other; thus, if the bridegroom stands on the eastern layer of grass (Sûtra 9 of the preceding section), he is to face the west; if on the western, he is to face the east.

2. The words, *agreṇa dakṣiṇam aṃsam . . . abhyâvartya*, evidently have the same meaning which is expressed elsewhere (Sāṅkhāyana

vigour. Give birth to living children, give birth to heroes, be friendly. Bring us luck, to men and animals.

‘Thus, Pūshan, lead her to us, the highly blessed one, into whom men pour forth their sperm, yâ na ūrū usatī visrayâtai (read, visrayâtai), yasyâm usantaḥ praharema sepam.

‘Soma has acquired thee first (as his wife); after him the Gandharva has acquired thee. Thy third husband is Agni; the fourth am I, thy human husband.

‘Soma has given her to the Gandharva; the Gandharva has given her to Agni. Agni gives me cattle and children, and thee besides.

‘This am I, that art thou; the heaven I, the earth thou; the Sāman I, the *Rik* thou. Come! Let us join together. Let us unite our sperm that we may generate a male child, a son, for the sake of the increase of wealth, of blessed offspring, of strength.

‘Bountiful Indra, bless this woman with sons and with a happy lot. Give her ten sons; let her husband be the eleventh.’

3. After he has made her sit down in her proper place (see Sūtra 5 of the preceding section), and has sprinkled Âgya into her joined hands, he twice pours fried grain into them, with (the verse), ‘This grain I pour (into thy hands): may it bring prosperity to me, and may it unite thee (with me). May this Agni grant us that.’

II, 3, 2), dakṣiṇam bâhum anvâvṛṇīya. With the first Mantra comp. Rig-veda X, 85, 44; Pāraskara I, 4, 16; with the second, Rig-veda, loc. cit., 37; Pāraskara, loc. cit.; with the following ones, Rig-veda X, 85, 40. 41. 45; Pāraskara I, 4, 16; 6, 3, &c.

3 seq. Comp. Sāṅkhâyaṇa I, 13, 15 seq.

4. After he has sprinkled (Āgrya) over (the grain in her hands), he sacrifices (the grain) with her joined hands (which he seizes), with (the verse), 'This woman, strewing grain into the fire, prays thus, "May my husband live long; may my relations be prosperous. Svāhā!"'

5. Having made her rise with (the verse which she recites), 'Up! with life' (Taitt. Samh. I, 2, 8, 1), and having circumambulated the fire (with her) so that their right sides are turned towards it, with (the verse), 'May we find our way with thee through all hostile powers, as through streams of water'—he pours fried grain (into her hands, and sacrifices them), as before.

6. Having circumambulated (the fire) a second time, he pours fried grain (into her hands, and sacrifices them), as before.

7. Having circumambulated (the fire) a third time, he sacrifices to (Agni) Svishṭakṛit.

8. Here some add as subordinate oblations the Gaya, Abhyâtâna, and Râshṭrabhṛit (oblations) as above.

9. To the west of the fire he makes her step forward in an easterly or a northerly direction the (seven) 'steps of Vishṇu.'

10. He says to her, 'Step forward with the right (foot) and follow with the left. Do not put the left (foot) before the right.'

5. Comp. above, I, 2, 7, 13; Rig-veda II, 7, 3.

8. Comp. I, 2, 8, 16.

9 seq. Comp. Gobhila II, 2, 11 seq.; Sâṅkhâyaṇa I, 14, 5 seq.

PĀṬALA 6, SECTION 21.

1. (He makes her step forward, and goes with her himself), with (the Mantras), 'One (step) for sap, may Vishṇu go after thee; two (steps) for juice, may Vishṇu go after thee; three (steps) for vows, may Vishṇu go after thee; four (steps) for comfort, may Vishṇu go after thee; five (steps) for cattle, may Vishṇu go after thee; six (steps) for the prospering of wealth, may Vishṇu go after thee; seven (steps) for the sevenfold Hotṛiship, may Vishṇu go after thee.'

2. After the seventh step he makes her abide (in that position) and murmurs, 'With seven steps we have become friends. May I attain to friendship with thee. May I not be separated from thy friendship. Mayst thou not be separated from my friendship.'

3. He then puts his right foot on her right foot, moves his right hand down gradually over her right shoulder, and touches the place of her heart as above,

4. And the place of her navel with (the formula), 'Thou art the knot of all breath; do not loosen thyself.'

5. After he has made her sit down to the west of the fire, so that she faces the east, he stands to the east (of his bride), facing the west, and besprinkles her with water, with the three verses, 'O waters, ye are wholesome' (Taitt. Saṃh. IV, 1, 5, 1), with the four verses, 'The gold-coloured, clean, purifying waters' (V, 6, 1), and with the Anuvāka, 'The purifier, the heavenly one' (Taitt. Brāhmaṇa I, 4, 8).

21, 3. See above, I, 2, 5, 11.

4. See above, I, 2, 5, 12.

5. Comp. I, 3, 10, 2.

6. Now they pour seeds (of rice, &c.) on (the heads of the bridegroom and bride).

End of the Sixth Patala.

PRASNA I, PATALA 7, SECTION 22.

1. Then they let her depart (in a vehicle from her father's house), or they let her be taken away.

2. Having put (the fire into a vessel) they carry that (nuptial) fire behind (the newly-married couple).

3. It should be kept constantly.

4. If it goes out, (a new fire) should be kindled by attrition, or it should be fetched from the house of a Srotriya.

5. Besides, if (the fire) goes out, the wife or the husband should fast.

6. When (the bridegroom with his bride) has come to his house, he says to her, 'Cross (the threshold) with thy right foot first; do not stand on the threshold.'

7. In the hall, in its easterly part, he puts down the fire and puts wood on it.

8. To the west of the fire he spreads out a red bull's skin with the neck to the east, with the hair outside.

6. *Mâtridatta* explains *adhisrayanti* by *vapanti gâyâpatyoḥ sirasi kshipanti*.

22, 4. 'If the fire on which they had put wood, was a fire produced by attrition, (the new fire) should (also) be kindled by attrition. If it was a common (*laukika*) fire that they had fetched, (the new fire) should be fetched from a Srotriya's house. Thereby it is shown that the common fire at the Upanayana ceremony, &c., should be fetched only from a Srotriya's house.' *Mâtridatta*.

9. On that (skin) they both sit down facing the east or the north, so that the wife sits behind her husband, with (the verse), 'Here may the cows sit down, here the horses, here the men. Here may also Pūshan with a thousand (sacrificial) gifts sit down.'

10. They sit silently until the stars appear.

11. When the stars have appeared, he goes forth from the house (with his wife) in an easterly or northerly direction, and worships the quarters (of the horizon) with (the hemistich), 'Ye goddesses, ye six wide ones' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 7, 14, 2).

12. (He worships) the stars with (the Pāda), 'May we not be deprived of our offspring;'

13. The moon with (the Pāda), 'May we not get into the power of him who hates us, O king Soma!'

14. He worships the seven *Rīshis* (ursa major) with (the verse), 'The seven *Rīshis* who have led to firmness she, Arundhattī, who stands first among the six *Kṛttikās* (pleiads):—may she, the eighth one, who leads the conjunction of the (moon with the) six *Kṛttikās*, the first (among conjunctions) shine upon us!' Then he worships the polar star with (the formula), 'Firm dwelling, firm origin. The firm one art thou, standing on the side of firmness. Thou art the pillar of the stars; thus protect me against my adversary.

'Adoration be to the Brahman, to the firm, immovable one! Adoration be to the Brahman's son, Pragâpati! Adoration to the Brahman's children,

9. Comp. Pāraskara I, 8, 10, and the readings quoted there from the Atharva-veda.

12, 13. These are the two last Pādas of the verse of which the first hemistich is quoted in Sūtra 11.

to the thirty-three gods! Adoration to the Brahman's children and grandchildren, to the Āngiras!

'He who knows thee (the polar star) as the firm, immovable Brahman with its children and with its grandchildren, with such a man children and grandchildren will firmly dwell, servants and pupils, garments and woollen blankets, bronze and gold, wives and kings, food, safety, long life, glory, renown, splendour, strength, holy lustre, and the enjoyment of food. May all these things firmly and immovably dwell with me!'

PATALA 7, SECTION 23,

I. (Then follow the Mantras), 'I know thee as the firm Brahman. May I become firm in this world and in this country.

'I know thee as the immovable Brahman. May I not be moved away from this world and from this country. May he who hates me, my rival, be moved away from this world and from this country.

'I know thee as the unshaken Brahman. May I not be shaken off from this world and from this country. May he who hates me, my rival, be shaken off from this world and from this country.

'I know thee as the unfalling Brahman. May I not fall from this world and from this country. May he who hates me, my rival, fall from this world and from this country.

'I know thee as the nave of the universe. May I become the nave of this country. I know thee as the centre of the universe. May I become the centre of this country. I know thee as the string that holds the universe. May I become the string that holds this country. I know thee as the pillar

of the universe. May I become the pillar of this country. I know thee as the navel of the universe. May I become the navel of this country.

‘As the navel is the centre of the Prâṇas, thus I am the navel. May hundred-and-onfold evil befall him who hates us and whom we hate; may more than hundred-and-onfold merit fall to my lot!’

2. Having spoken there with a person that he likes, and having returned to the house, he causes her to sacrifice a mess of cooked food.

3. The wife husks (the rice grains of which that Sthâlpâka is prepared).

4. She cooks (that Sthâlpâka), sprinkles (Āgrya) on it, takes it from the fire, sacrifices to Agni, and then sacrifices to Agni Svishṭakṛit.

5. With (the remains of) that (Sthâlpâka) he entertains a learned Brâhmana whom he reveres.

6. To that (Brâhmana) he makes a present of a bull.

7. From that time he constantly sacrifices (yagate) on the days of the full and of the new moon a mess of cooked food sacred to Agni.

8. In the evening and in the morning he constantly sacrifices (guhōti) with his hand (and not with the Darvī) the two following oblations of rice or of barley: ‘To Agni Svâhâ! To Pragâpati Svâhâ!’

9. Some (teachers) state that in the morning the

5, 6. In the commentary these Sûtras are divided thus : 5. tena brâhmanam vidyâvantam pariveśhā; 6. yo = syâpakīto bhavati tasmâ riṣhabham dadāti. (5. Therewith he entertains a learned Brâhmana. 6. To one whom he reveres, he presents a bull.) The commentator observes that some authorities make one Sûtra of the two, so that the Brâhmana who receives the food and the one to whom the bull is given, would be the same person.

former (of these oblations) should be directed to Sūrya.

10. Through a period of three nights they should eat no saline food, should sleep on the ground, wear ornaments, and should be chaste.

11. In the fourth night, towards morning, he puts wood on the fire, performs the (regular) ceremonies down to the (regular) expiatory oblations, and sacrifices nine expiatory oblations (with the following Mantras):

PĀṬALA 7, SECTION 24.

1. 'Agni! Expiation! Thou art expiation. I, the Brāhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. What is terrible in her, drive that away from here. Svāhā!

'Vāyu! Expiation! Thou art expiation. I, the Brāhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. What is blameful in her, drive that away from here. Svāhā!

'Sun! Expiation! Thou art expiation. I, the Brāhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. What dwells in her that is death-bringing to her husband, drive that away from here. Svāhā!

'Sun! Expiation! &c.

'Vāyu! Expiation! &c.

'Agni! Expiation! &c.

'Agni! Expiation! &c.

'Vāyu! Expiation! &c.

'Sun! Expiation! &c.'

11. According to the commentary he performs the regular ceremonies down to the oblation offered with the Mantra, 'Thus thou, Agni' (see above, I, 3, 5, and compare Pāraskara I, 2, 8). Mātridatta says, *prāyaskittiparyantam kṛtvā sa tvam no Agna ity etadantaṁ kṛtvā nava prāyaskittir guhoti . . . vyāhṛtiparyantam kṛtvā imam me Varuṇeti katasro* (I, 3, 5) *hutvāitā guhoti*.

2. Having sacrificed (these oblations), he then pours the remainder as an oblation on her head, with (the formulas), 'Bhûh! I sacrifice fortune over thee. Svâhâ! Bhuvaḥ! I sacrifice glory over thee. Svâhâ! Suvaḥ! I sacrifice beauty over thee. Svâhâ! Bhûr bhuvaḥ suvaḥ! I sacrifice brightness over thee. Svâhâ!'

3. There (near the sacrificial fire) he places a water-pot, walks round the fire (and that water-pot) keeping his right side turned towards it, makes (the wife) lie down to the west of the fire, facing east or north, and touches her secret parts, with (the formula), 'We touch thee with the five-forked, auspicious, unhostile (?), thousandfoldly blessed, glorious hand that thou mayst be rich in offspring!'

4. He then cohabits with her with (the formula), 'United is our soul, united our hearts, united our navel, united our skin. I will bind thee with the bond of love; that shall be insoluble.'

5. He then embraces her with (the formula), 'Be devoted to me; be my companion. What dwells in thee that is death-bringing to thy husband, that I make death-bringing to thy paramours. Bring luck to me; be a sharp-cutting (destroyer) to thy paramours.'

6. He then seeks her mouth with his mouth, with (the two verses), 'Honey! Lo! Honey! This is honey! my tongue's speech is honey; in my mouth dwells the honey of the bee; on my teeth dwells concord.

'The (magic charm of) concord that belongs to the *kakravâka* birds, that is brought out of the

6. With the first verse comp. *Taitt. Samh.* VII, 5, 10, 1; *Kâtyâyana* XIII, 3, 21; *Lâtyâyana* IV, 3, 18.

rivers, of which the divine Gandharva is possessed, thereby we are concordant.'

7. A woman that has her monthly courses, keeps through a period of three nights the observances prescribed in the Brāhmaṇa.

8. In the fourth night (the husband) having sipped water, calls (the wife) who has taken a bath, who wears a clean dress and ornaments, and has spoken with a Brāhmaṇa, to himself (with the following verses):

PATALA 7, SECTION 25.

1. (a) 'May Vishṇu make thy womb ready; may Tvashtri frame the shape (of the child); may Pragāpati pour forth (the sperm); may Dhātri give thee conception!

(b) 'Give conception, Sintvālt; give conception, Sarasvatī! May the two Asvins, wreathed with lotus, give conception to thee!

(c) 'The embryo which the two Asvins produce with their golden kindling-sticks: that embryo we call into thy womb, that thou mayst give birth to it after ten months.

(d) 'As the earth is pregnant with Agni, as the heaven is with Indra pregnant, as Vāyu dwells in the womb of the regions (of the earth), thus I place an embryo into thy womb.

7. Taitt. Samhitā II, 5, 1, 5. 6: Therefore one should not speak with a woman that has her monthly courses, nor sit together with her, nor eat food that she has given him, &c.

25, 1 (a-c). Rīg-veda X, 184, 1-3; comp. S. B. E., vol. xv, p. 221.

(d-f). Sāṅkhāyana-Gṛhya I, 19. It should be observed that the text of Hiraṇyakesin has in the beginning of (e) quite the same blunder which is found also in the Sāṅkhāyana MSS., *yasya* instead of *vyasya*.

(e) 'Open thy womb; take in the sperm; may a male child, an embryo be begotten in the womb. The mother bears him ten months; may he be born, the most valiant of his kin.

(f) 'May a male embryo enter thy womb, as an arrow the quiver; may a man be born here, thy son, after ten months.

(g) 'I do with thee (the work) that is sacred to Pragâpati; may an embryo enter thy womb. May a child be born without deficiency, with all its limbs, not blind, not lame, not sucked out by Pisâkas.

(h) 'By the superior powers which the bulls shall produce for us, thereby become thou pregnant; may he be born, the most valiant of his kin.

(i) 'Indra has laid down in the tree the embryo of the sterile cow and of the cow that prematurely produces; thereby become thou pregnant; be a well-breeding cow'—

And (besides with the two Mantras), 'United are our names' (above, 24, 4), and, 'The concord of the kakravâka birds' (24, 6).

2. (He should cohabit with her with the formulas), 'Bhûh! Through Pragâpati, the highest bull, I pour forth (the sperm); conceive a valiant son, N. N.!—Bhuva! Through Pragâpati, &c.—Suva! Through Pragâpati, &c.' Thus he will gain a valiant son.

3. The Mantras ought to be repeated whenever they cohabit, according to Âtreya,

4. Only the first time and after her monthly courses, according to Bâdarâyana.

(g) Comp. Atharva-veda III, 23, 5. The Âpastambîya Mantra-pâtha reads (a) pisâkadhîta.

(h) Sâṅkhâyaṇa-Gr̥hya I, 19, 6; Atharva-veda III, 23, 4.

(i) Comp. Atharva-veda III, 23, 1.

PĀṬALA 7, SECTION 26¹.

1. The fire which (the sacrificer keeps) from the time of his marriage, is called the Aupâsana (or sacred domestic fire).

2. With this fire the sacred domestic ceremonies are performed.

3. On account of his worship devoted to this (fire the sacrificer) is considered as an Âhitâgni (i. e. as one who has set up the Srauta fires), and on account of his fortnightly *Karu* sacrifices (on the days of the new and full moon) as one who offers the sacrifices of the new and full moon (as prescribed in the Srauta ritual); so (is it taught).

4. If (the service at the domestic fire) has been interrupted for twelve days, the sacrificer ought to set the fire up again.

5. Or he should count all the sacrifices (that have been left out), and should offer them.

6. (The punarâdhâna or repeated setting up of the fire is performed in the following way): in an enclosed space, having raised (the surface), sprinkled it (with water), strewn it with sand, and covered it with Udumbara or Plaksha branches, he silently brings together the things belonging to (the sacrifice) according as he is able to get them, produces fire by attrition out of a sacrificially pure piece of wood, or gets a common fire, places it in a big vessel, sets it in a blaze, and puts (fuel) on it with the words, 'Bhûh! Bhuva! Suva! Om! Fixity!'

¹ This chapter is left out in Mâtridatta's commentary; it seems to be a later addition. The division of the Sûtras is my own.

26, 3. For tasyaupâsanena I think we should read tasyopâsanena.

7. He then puts wood on the fire, performs (the rites) down to the Vyâhr̥iti oblations, and offers two 'mindâ oblations' (i. e. oblations for making up for defects) with (the two Mantras), 'If a defect (mindâ) has arisen in me,' (and), 'Agni has given me back my eye' (Taitt. Samh. III, 2, 5, 4).

8. He offers three 'tantu oblations' with (the Mantras), 'Stretching the weft (tantu)' (Taitt. Samh. III, 4, 2, 2), 'Awake, Agni!' (IV, 7, 13, 5), 'The thirty-three threads of the weft' (I, 5, 10, 4).

9. He offers four 'abhyâvartin oblations' with (the Mantras), 'Agni who turns to us (abhyâvartin)!' 'Agni Ângiras!' 'Again with sap,' 'With wealth' (Taitt. Samh. IV. 2, 1, 2. 3).

10. Having made oblations with the single Vyâhr̥itis and with (the three Vyâhr̥itis together), and having made an oblation with the verse, 'Thou art quick, Agni, and free from imprecation. Verily (satyam) thou art quick. Held by us in our quick mind (manas), with thy quick (mind) thou carriest the offering (to the gods). Being quick bestow medicine on us! Svâhâ!'—this (last) oblation contains an allusion to the mind (manas), it refers to Pragâpati, and alludes to the number seven (?),—he quickly repeats in his mind the dasa-hotri formula (Taitt. Ârany. III, 1, 1). Then he makes the sagraha oblation (?); (then follow the

10. As to the Mantra, 'Thou art quick, &c.,' comp. above, I, 1, 3, 5, and the note on Sâṅkhâyaṇa I, 9, 12. I cannot see why the oblation made with this Mantra is called saptavati (alluding to the number seven); possibly we ought to read satyavati (containing the word satyam, 'verily'). Can the words sagraham hutvâ mean, 'having performed the worship of the planets (graha) at his sacrifice'?

oblations), 'This, O Varuna' (&c. ; see I, 2, 8, 16, down to the end of the Sûtra). Then he serves food to the Brâhmanas and causes them to say, 'An auspicious day! Hail! Good luck!' he then performs in the known way the sacrifice of a mess of cooked food to Agni.

11. Here he gives an optional gift to his Guru: a pair of clothes, a milch cow, or a bull.

12. If he sets out on a journey, he makes the fire enter himself or the two kindling-sticks in the way that has been described (in the Srauta-sûtra).

13. Or let him make it enter a piece of wood, in the same way as into the kindling-sticks.

14. A piece of Khadira wood, or of Palâsa, or of Udumbara, or of Asvattha wood—

15. With one of these kinds of wood he fetches, where he turns in (on his journey), fire from the house of a Srotriya, and puts the (piece of wood) into which his fire has entered, on (that fire), with the two verses, 'He who has received the oblations' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 6, 5, 3), and 'Awake!' (IV, 7, 13, 5).

16. The way in which he sacrifices has been explained (in the Srauta-sûtra).

17. If one half-monthly sacrifice has been omitted, he should have a sacrifice to (Agni) Pathikṛit performed over this (fire). If two (half-monthly sacrifices), to (Agni) Vaisvânara and Pathikṛit. If more than two, (the fire) has to be set up again.

18. If the fire is destroyed or lost, or if it is mixed with other fires, it has to be set up again.

PRAJNA I, PATALA 8, SECTION 27.

1. If he will have a house built, he should during the northerly course of the sun, in the time of the increasing moon, under the constellation Rohini and under the three constellations designated as Uttara (Uttara-Phalgunī, Uttara-Ashādhā, Uttara-Proshthapadā) put wood on the fire, perform the rites down to the Vyāhṛiti oblations, and should sacrifice with (the verses), 'This, O Varuṇa' (&c. ; see I, 2, 8, 16, down to the end of the Sūtra). Then he serves food to the Brāhmaṇas and causes them to say, 'An auspicious day! Hail! Good luck!' he puts on a garment that has not yet been washed, touches water, takes a shovel with (the formula), 'On the impulse of the god Savitṛi' (Taitt. Samh. I, 3, 1, 1), draws lines thrice from the left to the right round (the places where the pits for the posts shall be dug) with (the formula), 'A line has been drawn' (Taitt. Samh. I, 3, 1, 1), digs the pits (in which the posts shall be erected) as it is fit, and casts the earth (dug out of those pits) towards the inside (of the building-ground).

2. He erects the southern door-post with (the verse), 'Here I erect a firm house; it stands in peace, streaming ghee. Thus may we walk in thee, O house, blessed with heroes, with all heroes, with unharmed heroes;'

3. The northern (door-post) with (the verse), 'Stand here firmly, O house, rich in horses and cows, rich in delight; rich in sap, overflowing with milk be set up, for the sake of great happiness.'

4. With (the verse), 'To thee (may) the young child (go), to thee the calf with its companion, to thee the golden cup; to thee may they go with pots of curds'—he touches the two posts, after they have been erected.

5. In the same way (Sûtras 2. 3) he erects the two chief posts,

6. And touches them as above (Sûtra 4).

7. He fixes the beam of the roof on the posts with (the formula), 'Rightly ascend the post, O beam, erect, shining, drive off the enemies. Give us treasures and valiant sons.'

8. When the house has got its roof, he touches it with (the verse),

'The consort of honour, a blissful refuge, a goddess, thou hast been erected by the gods in the beginning; clothed in grass, cheerful thou art; bring us bliss, to men and animals.'

9. Then, under the constellation Anurâdhâ, the ground (on which the house stands) is expiated (in the following way).

10. By night he puts wood on the fire in an inner room (of the house), performs the rites down to the Vyâhṛiti oblations, and sacrifices (with the following Mantras):

PĀṬALA 8, SECTION 28.

1. The two verses commencing 'Vâstoshpati!' (Taitt. Samh. III, 4, 10, 1).

27, 4. The text has the reading *gagatâ saha*; comp. the note on Sâṅkhâya III, 2, 9.

8. Comp. Atharva-veda III, 11, 5; this text shows the way to correct the blunders of the Hiranyakesin MSS.

28, 1. Comp. Rig-veda VII, 54, 2; Taitt. Brâhm. III, 7, 14, 4; Rig-veda X, 18, 1; Taitt. Brâhm. III, 7, 14, 5.

‘Vāstoshpati! Be our furtherer; make our wealth increase in cows and horses, O Indu (i. e. Soma). Free from decay may we dwell in thy friendship; give us thy favour, as a father to his sons. Svāhā!

‘May death go away; may immortality come to us. May Vivasvat’s son (Yama) protect us from danger. May wealth, like a leaf (that falls) from a tree, fall down over us. May Saṅīpati (i. e. Indra) be with us. Svāhā!

‘Go another way, O death, that belongs to thee, separated from the way of the gods. Vāstoshpati! To thee who hears us, I speak: do no harm to our offspring nor to our heroes. Svāhā!

‘To this most excellent place of rest we have gone, by which we shall victoriously gain cows, treasures, and horses. May wealth, like a leaf (that falls) from a tree, fall down over us. May Saṅīpati be with us. Svāhā!

‘This, O Varuṇa’ (&c.; see chap. 27, Sūtra 1, down to): ‘Hail! Good luck!’

2. In this way the ground (on which the house stands) should be expiated every year;

3. Every season, according to some (teachers).

PATALA 8, SECTION 29.

1. ‘House, do not fear, do not tremble; bringing strength we come back. Bringing strength, gaining wealth, wise I come back to the house, rejoicing in my mind.

‘Of which the traveller thinks, in which much joy

dwells, the house I call. May it know us as we know it.

‘Hither are called the cows ; hither are called goats and sheep ; and the sweet essence of food is called hither to our house.

‘Hither are called many friends, the sweet companionship of friends. May our dwellings always be unharmed with all our men.

‘Rich in sap, rich in milk, refreshing, full of joy and mirth, free from hunger (?) and thirst, O house, do not fear us’—with (these verses) he approaches his house (when returning from a journey).

2. ‘To thee I turn for the sake of safety, of peace. The blissful one! The helpful one! Welfare! Welfare!’—with (this formula) he enters.

3. On that day, on which he has arrived, he should avoid all quarrelling.

4. ‘The joyful house I enter which does not bring death to men ; most manly (I enter) the auspicious one. Bringing refreshment, with genial minds (we enter the house) ; joyfully I lie down in it’—with (this verse) he lies down.

5. ‘May we find our way with thee through all hostile powers, as through streams of water’—with (this verse) he looks at his wife ; he looks at his wife.

End of the First Prasna.

5. Comp. above, chap. 20, Sûtra 5; Rig-veda II, 7, 3.

PRASNA II, PĀTALA 1, SECTION 1.

1. Now (follows) the Sīmantonnayana (or parting of the pregnant wife's hair).

2. In the fourth month of her first pregnancy, in the fortnight of the increasing moon, under an auspicious constellation he puts wood on the fire, performs the rites down to the Vyâhr̥iti oblations, and makes four oblations to Dhâtri with (the verse), 'May Dhâtri give us wealth' (and the following three verses, Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 11, 2. 3).

3. 'This, O Varuna' (&c. ; see I, chap. 27, Sûtra 2, down to) : 'Hail ! Good luck !'

He then makes the wife who has taken a bath, who wears a clean dress and ornaments, and has spoken with a Brâhmaṇa, sit down to the west of the fire, facing the east, in a round apartment. Standing to the east (of the wife), facing the west he parts her hair upwards (i. e. beginning from the front) with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, holding (also) a bunch of unripe fruits, with the Vyâhr̥itis (and) with the two (verses), 'I invoke Rākâ,' (and), 'Thy graces, O Rākâ' (Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 11, 5). Then he recites over (his wife the formulas), 'Soma alone is our king, thus say the Brâhmaṇa tribes, sitting near thy banks, O Gaṅgâ,

1, 3. The corrupt word *vivṛittakakrâ(h)* seems to contain a vocative fem. referring to Gaṅge—*avivṛittakakra*? The Âpastambīya Mantrapāṭha reads, *vivṛittakakra âśinās ūrena yamune tava*. Comp. Âsvalāyana I, 14, 7 ; Pāraskara I, 15, 8.

whose wheel does not roll back (?)!' (and), 'May we find our way with thee through all hostile powers, as through streams of water' (above I, 20, 5).

PATALA 1, SECTION 2.

1. Now (follows) the *Pumsavana* (i. e. the ceremony for securing the birth of a male child).

2. In the third month, in the fortnight of the increasing moon, under an auspicious constellation (&c. ; see the preceding section, *Sûtras* 2 and 3, down to :) in a round apartment. He gives her a barley-grain in her right hand with (the formula), 'A man art thou ;'

3. With (the formula), 'The two testicles are ye,' two mustard seeds or two beans, on both sides of that barley-grain.

4. With (the formula), '*Svâvritat*' (? *svâvrittat* ?) (he pours) a drop of curds (on those grains). That he gives her to eat.

5. After she has sipped water, he touches her belly with (the formula), 'With my ten (fingers) I touch thee that thou mayst give birth to a child after ten months.'

6. (He pounds) the last shoot of a *Nyagrodha* trunk (and mixes the powder) with ghee, or a silk-worm (and mixes the powder) with a pap prepared of panick seeds, or a splinter of a sacrificial post taken from the north-easterly part (of that post) exposed to the fire, or (he takes ashes or soot [?] of)

2, 2. Comp. the note on *Âsvalâyana* I, 13, 2.

6. The translation of this *Sûtra* should be considered merely as tentative. Some words of the text are uncertain, and the remarks of *Mâtridatta* are very incorrectly given in the MSS.

a fire that has been kindled by attrition, and inserts that into the right nostril of (the wife) whose head rests on the widely spread root (of an Udumbara tree?).

7. If she miscarries, he should three times stroke (her body), from the navel upwards, with her wet hand, with (the formula), 'Thitherwards, not hitherwards, may Tvashtri bind thee in his bonds. Making (the mother) enter upon the seasons, live ten months (in thy mother's womb); do not bring death to men.'

8. When her confinement has come, he performs the kshipraprasavana (i. e. the ceremony for accelerating the confinement). Having placed a water-pot near her head and a Tûryantî plant near her feet, he touches her belly.

PĀṬALA 1, SECTION 3.

1. 'As the wind blows, as the ocean waves, thus may the embryo move; may it come forth together with the after-birth'—with (this verse) he strokes (her body) from above downwards.

2. When the child is born, he lays an axe on a stone, and a piece of gold on that axe; after he has turned these things upside down (so that the stone lies uppermost), he holds the boy over them with (the two verses),

'Be a stone, be an axe, be insuperable gold. Thou indeed art the Veda called son; so live a hundred autumns.

8. Comp. Âpastamba-Gr̥hya VI, 14, 14; Âśvalâyana II, 8, 14; IV, 4, 8.

‘From limb by limb thou art produced ; out of the heart thou art born. Thou indeed art the self (âtman) called son ; so live a hundred autumns.’

3. (The contents of this Sûtra are similar to those of Pâraskara I, 16, 2.)

4. They take the Aupâsana (or regular *Grihya*) fire away, and they bring the Sûtikâgni (or the fire of the confinement).

5. That (fire) is only used for warming (dishes, etc.).

6. No ceremonies are performed with it except the fumigation (see the next Sûtra).

7. He fumigates (the child) with small grains mixed with mustard seeds. These he throws into the coals (of the Sûtikâgni) (eleven times, each time with one of the following Mantras) :

(a) ‘May *Sanda* and *Marka*, *Upavîra*, *Sândîkera*, *Ulûkhala*, *Kyavana* vanish from here. Svâhâ !

(b) ‘Âlikhat, Vilikhat, Animisha, *Kimvadanta*, *Upasruti*. Svâhâ !

(c) ‘*Aryamna*, *Kumbhin*, *Satru*, *Pâtrapâni*, *Nipuni*. Svâhâ !

(d) ‘May *Ântrîmukha*, *Sarshapârûna* vanish from here. Svâhâ !

(e) ‘*Kesint*, *Svalomint*, *Bagâbogâ*, *Upakâsint*—go away, vanish from here. Svâhâ !

(f) ‘The servants of *Kuvera*, *Visvavâsa* (?), sent by the king of demons, all of one common origin,

3, 7. According to Pâraskara (I, 16, 23) this is done daily in the morning and in the evening, until the mother gets up from child-bed.—Comp. the names of the demons, Pâraskara I, 16, 23.—For *vikhuram* (Mantra i) the Âpastambîya Mantrapâṭha has *vidhuraṃ* (‘distress’ or ‘a distressed one’).

walk through the villages, visiting those who wake (?). Svâhâ !

(g) ‘“ Kill them ! Bind them !” thus (says) this messenger of Brahman. Agni has encompassed them. Indra knows them ; Brîhaspati knows them ; I the Brâhmaṇa know them who seize (men), who have prominent teeth, rugged hair, hanging breasts. Svâhâ !

(h) ‘ The night-walkers, wearing ornaments on their breasts, with lances in their hands, drinking out of skulls ! Svâhâ !

(i) ‘ Their father Ukkaishrâvyakarna walks (?) at their head, their mother walks in the rear, seeking a vikhura (?) in the village. Svâhâ !

(k) ‘ The sister, the night-walker, looks at the family through the rift (?)—she who wakes while people sleep, whose mind is turned on the wife that has become mother. Svâhâ !

(l) ‘ O god with the black path, Agni, burn the lungs, the hearts, the livers of those (female demons) ; burn their eyes. Svâhâ !’

8. Then he washes his hands and touches the ground with (the verses), ‘ O thou whose hair is well parted ! Thy heart that dwells in heaven, in the moon : of that immortality impart to us. May I not weep over distress (falling to my lot) through my sons.

‘ I know thy heart, O earth, that dwells in heaven, in the moon : thus may I, the lord of immortality, not weep over distress (falling to my lot) through my sons.’

9. Now (follows) the medhâganana (or production

of intelligence). With (an instrument of) gold over which he has laid a Darbha shoot tied (to that piece of gold) he gives to the child, which is held so that it faces the east, ghee to eat, with the formulas, 'Bhûh! I sacrifice the *Rikas* over thee! Bhuvaḥ! I sacrifice the *Yagus* over thee! Suvaḥ! I sacrifice the *Sâmans* over thee! Bhûr bhuvaḥ suvaḥ! I sacrifice the *Atharvan* and *Ângiras* hymns over thee!'

10. He then bathes the child with lukewarm water with (the following Mantras):

'From chronic disease, from destruction, from wile, from *Varuṇa's* fetter I release thee. I make thee guiltless before the Brahman; may both Heaven and Earth be kind towards thee.

'May Agni together with the waters bring thee bliss, Heaven and Earth together with the herbs; may the air together with the wind bring thee bliss; may the four quarters of the heaven bring thee bliss.

'Rightly have the gods released the sun from darkness and from the seizing demon; they have dismissed him from guilt; thus I deliver this boy from chronic disease, from curse that comes from his kin, from wile, from *Varuṇa's* fetter.'

11. He then places the child in his mother's lap with (the verse):

PATALA 1, SECTION 4.

1. 'The four divine quarters of the heaven, the consorts of Wind, whom the sun surveys: to their

long life I turn thee; may consumption go away to destruction!’

2. Having placed (him there) he addresses (his wife with the Mantra), ‘May no demon do harm to thy son, no cow that rushes upon him (?). Mayst thou become the friend of treasures; mayst thou live in prosperity in thy own way.’

3. He washes her right breast and makes her give it to the child with (the formula), ‘May this boy suckle long life; may he reach old age. Let thy breast be exuberant for him, and life, glory, renown, splendour, strength.’

4. In the same way the left breast.

5. With (the words), ‘He does not suffer, he does not cry, when we speak to him and when we touch him’—he touches both breasts. Then he places a covered water-pot near her head, with (the formula), ‘O waters, watch in the house. As you watch with the gods, thus watch over this wife, the mother of a good son.’

6. On the twelfth day the mother and the son take a bath.

7. They make the house clean.

8. They take the Sûtikâgni away, and they bring the Aupâsana fire.

9. Having put wood on that fire, and having performed the rites down to the Vyâhrîti oblations, they sacrifice twelve oblations with the verses, ‘May Dhâtṛi give us wealth’ (III, 3, 11, 2-5); according to some (teachers they make) thirteen (oblations).

4, 2. I am not certain about the translation of dhenur atisârinî. The Âpastambîya Mantrapâṭha has atyâtârinî. Atisârin means, suffering from diarrhoea; perhaps we should read abhisârinî.

8. Comp. chap. 3, Sûtra 4.

10. 'This, O Varuṇa' (&c.; see I, chap. 27, Sūtra 2, down to): 'Hail! Good luck!' Then let him give a name to the child, of two syllables or of four syllables, beginning with a sonant, with a semi-vowel in it, with a long vowel (or) the Visarga at its end, or a name that contains the particle *su*, for such a name has a firm foundation; thus it is understood.

11. Let the father and the mother pronounce (that name) first. For it is understood, 'My name first, O Gâtavedas.'

12. He should give him two names. For it is understood (Taitt. Samh. VI, 3, 1, 3), 'Therefore a Brâhmaṇa who has two names, will have success.'

13. The second name should be a Nakshatra name.

14. The one name should be secret; by the other they should call him.

15. He should give him the name Somayâgin (i. e. performer of Soma sacrifices) as his third name; thus it is understood.

16. When he returns from a journey, or when his son returns, he touches him with (the formula), 'With Soma's lustre I touch thee, with Agni's splendour, with the glory of the sun.'

17. With (the formula), 'With the *hum*kâra (the mystical syllable *hum*) of the cattle I kiss thee, N. N.! For the sake of long life and of glory! *Hum*!' he

11. The verse beginning with 'My name,' &c., contains the words, 'which my father and my mother have given me in the beginning' (*pitâ mâtâ ka dadhatur yad agre*).

13. Comp. Professor Weber's second article, 'Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra' (Abh. der Berliner Akademie), pp. 316 seq.

17. Comp. above, I, 2, 5, 14.

kisses his head. Then he seizes with his right hand (his son's) right hand together with the thumb, with the five sections, 'Agni is long-lived.'

18. 'May Agni bestow on thee long life everywhere' (Taitt. Samh. I, 3, 14, 4)—this (verse) he murmurs in (his son's) right ear as above.

PATALA 1, SECTION 5.

1. Then (follows) in the sixth month the Anna-prâsana (i. e. the first feeding with solid food).

2. In the fortnight of the increasing moon, under an auspicious constellation, he puts wood on the fire, performs the rites down to the Vyâhrîti oblations, and sacrifices (with the Mantras), 'This, O Varuṇa' (&c.; see I, chap. 27, Sûtra 2, down to): 'Hail! Good luck!' Then he gives (to the child) threefold food to eat, curds, honey, and ghee, with (the formula), 'Bhûḥ I lay into thee! Bhuvāḥ I lay into thee! Suvaḥ I lay into thee!'

3. Then he gives him (other) food to eat with (the formula), 'I give thee to eat the essence of water and of the plants. May water and plants be kind towards thee. May water and plants do no harm to thee.'

PATALA 1, SECTION 6.

1. In the third year (he performs) the Kûḍâkarman (i. e. the tonsure of the child's head).

2. In the fortnight (&c., as in the preceding section, Sûtra 2, down to): 'Hail! Good luck!' The boy sits down to the west of the fire, facing the east;

3. To the north (of the fire) his mother or a student (*brahma-kârin*) holds a lump of bull's dung;

4. Therewith he (or she) receives the (cut-off) hair.

5. He then pours cold and warm water together.

6. Having poured warm water into cold water he moistens the hair near the right ear with (the formula), 'May the waters moisten thee for life' (Taitt. Samh. I, 2, 1, 1).

7. With (the formula), 'Herb, protect him!' (Taitt. Samh., loc. cit.) he puts an herb, with its point upwards, into (the hair).

8. With (the formula), 'Axe, do no harm to him!' (Taitt. Samh., loc. cit.) he touches (that herb) with the razor.

9. With (the words), 'Heard by the gods, I shave that (hair)' (Taitt. Samh., loc. cit.) he shaves him.

10. In the same way (he moistens, &c.) the other (sides of his head) from left to right.

11. Behind with (the Mantra), 'The razor with which Savitri, the knowing one, has shaven (the beard) of king Soma and Varuna, with that, ye Brâhmanas, shave his (head); make that he be united with vigour, with wealth, with glory.'

On the left side with (the Mantra), '(The razor) with which Pûshan has shaven (the beard) of Brihaspati, of Agni, of Indra, for the sake of long life, with that I shave thy (head), N. N. !'

6, 3, 4. Some consider, according to Mâtridatta, these two Sûtras as one. He says (p. 149 of Dr. Kirste's edition), *uttarata ity etadâdi pratigrîhâtîty etadantam vâ sûtram, dhârayams tenâsya kesân pratipatitavyam* (read, *pratigrîhâtîti patitavyam*).

6. As to *dakshinam* godânam unatti, comp. the note on Pâraskara II, 1, 9. Comp. also above, I, 3, 9, 12.

7 seq. See above, I, 3, 9, 13 seq.

Before with (the Mantra), 'That he may long live in joy, and may long see the sun.'

12. After the hair has been shaven, they arrange the locks (which are left over), according to custom or according to what family he belongs.

13. A person who is kindly disposed towards him, gathers the (cut-off) hair and buries it in a cow-stable, or near an Udumbara tree, or in a clump of Darbha grass, with (the Mantra), 'Where Pûshan, Bṛhaspati, Savitrî, Soma, Agni (dwell), they have in many ways searched where they should depose it, between heaven and earth, the waters and heaven.'

14. He makes a gift to a Brâhmana according to his liberality.

15. To the barber (he gives) boiled rice with butter.

16. In the same way the Godânakarman (or the ceremony of shaving the beard) is performed in the sixteenth year.

17. He has him shaven including the top-lock.

18. Some declare that he leaves there the top-lock.

19. Or he performs the Godâna sacred to Agni.

20. He gives a cow to his Guru.

End of the First Paṭala.

13. Comp. I, 3, 9, 18.

14. Literally, according to his faith (yathâsradham).

19. Agnigodâno vâ kumâro bhavati upasamâdhânâdi punyâhâ-vâtanântam agnikâryam iva vâ bhavatîty arthaḥ. Mâtridatta. Comp., however, the note on Âpastamba-Grhya VI, 16, 13.

PRASNA II, PATALA 2, SECTION 7.

1. Now (follows) the expiation for attacks of the dog-demon (epilepsy) (on the boy).

2. When the attack assails (the boy, the performer of the ceremony) arranges his sacrificial cord over his left shoulder, sips water, and fetches water with a cup that has not yet been used (in order to pour it upon the boy). In the middle of the hall he elevates (the earth at) that place in which they use to gamble; he besprinkles it with water, casts the dice, scatters them (on all sides), makes a heap of them, spreads them out, makes an opening in the thatched roof of the hall, takes the boy in through that (opening), lays him on his back on the dice, and pours a mixture of curds and salt-water upon him, while they beat a gong towards the south. (The curds and water are poured on the sick boy with the following Mantras),

‘Kurkura, Sukurkura, the Kurkura with the dark fetter

‘Sârameya runs about, looking, as it were, upon the sea. He, the Suvîrina (?), wears golden ornaments on his neck and on his breast, the most excellent (ornaments) of dogs (?).

‘Suvîrina, let him loose! Let him loose, Ekavrâtya! Let him loose, doggy! Let him loose, *Khat*!

‘Teka and Sasaramatamka and Tûla and Vitûla and the white one and the red one. Let him loose! . . . the brown and red one.

‘On those two single ones the sarasyakâs (?) run

7, 1. svagraho + pasmâra unmatta/ Sârameya ity eke. Mâtridatta.—Comp. Pâraskara I, 16, 24; Âpastamba VII, 18, 1.

2. The Mantras are partly unintelligible. As to kurkura comp. the note on Pâraskara I, 16, 24.

down in the third heaven from here. *Khat!* Go away. *Sisarama!* *Sârameya!* Adoration to thee, *Sisara!*

‘Your mother is called the messenger; your father is the *mandâkaka* (*mandûkaka*, the frog?). *Khat!* Go away, &c.

‘Your mother is called *dulâ* (the staggering one?); your father is the *mandâkaka*. *Khat!* Go away, &c.

‘The stallions (stamp with) their feet. Do not gnash (?) thy teeth. *Khat!* Go away, &c.

‘The carpenter hammers at (the chariots) that have wheels (?). Do not gnash (?) thy teeth. *Khat!* Go away,’ &c.

3. Then (the performer of the ceremony) says, ‘Choose a boon.’

4. (The father or brother of the boy replies), ‘I choose the boy.’

5. They should do so, when the attack assails him, three times in the day, in the morning, at noon, and in the afternoon, and when he has recovered.

End of the Second *Pañala*.

PRAŚNA II, PĀTALA 3, SECTION 8.

1. Now (follows) the sacrifice of the *sûlagava* (or spit-ox, for propitiating Rudra and averting plague in cattle).

2. In the fortnight of the increasing moon, under an auspicious constellation, he puts wood on the fire, strews (*Darbha* grass) on the entire surface around the fire, cooks a mess of sacrificial food with milk,

5. There can be little doubt as to the correctness of the reading *agadaḥ* instead of *âgataḥ*.

8, 1. Comp. *Āsvalâyana* IV, 8; *Pâraskara* III, 8; *Âpastamba* VII, 20.

sprinkles it (with *Āgrya*), takes it from the fire, builds two huts to the west of the fire, and has the spit-ox led to the southerly (hut) with (the verse), 'May the fallow steeds, the harmonious ones, bring thee hither, together with the white horses, the bright, wind-swift, strong ones, that are as quick as thought. Come quickly to my offering, Sarva! Om!'

3. To the northerly (hut he has) the 'bountiful one' (led);—(i. e. the consort of the spit-ox);

4. To the middle (between the two huts) the 'conqueror' (i. e. a calf of those two parents).

5. He gives them water to drink in the same order in which they have been led (to their places), prepares three messes of boiled rice, 'spreading under' and sprinkling (*Āgrya*) on them, and touches (the three beasts with those portions of rice) in the order in which they have been led (to their places), with (the Mantras), 'May he, the bountiful one, touch it. To the bountiful one *svāhā!* May she, the bountiful one, touch it. To the bountiful one *svāhā!* May the conqueror touch it. To the conqueror *svāhā!*'

6. After he has performed (the rites) down to the *Vyāhṛiti* oblations, he takes the messes of boiled rice (to the fire) and sacrifices them (the first with the Mantra),

'To the god Bhava *svāhā!* To the god Rudra *svāhā!* To the god Sarva *svāhā!* To the god *Īśāna . . . Paśupati . . . Ugra . . . Bhīma svāhā!* To the great god *svāhā!*'

7. Then he sacrifices the consort's rice to the consort (of Rudra, with the Mantra), 'To the consort

of the god Bhava svâhâ ! To the consort of the god Rudra . . . Sarva . . . Îsâna . . . Pasupati . . . Ugra . . . Bhîma . . . of the great god svâhâ !'

8. Then he sacrifices of the middle portion of rice with (the Mantra), 'To the conqueror svâhâ ! To the conqueror svâhâ !'

9. Then he cuts off from all the three portions of rice and sacrifices the Svishṭakṛit oblation with (the Mantra), 'To Agni Svishṭakṛit svâhâ !'

10. Around that fire they place their cows so that they can smell the smell of that sacrifice.

11. 'With luck may they walk round our full face'—with (these words) he walks round all (the objects mentioned, viz. the fire, the three beasts, and the other cows), so as to turn his right side towards them, and worships (the sūlagava) with the (eleven) Anuvâkas, 'Adoration to thee, Rudra, to the wrath' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 5), or with the first and last of them.

PĀṬALA 3, SECTION 9.

1. Now follows the distribution of Palâsa leaves (at different places).

2. 'Protector of the house, touch them ! To the protector of the house svâhâ ! Protectress of the

9, 1. The text has *baudhyavihâra*, on which the commentary observes, *baudhyâni palâsaparnâni, teshâm vihâro viharanam nânâ-deseshu sthâpanam baudhyavihârah, karmanâma vâ*. The *baudhyavihâra* is, as its description clearly shows, a ceremony for propitiating Rudra and his hosts and for averting evil from the cattle and the fields. The commentary understands it as forming part of the sūlagava described in chap. 8, and with this opinion it would agree very well that no indication of the time at which the *baudhyavihâra* ought to be performed (such as âpûryamânapakshe punye nakshatre) is given. Comp. also Âpastamba VII, 20, 5 seq.

house, touch them! To the protectress of the house svâhâ! Protector of the door, touch them! To the protector of the door svâhâ! Protectress of the door, touch them! To the protectress of the door svâhâ!— with (these formulas) he puts down four leaves; (then other leaves) with (the formulas), ‘Noisy ones, touch them! To the noisy ones svâhâ! Quivered ones . . . ye that run in the rear . . . Minglers (?) . . . Choosers . . . Eaters, touch them! To the eaters svâhâ!’—

3. Then again ten (leaves) with (the formula), ‘Divine hosts, touch them! To the divine hosts svâhâ!’

4. Then other ten (leaves) with (the formula), ‘Divine hosts that are named and that are not named, touch them! To them svâhâ!’

5. Then he makes a basket of leaves, puts into it a lump of boiled rice with an ‘under-spreading’ (of Âgya) and sprinkling (Âgya) on it, goes outside his pasture-grounds, and hangs (the basket) up at a tree with (the formula), ‘Quivered ones, touch it! To the quivered ones svâhâ!’

6. He then performs worship (before that basket) with (the formula), ‘Adoration to the quivered one, to him who wears the quiver! To the lord of the thieves adoration!’

7. With sandal salve, surâ and water, unground, fried grains, cow-dung, with a bunch of dûrvâ grass, with Udumbara, Palâsa, Samī, Vikāṅkata, and

5. I have translated avadhâya (instead of avadâya), as Âpa-stamba VII, 20, 7 reads.

6. Taittirîya Saṃhitâ IV, 5, 3, 1. Of course the god to whom these designations refer is Rudra.

7. The commentary explains surodaka as rain-water, or as rain-water which has fallen while the sun was shining.

Asvattha (branches), and with a cow-tail he besprinkles his cows, the bull first, with (the words), 'Bring luck! Bring luck!' Then (the bull) will bring him luck.

8. He then cooks that mess of sacrificial food, sacred to Kshetrapati (the lord of the field), with milk, sprinkles it (with *Āgya*), takes it from the fire, and performs a sacrifice to Kshetrapati on the path where his cows use to go, without a fire, on four or on seven leaves.

9. He has him (i. e. the Kshetrapati? an ox representing Kshetrapati?) led (to his place) in the same way as the *sūlagava* (chap. 8, § 2).

10. He sacrifices quickly, (for) the god has a strong digestion (?).

11. He then performs worship with (the two verses), 'With the lord of the field,' 'Lord of the field' (Taitt. Samh. I, 1, 14, 2. 3).

12. Of (the remains of that sacrificial food) sacred to Kshetrapati his uterine relations should partake, according as the custom of their family is.

End of the Third Pāṭala.

8. *Mātridatta* says, *kshaitrapatyam kshetrapatidevatākam payasi shālīpākam*, &c. The meaning of the expression 'that (enam) mess of sacrificial food' is doubtful; the commentary says, *enam iti pūrvāpeksham pūrvavad aupāsana evāsyāpi śraṇanārtham*.—The last words (on four or on seven leaves) the commentator transfers to the next Sūtra, but he mentions the different opinion of other authorities.

10. *nūrtte śighram yagate. kutaḥ. yataḥ sa devaḥ pākaḥ paṭa-nasīlas tīkshmas* (read, *tīkshnas*) *tasmāt. Mātridatta*.—Possibly Dr. Kirste is right in reading *tūrtam*; the corresponding Sūtra of *Āpastamba* has *kshipram* (VII, 20, 15), and, as the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VI, 3, 2, 2) observes, '*yad vai kshipram tat tūrtam*.'

PRAŚNA II, PĀTALA 4, SECTION 10.

1. On the new-moon day, in the afternoon, or on days with an odd number in the dark fortnight the monthly (*Srāddha* is performed).

2. Having prepared food for the Fathers and having arranged southward-pointed *Darbha* grass as seats (for the *Brāhmaṇas* whom he is going to invite), he invites an odd number of pure *Brāhmaṇas* who are versed in the Mantras, with no deficient limbs, who are not connected with himself by consanguinity or by their *Gotra* or by the Mantras, (such as his teacher or his pupils).

3. In feeding them he should not look at any (worldly) purposes.

4. Having put wood on the fire and strewn southward pointed and eastward-pointed *Darbha* grass around it, having prepared the *Āgrya* in an *Āgrya* pot over which he has laid one purifier, having sprinkled water round (the fire) from right to left, and put a piece of *Udumbara* wood on (the fire), he sacrifices with the (spoon called) *Darvi* which is made of *Udumbara* wood.

5. Having performed the rites down to the *Āgrya-bhāga* offerings, he suspends his sacrificial cord over his right shoulder and calls the Fathers (to his sacrifice) with (the verse), 'Come hither, O Fathers, friends of Soma, on your hidden, ancient paths, bestowing on us offspring and wealth and long life, a life of a hundred autumns.'

10, 1. Comp. *Sāṅkhāyana* IV, 1; *Āsvalāyana* II, 5, 10 seq.; IV, 7; *Pāraskara* III, 10; *Gobhila* IV, 3.

4. Comp. above, I, 1, 1, 11 seq. 27; 2, 7 seq.

6. He sprinkles water in the same direction (i. e. towards the south) with (the verse), 'Divine waters, send us Agni. May our Fathers enjoy this sacrifice. May they who receive their nourishment every month bestow on us wealth with valiant heroes.'

7. Having performed the rites down to the Vyâhṛiti oblations with his sacrificial cord over his left shoulder, he suspends it over his right shoulder and sacrifices with (the following Mantras) :

'To Soma with the Fathers, svadhâ ! Adoration !

'To Yama with the Aṅgiras and with the Fathers, svadhâ ! Adoration !

'With the waters that spring in the east and those that come from the north : with the waters, the supporters of the whole world, I interpose another one between (myself and) my father. Svadhâ ! Adoration !

'I interpose (another one) through the mountains; I interpose through the wide earth ; through the sky and the points of the horizon, through infinite bliss I interpose another one between (myself and) my grandfather. Svadhâ ! Adoration !

'I interpose (another one) through the seasons, through days and nights with the beautiful twilight. Through half-months and months I interpose another one between (myself and) my great-grandfather. Svadhâ ! Adoration !'

Then he sacrifices with their names : 'To N. N. svadhâ ! Adoration ! To N.N. svadhâ ! Adoration !'

6. Comp. Atharva-veda XVIII, 4, 40.

7. Comp. Sâṅkhâya III, 13, 5. The translation there given of the words anyam antaḥ pitur dadhe ought to be changed accordingly.—For âbhur anyopapadyatâm read mâtur anyo-vapadyatâm as Sâṅkhâya has.

‘Wherein my mother has done amiss, abandoning her duty (towards her husband), may my father take that sperm as his own; may another one fall off from the mother. Svadhâ! Adoration!’

In the same way a second and a third verse with the alteration of the Mantra, ‘Wherein my grandmother,’ ‘Wherein my great-grandmother.’

PĀṬALA 4, SECTION 11.

1. ‘The Fathers who are here and who are not here, and whom we know and whom we do not know: Agni, to thee they are known, how many they are, Gâtavedas. May they enjoy what thou givest them in our oblation. Svadhâ! Adoration!’

‘Your limb that this flesh-devouring (Agni) has burnt, leading you to the worlds (of the Fathers), Gâtavedas, that I restore to you again. Unviolated with all your limbs arise, O Fathers! Svadhâ! Adoration!’

‘Carry the Âgya, Gâtavedas, to the Fathers, where thou knowest them resting afar. May streams of Âgya flow to them; may their wishes with all their desires be fulfilled! Svadhâ! Adoration!’

In the same way a second and a third verse with the alteration of the Mantra, ‘to the grandfathers,’ ‘to the great-grandfathers.’

2. In the same way he sacrifices of the food, altering the Mantra, ‘Carry the food, &c.’

3. Then he sacrifices the Svishṭakṛit oblation

11, 1. Rig-veda X, 15, 13; Atharva-veda XVIII, 4, 64; Âsva-lâyana-Grihya II, 4, 13, &c. Before the verse, ‘Carry the Âgya,’ the Udîkayas, as Mâtridatta states, insert the words, ‘He then makes oblations of Âgya (with the Mantra, &c.)’ According to this reading the words of the second Sûtra, ‘In the same way, &c.’ would refer only to these last oblations.

with (the formula), 'To Agni Kavyavâhana Svish-takrit svadhâ! Adoration!'

4. He then touches the food with (the formulas), 'The earth is thy vessel, the heaven is the lid. I sacrifice thee into the Brahman's mouth. I sacrifice thee into the up-breathing and down-breathing of the Brâhmanas. Thou art imperishable; do not perish for the Fathers yonder, in yon world! The earth is steady; Agni is its surveyor in order that what has been given may not be lost.

'The earth is thy vessel, the heaven is the lid; &c. Do not perish for the grandfathers yonder, in yon world. The air is steady; Vâyu is its surveyor, in order that what has been given may not be lost.

'The earth is thy vessel, the heaven is the lid; &c. Do not perish for the great-grandfathers yonder, in yon world. The heaven is steady; Âditya is its surveyor, in order that what has been given may not be lost.'

5. With (the words), 'I establish myself in the breath and sacrifice ambrosia,' he causes the Brâhmanas to touch (the food).

PATALA 4, SECTION 12.

1. While they are eating, he looks at them with (the words), 'My soul (âtman) dwells in the Brahman that it may be immortal.'

2. When they have eaten (and go away), he goes after them and asks for their permission to take the remains of their meal (for the rites which he is going

to perform). Then he takes a water-pot and a handful of Darbha grass, goes forth to a place that lies in a south-easterly intermediate direction, spreads the Darbha grass out with its points towards the south, and pours out on that (grass) with downward-turned hands, ending in the south, three handfuls of water, with (the formulas), 'May the fathers, the friends of Soma, wipe themselves! May the grandfathers . . . the great-grandfathers, the friends of Soma, wipe themselves!' or, 'N. N.! Wash thyself! N. N.! Wash thyself!'

3. On that (grass) he puts down, with downward-turned hands, ending in the south, the lumps (of food for the Fathers). To his father he gives his lump with (the words), 'This to thee, father, N. N.!' to the grandfather with (the words), 'This to thee, grandfather, N. N.!' to the great-grandfather with (the words), 'This to thee, great-grandfather, N. N.!' silently a fourth (lump). This (fourth lump) is optional.

4. Should he not know the names (of the ancestors), he gives the lump to the father with (the words), 'Svadhâ to the Fathers who dwell on the earth,' to the grandfather with (the words), 'Svadhâ to the Fathers who dwell in the air,' to the great-grandfather with (the words), 'Svadhâ to the Fathers who dwell in heaven.'

5. Then he gives, corresponding to each lump, collyrium and (other) salve and (something that represents) a garment.

3. According to the commentary after each formula the words are added, 'and to those who follow thee;' comp. Taitt. Samh. I, 8, 5, 1; III, 2, 5, 5; Kâty.-Sraut. IV, 1, 12.

6. The collyrium (he gives), saying three times, 'Anoint thy eyes, N. N.! Anoint thy eyes, N. N.!'

7. The salve, saying three times, 'Anoint thyself, N. N.! Anoint thyself, N. N.!'

8. With (the formula), 'These garments are for you, O Fathers. Do not seize upon anything else that is ours,' he tears off a skirt (of his garment) or a flake of wool and puts that down (for the Fathers), if he is in the first half of his life.

9. He tears out some hairs of his body, if in the second half.

10. Then he washes the vessel (in which the food was of which he had offered the lumps), and sprinkles (the water with which he has washed it), from right to left round (the lumps) with (the Mantra), 'These honey-sweet waters, bringing refreshment to children and grandchildren, giving sweet drink and ambrosia to the Fathers, the divine waters refresh both (the living and the dead), these rivers, abounding in water, covered with reeds, with beautiful bathing-places; may they flow up to you in yon world!' Then he turns the vessel over, crosses his hands so that the left hand becomes right and the right hand becomes left, and worships (the Fathers) with the formulas of adoration, 'Adoration to you, O Fathers, for the sake of sap' (Taitt. Samh. III, 2, 5, 5).

11. Then he goes to the brink of some water and pours down three handfuls of water (with the following Mantras):

6 seq. A fourth time he gives the same thing silently; comp. Sūtra 3.

8, 9. If his age is under fifty years or over fifty years (Mātridatta; comp. the commentary on Kātyāyana-Sraut. IV, 1, 17. 18).

PATALA 4, SECTION 13.

1. 'This is for thee, father, this honey-sweet wave, rich in water. As great as Agni and the earth are, so great is its measure, so great is its might. As such a great one I give it. As Agni is imperishable and inexhaustible, thus may it be imperishable and inexhaustible, sweet drink to my father. By that imperishable (wave), that sweet drink, live thou together with those, N. N.! The *Rikas* are thy might.

'This is for thee, grandfather, &c. . . . As great as Vāyu and the air are . . . As Vāyu is imperishable . . . to my grandfather. . . . The *Yagus* are thy might.

'This is for thee, great-grandfather, &c. . . . As great as Āditya and the heaven are . . . The *Sāmans* are thy might.'

2. Returning (from the place where he has performed the *Pinda* offerings) he puts the substance cleaving (to the *Sthālī*) into the water-pot and pours it out, with (the verse), 'Go away, O Fathers, friends of Soma, on your hidden, ancient paths. After a month return again to our house and eat our offerings, rich in offspring, in valiant sons.'

3. Thereby the (*Srāddha*) celebrated in the middle of the rainy season has been declared.

4. There (oblations of) flesh are prescribed;

5. Of vegetables, if there is no flesh.

End of the Fourth *Paṭala*.

3. *Mādhyavarsham*. Comp. the note on *Sāṅkhāyana* III, 13, 1.

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 5, SECTION 14.

1. We shall explain (the festival of) the Ash/akâ.
2. The eighth day of the dark fortnight that follows after the full moon of Mâgha, is called Ekâsh/akâ.
3. On the day before that Ash/akâ, under (the Nakshatra) Anûrâdhâs, in the afternoon he puts wood on the fire, strews southward-pointed and eastward-pointed Darbha grass around it, and turns rice out of four shallow cups over which he has laid one purifier, with (the Mantra), 'I turn out, impelled by the god Savitrî, this cake prepared from four cups (of rice), which may drive away all suffering from the Fathers in the other world. On the impulse of the god Savitrî, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pûshan's hands I turn thee out, agreeable to the fathers, the grandfathers, the great-grandfathers.'
4. With the same purifier he silently strains the Prokshant water; he silently sprinkles (with that water the rice and the vessels), silently husks (the rice), silently bakes it in four dishes like a Purodâsa, sprinkles (Âgya) on it, takes it from the fire, sprinkles (water) round (the fire) from right to left, and puts a piece of Udumbara wood on (the fire). With the (spoon called) Darvi which is made of Udumbara wood, he cuts off in one continual line which is directed towards south-east, (the Avadâna portions)

14, 1. Hiranyakesin describes only one Ash/akâ, the Ekâsh/akâ, while the other texts speak of three or four Ash/akâs; comp. the quotations in the note on Sâṅkhâya III, 12, 1.

4. The rules of the Srauta ritual regarding the baking of the Purodâsa are given by Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 43.

one after the other, spreading under and sprinkling over them (Āgrya), and sacrifices them, one after the other, in one continual line which is directed towards south-east, with (the Mantras), 'The mortars, the pressing-stones have made their noise, preparing the annual offering. Ekāshṭakâ! May we be rich in offspring, in valiant sons, the lords of wealth. Svadhâ! Adoration!

'God Agni! The cake which is prepared with ghee and accompanied by (the word) svadhâ, that the Fathers may satiate themselves—(this our) offering carry duly, Agni. I, the son, sacrifice an oblation to my fathers. Svadhâ! Adoration!

'Here is a cake, Agni, prepared from four cups (of rice), with ghee, rich in milk, in wealth, in prosperity. May the Fathers gladly accept it all together; may it be well sacrificed and well offered by me. Svadhâ! Adoration!'

5. Then he makes oblations of (other) food with (the verses), 'The one who shone forth as the first,' 'The Ekāshṭakâ, devoting herself to austerities,' 'She who shone forth as the first' (Taitt. Samhitâ IV, 3, 11, 1. 3. 5).

6. Cutting off (the Avadânas destined for the Svishṭakṛit oblation) together from the cake and from the (other) food and mixing them with clarified butter, he makes an oblation thereof with (the formula), 'To Agni Kavyavâhana Svishṭakṛit svadhâ! Adoration!'

7. That (cake) with ghee and honey and with the food (mentioned in Sûtras 5. 6) he touches in the way prescribed for the Srâddha ceremony and puts

down lumps (of it) according to the ritual of the *Pinda* offerings.

8. (The remains of) that (cake, &c.) he serves to learned Brāhmanas.

9. He gives them food and presents as at the Srāddha ceremony.

10. The known (rites) down to the pouring out of the handfuls of water (are performed here) as at the monthly (Srāddha).

PATALA 5, SECTION 15.

1. On the following day he sacrifices a cow to the Fathers.

2. Having put wood on the fire and strewn southward-pointed and eastward-pointed Darbha grass around it, he sacrifices the oblation for the touching of the animal (see below), with (the verse), 'This cow I touch for the Fathers; may my assembled fathers gladly accept it (which is offered) with fat and ghee, with the word svadhâ; may it satiate my fathers in the other world. Svadhâ! Adoration!' Then he touches (the cow) with one (blade of) sacrificial grass and with an unforked Vapâsrapanî of Udumbara wood, with (the formula), 'I touch thee agreeable to the Fathers.'

3. He sprinkles (the cow with water) with (the words), 'I sprinkle thee agreeable to the Fathers.'

4. When it has been sprinkled and fire has been

10. See above, chap. 12, 13.

15, 2. On the Vapâsrapanî, comp. Kâtyâyana VI, 5, 7; Âsval.-Grihya I, 11, 8. Comp. besides, Taitt. Samh. VI, 3, 6; Âpastamba-Srauta-sûtra VII, 8, 3; 12, 5 seq.

4. The Udîtyas read, as Mâtridatta states, 'to the south of the fire.'

carried round it, they kill it to the west of the fire, its head being turned to the west, its feet to the south.

5. After it has been killed, he silently 'strengthens' its sense-organs (by touching them) with water, and silently takes out the omentum, the heart, and the kidneys.

6. With the Vapâsrapañt of Udumbara wood he roasts the omentum; with spits of Udumbara wood the other (parts mentioned in Sûtra 5) separately.

7. After he has roasted them, and has sprinkled Âgya over them, and has taken them from the fire, he sprinkles water round (the fire) from right to left, puts a piece of Udumbara wood on (the fire), and sacrifices with a Darvi spoon of Udumbara wood the omentum, spreading under and sprinkling over it (Âgya), with (the verse), 'Carry the omentum, Gâtavedas, to the Fathers, where thou knowest them resting afar. May streams of fat flow to them; may their wishes with all their desires be fulfilled. Svadhâ! Adoration!'

8. He sacrifices the omentum entirely. The other parts (Sûtra 5) he should offer to the Brâhmaṇas and should feed them (with those parts of the cow).

9. When the food (for the Brâhmaṇas) is ready, he cuts off (the Avadânas) together from the mess of boiled rice, and from the pieces of meat, and mixing them with clarified butter he makes oblations

5. On the 'strengthening' of the sense-organs of an immolated victim, comp. Âpastamba-Srauta-sûtra VII, 18, 6 seq. Schwab, Thieropfer, 110.—On matasne, see Indische Studien, IX, 248; Schwab 127.

8. Possibly the reading of the Udîkṛtyas indicated by Mâtrîdatta, vyâkṛitya instead of upâkṛitya, is correct. The translation would be, 'With the rest, distributing it, &c.'

thereof with the verses, 'Behold the Ekāshṭakā, the giver of food with meat and ghee, (which is offered) with (the word) svadhâ. By the Brâhmanas that food is purified. May it be an imperishable (blessing) to me! Svadhâ! Adoration!'

'The Ekāshṭakā, devoting herself to austerities, the consort of the year, exuberant (with milk), has poured forth milk. May you live on that milk, O Fathers, all together. May this (food) be well offered and well sacrificed by me! Svadhâ! Adoration!

'The image of the year' (Taitt. Samh. V, 7, 2, 1).

10. After he has sacrificed, he cuts off (the Avadânas) from the food and from the pieces of meat, and mixing them with clarified butter he makes an oblation with (the formula), 'To Agni Kavyavâhana Svishṭakṛt svadhâ! Adoration!'

11. The known (rites) down to the pouring out of the handfuls of water (are performed here) as at the monthly (Sṛaddha).

12. The gifts of food and presents, however, are not necessary here.

13. On the following day, he prepares food for the Fathers with the rest of the meat, and sacrifices with (the two verses), 'Thou, Agni, art quick,' (and), 'Pragâpati!' (see above, I, 1, 3, 5).

14. (= Sûtra 11).

End of the Fifth Patala.

11. See above, chap. 14, 10.

12. See chap. 14, 9.

13. This is the so-called Anvashṭakya ceremony.

PRASNA II, PATALA 6, SECTION 16.

1. Now (follows) the *Sravanâ* ceremony.
2. On the day of that full moon which falls under (the Nakshatra) *Sraavana*, after the evening Agni-hotra he puts wood on the (third of the three Srauta fires, called the) *Dakshinâgni*. One who has not set up the (Srauta) fires, (does the same with) the sacred domestic fire.
3. Then he procures unbroken grains, unbroken fried grains, coarsely ground grains, (leaves and blossoms) of the *Kimsuka* tree, collyrium and (other) salve, and *Âgya*.
4. Having 'spread under' (*Âgya*) in the (spoon called) *Darvi*, he cuts off (the *Avadânas*) of those kinds of food (mentioned in Sûtra 3), mixes them with clarified butter, and sacrifices (with the formulas), 'Adoration to Agni the terrestrial, the lord of terrestrial beings! Svâhâ! Adoration to Vâyû the all-pervading, the lord of aerial beings! Svâhâ! Adoration to Sûrya, the red one, the lord of celestial beings! Svâhâ! Adoration to Vishnu, the whitish one, the lord of the beings that dwell in the quarters (of the world). Svâhâ!'
5. He anoints the *Kimsuka* (flowers and leaves) with *Âgya*, and sacrifices with (the Mantras), 'Devoured is the gadfly; devoured is thirst (?); devoured is the stinging worm.' 'Devoured is the stinging worm; devoured is thirst; devoured is the gadfly.'

5. I am not sure about the translation of *viṭashśī*. Perhaps it is only a blunder for *vitṛishśī*, which is the reading of the *Âpastambīya Mantrapâṭha*. Comp. Winternitz, *Der Sarpabali, ein altindischer Schlangencult* (Wien, 1888), p. 28.

‘Devoured is thirst; devoured is the gadfly; devoured is the stinging worm.’

6. He takes a water-pot and a handful of Darbha grass, goes forth, his face turned towards the east, spreads the Darbha grass out with its points towards the east, and makes four Bali-offerings on that (grass) with (the formulas), ‘To the terrestrial Serpents I offer this Bali,’ ‘To the aerial, &c.; to the celestial, &c.; to the Serpents dwelling in the quarters (of the world),’ &c.

7. Having given there collyrium and (other) salve (to the Serpents), he worships them with the Mantras, ‘Adoration be to the Serpents’ (Taitt. Samhitā IV, 2, 8, 3).

8. He should take a water-pot and should at that distance in which he wishes the serpents not to approach, three times walk round his house, turning his right side towards it, and should sprinkle water round it with (the formulas), ‘Beat away, O white one, with thy foot, with the fore-foot and with the hind-foot, these seven human females and the three (daughters) of the king’s tribe.

‘Within the dominion of the white one the Serpent has killed nobody. To the white one, the son of Vidarva, adoration!’

‘Adoration to the white one, the son of Vidarva!’

9. Then he worships the Serpents towards the different regions, one by one with (the corresponding section of) these Mantras, ‘The convergent one thou art called, the eastern region’ (Taitt. Samh. V, 5, 10, 1 seq.).

8. Comp. Pāraskara II, 14, 19. In the first Mantra I read *rāgabāndhaviḥ*; comp. the note on Pār. II, 14, 4.

10. From that time he daily makes the Bali-offerings till the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrsha.

11. Here the *Kimsuka* offerings (see § 5) are not repeated.

12. The sprinkling (of water) round (the house) does not take place (see § 8).

13. The last Bali he offers with (the words), 'Going to acquit myself, going to acquit myself.'

End of the Sixth Pātala.

PRAŚNA II, PĀTALA 7, SECTION 17.

1. We shall explain the Āgrahāyaṇī ceremony.

2. On the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrsha he puts wood on the fire, strews (*Darbha* grass) on the entire surface round the fire, cooks a mess of sacrificial food with milk, sprinkles it (with *Āgrya*), takes it from the fire, performs the rites down to the *Vyāhṛiti* oblations, and sacrifices (four oblations) with (the following Mantras):

'This offering, the creeping of *Idā*, rich in ghee, moving and not moving, accept gladly, O *Gātavedas*.

13. Some authorities understand, as *Mātridatta* states, that he should offer the Bali only with the words as they stand in the *Sūtra*, others prescribe the formula (comp. § 6): 'To the terrestrial (aerial, &c.) Serpents I offer this Bali going to acquit myself, going to acquit myself.'

17, 1. Comp. on the Āgrahāyaṇī ceremony *Sāṅkhāyana* IV, 17; *Pāraskara* III, 2, &c.; *Winternitz*, *Sarpabali*, 32 seq.

2. The first Mantra is very corrupt; comp. *Atharva-veda* III, 10, 6. Regarding the legend of *Idā*, who was procreated out of *Manu's* *Pāka*-sacrifice, and 'came forth as if dripping, and clarified butter gathered on her step,' comp. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 8, 1, 7 (*M. M.*, India, what can it teach us? p. 136).

What domestic animals there are, of all shapes, all seven kinds of them : may they gladly dwell here and may they prosper. Svâhâ !

‘The night which men welcome like a cow that comes to them, (the night) which is the consort of the year, may that (night) be auspicious to us. Svâhâ !

‘Bringing bliss to the cattle, to the wife, bringing bliss by night and by day, may this (night) which is the consort of the year, be auspicious to us. Svâhâ !

‘The full-moon night, bringing abundance, visiting one after another, dividing the months and fortnights : may this (night), the full one, protect us. Svâhâ !’

3. He sacrifices the oblation to Agni Svishṭakṛit with (the verse), ‘Agni, make this (sacrifice) full that it may be well offered. Be victorious, O god, in all battles. Shine far and wide, showing us a wide path. Bestow on us long life, full of splendour and free from decay. Svâhâ !’

4. Then he washes his hands and touches the earth with (the formulas), ‘In power I establish myself, in royalty. Among the horses I establish myself, among the cows. In the limbs I establish myself, in the self. In the Prâṇas I establish myself, in prosperity. In Heaven and Earth I establish myself, in sacrifice.

‘May the three times eleven gods, the thirty-three, the gracious ones, whose Purohita is Brīhaspati, on the impulse of the god Savitṛi—may the gods with (all) the gods give me bliss !’

5. The master of the house sits down at their southerly end,

6. The other persons to the north,
7. According to their seniority.
8. They who know the Mantras among them, murmur the Mantras (which will be stated).
9. With (the verse), 'Be soft to us, O earth, free from thorns; grant us rest; afford us wide shelter' (Taitt. Âr. X, 1, 10), and with the two (verses), 'Verily of the mountains' (Taitt. Samh. II, 2, 12, 2. 3) they lie down on their right sides.
10. With (the verse), 'Up! with life' (Taitt. Samh. I, 2, 8, 1) they arise.
11. When they have arisen, they murmur, 'We have arisen; we have become immortal.'
12. In that way they (lie down and) arise that night three times.
13. Having served food to the Brāhmaṇas and having caused them to say, 'An auspicious day! Hail! Good luck!' they rest that night.

End of the Seventh Pāṭala.

PRAŚNA II, PĀṬALA 8, SECTION 18.

1. Now we shall explain the opening and the conclusion (of the annual course of study).
2. During the fortnight that precedes the Śravanâ

13. 'Here end the *Gṛhya* ceremonies,' says Mâtridatta. Dr. Kirste (Preface, p. viii), accordingly, believes that the three last chapters may be later additions. It may be observed in connection with this, that in the *Âpastambîya-Gṛhya*, which throughout is so closely related to our text, the ceremonies of the *Upâkaraṇa* and *Utsargana*, of which these three chapters treat, are not described.

18, 2. *Śravanâpaksha* means, according to Mâtridatta, *śrāva-*

full moon, when the herbs have appeared, under (the Nakshatra) Hasta or on the full-moon day (itself), the opening ceremony of the (annual course of) study (is performed).

3. Having put wood on the fire and performed the rites down to the Vyâhṛiti oblations, he sacrifices (with his pupils) to the *Rishis* of the *Kândas*: 'To Pragâpati, the *Rishi* of a *Kânda*, svâhâ! To Soma, the *Rishi* of a *Kânda*, svâhâ! To Agni, the *Rishi* of a *Kânda*, svâhâ! To the Visve devâs, the *Rishis* of a *Kânda*, svâhâ! To Svayambhû, the *Rishi* of a *Kânda*, svâhâ!'—these are the *Rishis* of the *Kândas*. Or (he sacrifices) to the names of the *Kândas*, to the Sâvitṛī, to the Rig-veda, the Yagur-veda, the Sâma-veda, the Atharva-veda, and to Sadasaspati.

4. Having (thus) sacrificed, they repeat the first three Anuvâkas,

5. Or the beginnings of all *Kândas*.

6. He enters upon (sacrificing) the *Gaya*, &c. (oblations; see above, I, 1, 3, 8).

7. After all rites down to the Svishṭakṛit oblation have been performed, they stop studying three days or one day; then they should go on studying so as to commence where they have broken off: so say the teachers.

8. During the fortnight that precedes the Taishṭi full moon, under (the Nakshatra) Rohinī or on the full-moon day (itself), the Utsarga (or conclusion of the term of study) is celebrated.

napôrvapaksha, and indeed the moon stands in conjunction with the Nakshatra Hasta only on one day of the first, not of the second, fortnight of the month *Śrâvana* (comp. the note on *Âsvalâyana-Grhya* III, 5, 2. 3). Comp. taishṭipakshasya rohinîyâm, below, § 8.

8. As to taishṭipaksha, comp. the note on *Sûtra* 2.

9. (The teacher) with his pupils goes in an easterly or northerly direction, and where they find a pleasant water with a pleasant bathing-place, they dive into it and perform three suppressions of the breath with the Agharmarshana hymn (Rig-veda X, 190 = Taitt. Âr. X, 1, 13. 14). Holding purifiers (i. e. Darbha blades) in their hands they bathe with the three (verses), 'Ye waters, ye are wholesome' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 5, 1), with the four (verses), 'The gold-coloured, pure, purifying waters' (T. S. V, 6, 1, 1 seq.), and with the Anuvâka, '(Soma) which clears itself, the heavenly being' (Taitt. Br. I, 4, 8): giving the Darbha blades to each other and feigning to try to seize (??) each other.

10. Then they arrange on a pure spot that is inclined towards the east, seats of eastward-pointed Darbha grass, so that they end in the north—

PATALA 8, SECTION 19.

1. For Brahman, Pragâpati, Brîhaspati, Agni, Vâyu, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, king Indra, king Yama, king Varuna, king Soma, king Vaisravana, for the Vasus, the Rudras, the Âdityas, the Visve devâs, the Sâdhyas, the Rîbhus, the Bhrîgus, the Maruts, the Atharvans, the Ângiras: for these divine beings.

9. On the last words of this Sûtra, Mâtridatta says, ditsanta iveti dâtum ikkhanta ivânyonyam prati. athavâ âditsanta iveti pâthah. âditsanto mushanta ivânyonyam.—Professor Kielhorn's text MS. has, âtsamta ivânyonyam; Professor Bühler's text MS., ditsamta ivânyonyam.

19, 1. According to Mâtridatta, they prepare a seat for Brahman with the words, 'For Brahman I prepare (a seat),' and so on. Comp. chap. 20, 3.

2. Visvâmitra, Gamadagni, Bharadvâga and Gautama, Atri, Vasishtha, Kasyapa : these are the seven *Rishis*.

3. Wearing their sacrificial cords below (round their body) they arrange towards the north, at a place that is inclined towards the north, seats of northward-pointed Darbha grass, so that they end in the east, for Visvâmitra, Gamadagni, Bharadvâga, Gautama, Atri, Vasishtha, Kasyapa.

4. Between Vasishtha and Kasyapa they arrange (a seat) for Arundhati, (the wife of Vasishtha) ;

5. Towards the south, in a place inclined towards the east, for Agastya.

6. Then for the (following) teachers, ending with those who teach (only) one Veda (?), viz. for Krishna Dvaipâyana, Gâtûkarnya, Taruksha, Trinabindu, Varmin, Varûthin, Vâgin, Vâgasravas, Satyasravas, Susravas, Sutasravas, Somasushmâyana, Satvavat, Brihaduktha Vâmadev(y)a, Vâgiratna, Haryagvâyana, Udamaya, Gautama, Rinañgaya, Ritañgaya, Kritañgaya, Dhanañgaya, Babhru, Tryaruna, Trivarsha, Tridhâtu, Sibinta, Parâsara, Vishnu, Rudra, Skanda, Kâtsvara, Gvara, Dharma, Artha, Kâma, Krodha, Vasishtha, Indra, Tvashtri, Kartri, Dhatri, Dhâtri, Mrityu, Savitri, Sâvitri, and for each Veda, for the Rig-veda, the Yagur-veda, the Sâma-veda, the Atharva-veda, the Itihâsa and Purâna.

7. Towards the south, with their sacrificial cords suspended over their right shoulders, in a place inclined towards the south, they arrange seats of southward-pointed Darbha grass, so that they end in the west—

2. This is a frequently quoted versus memorialis.

PĀṬALA 8, SECTION 20.

1. For Vaisampāyana, Paliṅgu, Tittira [sic], Ukha, Ātreya, the author of the Pada-text, Kaundīnya the author of the commentary, for the authors of the Sūtras, for Satyāśhādha (Hiranyakesin), for the handers-down of the text, for the teachers, the Rishis, the hermits dwelling in the woods, the chaste ones, for those who have only one wife.

2. They prepare (seats) each for his own fathers and maternal ancestors.

3. With (the words), 'For N. N. I prepare (a seat); for N. N. I prepare (a seat)' (he prepares) a seat.

4. With (the words), 'I satiate N. N.; I satiate N. N.' (he makes offerings of) water.

5. With (the words), 'Adoration to N. N.! Adoration to N. N.!' (he offers) perfumes, flowers, incense, and lamps.

6. With (the words), 'To N. N. svāhā! To N. N. svāhā!' (he offers) food.

7. With (the words), 'I satiate N. N.; I satiate N. N.' (he offers) water with fruits in it.

8. Having worshipped them with (the words), 'Adoration to N. N.! Adoration to N. N.!'—

9. Having put wood on the fire to the west of the surface (on which he had performed the Tarpana),

20, 1. The Kāṇḍānukrama of the Ātreyaî-sākhâ, which has been printed by Professor Weber in his edition of the Taittirīya Samhitâ, vol. ii, p. 356, shows that the dative Paliṅgave ought to be corrected to Paiṅgaye. The 'vr̥ttikâra' is there called not Kaundīnya, but Kundīna.

9. There is only one difference between the text of this Sūtra

and having performed the rites down to the Vyâhṛiti oblations (&c., as above, chap. 18, 3-7).

10. With the two (verses), 'From joint to joint,' 'Thou who with a hundred' (Taitt. Samh. IV, 2, 9, 2) they plant Dûrvâ grass at the shore of the water.

11. They stir up waves in the water and run a race in an easterly or northerly direction until they lose their breath.

12. When they have returned (from that race? or when they have returned from the whole ceremony to the village?) they offer cakes, coarsely ground grain, and boiled rice to the Brâhmanas.

13. The same (rites are repeated) when they have finished the study of the whole Veda, with the exception of the planting of Dûrvâ grass, of (stirring up) the water, and of the race.

14. Thus they satiate daily (after the Brahma-yagñā) the gods, the Rishis, and the Fathers with water; they satiate them with water.

End of the Hiranyakesi-sūtra.

and that of chap. 18, 3-7 : instead of hutvâ trin âdito • nuvâkân adhîyate (18, 4) we read here, hutvâ prathamenânuvâkenâdhîyate, which I believe must be translated, 'Having sacrificed with the first Anuvâka, they recite (that Anuvâka).' Mâtridatta says, hutvâ prathamottamânuvâkam adhîyate.

13. See Sūtras 10 and 11.

GR/HYA-SÛTRA OF
ÂPASTAMBA.

.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

TO THE

GR̥HYA-SŪTRA OF ÂPASTAMBA.

THE short treatise of Âpastamba on the Gr̥hya ritual forms one Prasna of the great corpus of the Âpastambîya-Kalpa-sŭtra (see Sacred Books, vol. ii, p. xii) and stands, among the Gr̥hya texts, in closest connection with the Hiranyakesi-Gr̥hya-sŭtra. The chief difference between these two Sŭtras, both belonging to the Taittiriya School of the Black Yagur-veda, consists herein, that Âpastamba, just as has been stated above¹ with regard to Gobhila, gives only the rules for the performance of the Gr̥hya rites without the Mantras, which are contained in a special collection, the Mantrapât̥ha, standing by the side of the Sŭtras: Hiranyakesin, on the other hand, follows the more usual practice, as adopted by Sāṅkhâyaṇa, Âśvalâyana, Pâraskara, of interweaving the description of the ceremonies with the text of the corresponding Mantras. As to the relation in which the Âpastambîya-sŭtras stand to the Mantrapât̥ha, there is, so far as I can see, no reason why we should not extend the theory which we have tried to establish with regard to Gobhila, to the evidently parallel case of Âpastamba: the Sŭtras presuppose the existence of the Mantrapât̥ha, just as the latter text seems to presuppose the Sŭtras.—The questions regarding the historical relation of Âpastamba to Hiranyakesin have been treated of by Professor Bühler in his Introduction to Âpastamba's Dharma-sŭtra, S. B. E., vol. ii, pp. xxiii seq.

I have here to thank Dr. Winternitz, to whom we are indebted for an excellent edition of the Âpastambîya-Gr̥hya-sŭtra, for having placed at my disposal, before publi-

¹ See above, pp. 3 seq.

cation, the proof-sheets of his edition, and for lending me his copy of the *Mantrapāṭha* as well as of the commentary of Haradatta. The kindness of the same scholar has enabled me to make use of Professor Eggeling's copy of the first part of Sudarsanārya's commentary and of his own copy of the second part of the same work.

GRHYA-SŪTRA OF ÂPASTAMBA.

PATALA 1, SECTION 1.

1. Now (follow) the ceremonies (the knowledge of) which is derived from practice (and not from the *Sruti*).

2. They should be performed during the northern course of the sun, on days of the first fortnight (of the month), on auspicious days,

3. With the sacrificial cord suspended over (the sacrificer's) left shoulder.

4. (The rites should be performed) from left to right.

5. The beginning should be made on the east side or on the north side,

6. And also the end.

7. Ceremonies belonging to the Fathers (are performed) in the second fortnight (of the month),

8. With the sacrificial cord suspended over the right shoulder,

9. From right to left,

10. Ending in the south.

11. Ceremonies occasioned by special occurrences (are performed) according as their occasions demand.

1, 1-11. The *Paribhāṣhās* for the *Pākayagñas*.

7-10. Comp. 7 with 2, 8 with 3, 9 with 4, 10 with 6.

12. Having set the fire in a blaze, he strews eastward-pointed Darbha grass around it,

13. Or eastward-pointed and northward-pointed (grass);

14. Southward-pointed at sacrifices to the Fathers,

15. Or southward-pointed and eastward-pointed.

16. To the north of the fire he strews Darbha grass and (on that) he places the vessels (required for sacrifice) upside-down, two by two, if referring to ceremonies directed to the gods,

17. All at once, if to men,

18. One by one, if to the Fathers.

19. The preparation of the (blades used as) 'purifiers,' the measure of their length, the preparation of the Prokshaṇī water, and the sprinkling of the vessels are the same here as at the sacrifices of the new and full moon, (but are performed) in silence.

20. To the west of the fire he pours water into a vessel over which he has laid (two grass blades called) purifiers, purifies (the water) three times with two northward-pointed purifiers, holds it on a level with his nose and mouth, places it to the north of the fire on Darbha grass, and covers it with Darbha grass.

21. On the south side he causes a Brâhmaṇa to sit down on Darbha grass.

22. He melts the Âgya, pours it, to the west of the fire, into the Âgya-pot, over which he has laid two purifiers, draws coals (out of the sacrificial fire) towards the north, puts (the Âgya) on them, throws

12 seq. Description of the regular form of a Pâkayagña.

19. Comp. Srauta-sûtra I, 11, 6 seqq.

20. This is the Prâṇitâ water.

21. The Brahman.

light on it by means of a burning (grass-blade), throws two Darbha points into it, moves a fire-brand round it three times, takes it from the fire towards the north, sweeps the coals back (into the fire), purifies (the Âgya) three times with two northward-pointed purifiers, moving them backward and forward, and throws the purifiers into the fire.

PATAŁA 1, SECTION 2.

1. He warms at the fire the implement with which he sacrifices, wipes it off with Darbha blades, warms it again, sprinkles it (with water), puts it down, touches the Darbha blades with water, and throws them into the fire.

2. As paridhis (or pieces of wood laid round the fire) yoke-pins are used at the marriage, the Upanayana, the Samâvartana, the parting of the (wife's) hair, the tonsure of the child's hair, the cutting of the beard, and at expiatory ceremonies.

3. He sprinkles water round the fire, on the south side from west to east with (the words), 'Aditi, give thy consent!' on the west side from south to north with 'Anumati, give thy consent!' on the north side from west to east with 'Sarasvati [sic], give thy consent!' all around with 'God Savitri, give thy impulse!'

4. At ceremonies belonging to the Fathers (water is sprinkled) only all round (the fire), silently.

5. Having put a piece of wood on the fire, he

2, 2. On the paridhi woods, comp. chiefly Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, 66 seq.

5. The Srauta rules on the two Âghâras are given Srauta-sûtra II, 12, 7; 14, 1.

offers the two Âghâra oblations as at the sacrifices of the new and full moon, silently.

6. Then he offers the two Âgyabhâga oblations, over the easterly part of the northerly part (of the fire) with (the words), 'To Agni Svâhâ!' over the easterly part of the southerly part (another oblation) exactly like the preceding one, with (the words), 'To Soma Svâhâ!'

7. Having offered the chief oblations (belonging to each sacrifice) according to prescription, he adds the following oblations, viz. the *Gaya*, *Abhyâtâna*, *Râsh/rabhrit* oblations, the oblation to *Pragâpati*, the *Vyâhr̥itis* one by one, the oblation to (*Agni*) *Svish/takrit* with (the following formula), 'What I have done too much in this ceremony, or what I have done here too little, all that may Agni *Svish-takrit*, he who knows, make well sacrificed and well offered. Svâhâ!'

8. The sprinkling (of water) round (the fire is repeated) as above; the Mantras are altered so as to say, 'Thou hast given thy consent,' 'Thou hast given thy impulse.'

9. The designation '*Pâkayagña*' is used of ceremonies connected with worldly life.

10. There the ritual based on the *Brâhmana* (holds good),

6. Comp. *Srauta-sûtra* II, 18, 5; Hillebrandt, loc. cit., p. 106, note 3.

7. On the *Gaya*, *Abhyâtâna*, *Râsh/rabhrit* formulas, comp. *Pâraskara* I, 5, 7 seq.; *Hiranyakesin* I, 1, 3, 7 seq.; *Taitt. Samhitâ* III, 4, 4-7.—The last formula occurs also in *Âsvalâyana* I, 10, 23; *Hiranyakesin* I, 1, 3, 6, &c.

8. Comp. above, *Sûtra* 3.

10. According to Haradatta, this *Sûtra* would imply that where-soever the ritual described in the preceding *Sûtras* holds good,

11. (To which the words allude), 'He sacrifices twice; he wipes off (his hand) twice; he partakes twice (of the sacrificial food); having gone away he sips (out of the *Sruṣ*) and licks off (the *Sruṣ*).'

12. All seasons are fit for marriage with the exception of the two months of the *sisira* season, and of the last summer month.

13. All *Nakshatras* which are stated to be pure, (are fit for marriage);

14. And all auspicious performances.

15. And one should learn from women what ceremonies (are required by custom).

16. Under the *Invakâs* (*Nakshatra*), (the wooers who go to the girl's father) are sent out: such wooers are welcome.

PATALA 1, SECTION 3.

1. Under the *Maghâs* (*Nakshatra*) cows are provided;

another ritual based on the *Brâhmana*, and more especially on the treatment of the *Agnihotra* in the *Brâhmana*, may be used in its stead.

11. Comp. *Taitt. Brâhmana* II, 1, 4, 5; *Satapatha Brâhmana* II, 3, 1, 18. 21.—At the *Agnihotra* the sacrificer, having wiped off the *Sruṣ* with his hand, wipes off the hand on the *Barhis* or on the earth (*Âpast.-Sraut.* VI, 10, 11; 11, 4; *Kâtâyana* IV, 14, 20). As to the following acts alluded to in this *Sûtra*, comp. *Âpastamba* VI, 11, 4. 5; 12, 2.

16. On the *Nakshatra* *Invakâs*, comp. Section 3, *Sûtra* 4. This *Sûtra* forms a *Sloka-hemistich*, on which *Haradatta* observes, 'This verse has not been made by the *Sûtrakâra*.'

3, 1, 2. Comp. *Rig-veda* X, 85, 13; *Atharva-veda* XIV, 1, 13; *Kausika-sûtra* 75; *Râmâyana* I, 71, 24; 72, 13; *Weber*, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, II, 364 seq. These parallel passages most decidedly show that in *Sûtra* 2 we ought to read *vyuhyate*, not *vyûhyate*.

2. Under the Phalgunt (Nakshatra) marriage is celebrated.

3. A daughter whom he wishes to be dear (to her husband), a father should give in marriage under the Nishṭyâ (Nakshatra); thus she becomes dear (to her husband); she does not return (to her father's) house: this is an observance based on a Brâhmaṇa.

4. The word Invakâs means *Mṛigasiras*; the word Nishṭyâ means *Svâti*.

5. At the wedding one cow;

6. In the house one cow:

7. With the (first cow) he should prepare an Argha reception for the bridegroom as for a guest,

8. With the other (the bridegroom [?] should do so) for a person whom he reveres.

9. These are the occasions for killing a cow: (the arrival of) a guest, (the *Ashṭakâ* sacrifice offered to) the Fathers, and marriage.

10. Let (the wooer) avoid in his wooing a girl that sleeps, or cries, or has left home.

11. And let him avoid one who has been given (to another), and who is guarded (by her relations), and one who looks wicked (?), or who is a most

3. Comp. *Taittirīya Brâhmaṇa* I, 5, 2, 3.

4. Comp. *Sûtra* 3, and above, Section 2, *Sûtra* 16.

5-8. Comp. *Sāṅkhâyaṇa-Grhya* I, 12, 10. It is clear that with the first cow the bride's father has to receive the bridegroom. The 'house' mentioned in *Sûtra* 6 seems to be the house of the newly-married couple. In the expression 'whom he reveres,' 'he,' according to the commentaries, is the bridegroom.

10. This *Sûtra* forms a half-sloka.

11. Most expressions in this *Sûtra* are quite doubtful, and their translation rests on the explanations of the commentators (see pp. 44, 45 of Dr. Winternitz's edition), which are evidently for the most part only guesses.

excellent one (?), or (who is like the fabulous deer) sarabha (?), a hunch-back, a girl of monstrous appearance, a bald-headed girl, a girl whose skin is like a frog's (?), a girl who has gone over to another family (?), a girl given to sensual pleasures (?), or a herdess, or one who has too many friends, or who has a fine younger sister, or one whose age is too near to that of the bridegroom (?).

12. Girls who have the name of a Nakshatra, or of a river, or of a tree, are objectionable.

13. And all girls in whose names the last letter but one is r or l, one should avoid in wooing.

14. If possible, he should place (the following) objects hidden before the girl, and should say to her, 'Touch (one of these things).'

15. (The objects are), different kinds of seeds mixed together, loose earth from (the kind of sacrificial altar called) vedi, an earth-clod from a field, cow-dung, and an earth-clod from a cemetery.

16. If she touches one of the former (objects, this portends) prosperity as characterized (by the nature of what she has touched).

17. The last is regarded as objectionable.

18. Let him marry a girl of good family and character, with auspicious characteristics, and of good health.

19. Good family, a good character, auspicious characteristics, learning, and good health: these are the accomplishments of a bridegroom.

20. A wife who is pleasing to his mind and his

12, 13. These Sûtras would require only slight alterations to make a sloka.

16. The seeds mean offspring, and so on.

eyes, will bring happiness to him ; let him pay no attention to the other things : such is the opinion of some.

PĀṬALA 2, SECTION 4.

1. Let him send out as his wooers friends who have assembled, who are versed in the Mantras.

2. He should recite over them the first two verses (Mantrap. I, 1, 1. 2).

3. When he himself has seen (the bride), let him murmur the third (verse ; M. I, 1, 3).

4. With the fourth (M. I, 1, 4) let him behold her.

5. Let him seize with his thumb and fourth finger a Darbha blade, and let him wipe (therewith) the interstice between her eye-brows with the next Yagus (M. I, 1, 5), and let him throw it away towards the west.

6. If an omen occurs (such as the bride's or her relations' weeping), let him murmur the next (verse ; M. I, 1, 6).

7. With the next (verse ; M. I, 1, 7) let him send an even number of persons who have assembled there, and who are versed in the Mantras, to fetch water.

8. With the next Yagus (M. I, 1, 8) he places a round piece of Darbha net-work on her head ; on that, with the next (verse ; M. I, 1, 9) he places a right yoke-hole ; on this hole he lays with the next (verse ; M. I, 1, 10), a piece of gold, and washes her with the next five verses (M. I, 2, 1-5), (so that the

4, 8. As to the last sentence of this Sūtra, comp. the statements collected by Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 59.

water runs over that gold and through the yoke-hole); with the next (verse; M. I, 2, 6) he causes her to dress in a fresh garment, and with the next (M. I, 2, 7) he girds her with a rope.

9. Then he takes hold of her with the next (verse; M. I, 2, 8) by her right hand, leads her to the fire, spreads a mat, west of the fire, so that the points of the blades in it are directed towards the north, and on this mat they both sit down, the bridegroom to the north.

10. After the ceremonies have been performed from the putting of wood on the fire down to the Âgyabhâga oblations, he recites over her the first two (verses of the third Anuvâka).

11. Then he should take with his right hand, palm down, her right hand which she holds palm up.

12. If he wishes that only daughters may be born to him, he should seize only the fingers (without the thumb);

13. If he wishes that only sons may be born to him, the thumb.

14. He takes (her hand) so as just to touch her thumb and the little hairs (on her hand),

15. With the four verses, 'I take thy hand' (Mantrap. I, 3, 3-6).

16. He then makes her step forward with her right foot, to the north of the fire, in an easterly or northerly direction, with (the formula), 'One step for sap' (M. I, 3, 7).

17. At her seventh step he murmurs, 'Be a friend' (M. I, 3, 14).

PĀTALA 2, SECTION 5.

1. Having before the sacrifice gone round the fire, so that their right sides are turned towards it,

2. They sit down in their former position, and while she takes hold of him, he offers the oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras), with (the Mantras), 'To Soma, the acquirer of a wife, Svâhâ!' (M. I, 4, 1-16), one oblation with each Mantra.

3. He then causes her, to the north of the fire, to tread with her right foot on a stone, with (the verse), 'Tread' (M. I, 5, 1).

4. Having 'spread under' Âgya into her joined hands, he pours roasted grain twice (into them), and sprinkles Âgya over it.

5. Some say that an uterine relation of hers pours the grain (into her hands).

6. He (?) sacrifices (that grain) with (the verse), 'This wife' (M. I, 5, 2).

7. Having gone round the fire, with the right side turned towards it, with the next three (verses; M. I, 5, 3-5) he makes her tread on the stone as above (M. I, 5, 6).

8. And the oblation (is performed) with the next (verse; M. I, 5, 7).

9. (Then follow) again the circumambulation (M. I, 5, 8-10), the injunction to tread on the stone

5, 2. See 4, 9.

3. See below, IV, 10, 9.

6. 'The action of sacrificing belongs to the bridegroom; the hands of the wife represent the sacrificial vessel.' Haradatta.—'It is the bridegroom who sacrifices the grain with the verse, "This wife."' Sudarsanârya.

7. See above, Sûtra 3.

(I, 5, 11), and the oblation with the next (verse; I, 5, 12);

10. (Then) the circumambulation again (I, 5, 13-15).

11. He enters upon the performance of the *Gaya* and following oblations.

12. Having performed (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), and having untied the rope with the next two verses (I, 5, 16, 17), he should then make her depart (from her father's house in a vehicle), or should have her taken away.

13. Having put that fire (with which the marriage rites have been performed, into a vessel), they carry it behind (the newly-married couple).

14. It should be kept constantly.

15. If it goes out, (a new fire) should be kindled by attrition,

16. Or it should be fetched from the house of a *Srotriya*.

17. Besides, if (the fire) goes out, one of them, either the wife or the husband, should fast.

18. Or he may sacrifice with the next (verse; M. I, 5, 18), and not fast.

19. The next (verse; M. I, 6, 1) is for putting the chariot (on which the young couple is to depart), in position;

20. With the next two (verses; M. I, 6, 2, 3), he puts the two animals to the chariot;

21. First the right one.

22. When she mounts (the chariot), he recites over her the next (verses; M. I, 6, 4-7).

11, 12. See Section 2, Sûtras 7, 8; Section 4, Sûtra 8.

12 seq. Comp. *Hiranyakesin* I, 7, 22, 1 seq.

23. With the next (verse ; M. I, 6, 8), he spreads out two threads in the wheel-tracks (in which the chariot is to go), a dark-blue one in the right (track), a red one in the left.

24. With the next (verses ; M. I, 6, 9-11), he walks on these (threads).

25. And when they pass by bathing-places, posts, or cross-roads, let him murmur the next (verse ; M. I, 6, 12).

PATALA 2, SECTION 6.

1. The next (verse ; M. I, 6, 13), he recites over a boat (with which they are going to cross a river).

2. And let the wife, when she is crossing, not see the crew.

3. When they have crossed, let him murmur the next (verse ; M. I, 6, 14).

4. If they have to pass over a cemetery, or if any article (which they carry with them), or their chariot is damaged, the ceremonies from the putting of wood on the fire down to the Âgyabhâga oblations are performed, and while she takes hold of him, he offers the oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras ; M. I, 7, 1-7), then he enters upon the performance of the *Gaya* and following oblations, and performs (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire).

5. If they pass by trees with milky sap or by other trees that serve as marks, by rivers or by deserts, he should murmur the next two (verses ; M. I, 7, 8. 9), according to the characteristics in them (which refer to these different cases).

6. With the next (verse) he shows her the house (M. I, 7, 10).

7. With the next two (verses ; M. I, 7, 11. 12) he unyokes the two animals ; the right one first.

8. Having, with the next (verse ; M. I, 8, 1), spread out, in the centre of the house, a red bull's skin with the neck to the east, with the hair up, he causes her to recite the next (verse ; M. I, 8, 2), while he makes her enter the house, (which she does) with her right foot.

9. And she does not stand on the threshold.

10. In the north-east part of the house the ceremonies from the putting of wood on the fire down to the Âgyabhâga oblations are performed, and while she takes hold of him, he offers the oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras ; M. I, 8, 3-15) ; then he enters upon the performance of the *Gaya* and following oblations, and performs (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire). Then they sit down with the next (verse ; M. I, 9, 1) on the skin, the bridegroom to the north.

11. He then places with the next (verse ; M. I, 9, 2), the son of a wife who has only sons and whose children are alive, in her lap, gives fruits to the (child) with the next *Yagus* (M. I, 9, 3), and murmurs the next two (verses ; M. I, 9, 4-5). Then he (and his wife) observe silence until the stars appear.

12. When the stars have appeared, he goes out (of the house with her) in an easterly or northerly direction, and shows her the polar star and (the star) *Arundhatt* with the next two verses (M. I, 9, 6-7), according to the characteristics (contained in those verses).

PĀTALA 3, SECTION 7.

1. He then makes her offer the sacrifice of a Sthâlpâka sacred to Agni.

2. The wife husks (the rice grains out of which this Sthâlpâka is prepared).

3. After he has cooked (the Sthâlpâka), and has sprinkled (Âgya) over it, and has taken it from the fire towards the east or the north, and has sprinkled (Âgya) over it while it stands (there near the fire), (the ceremonies) from the putting of wood on the fire down to the Âgyabhâga oblations (are performed), and while she takes hold of him, he sacrifices of that Sthâlpâka.

4. The 'spreading under' and the sprinkling over (of Âgya are done) once; two Avadânas (or cut-off portions are taken).

5. Agni is the deity (of the first oblation); the offering is made with the word Svâhâ.

6. Or he may sacrifice after having picked out, once, a portion (of the sacrificial food with the Darvi spoon).

7. Agni Svishtakṛit is the second (deity).

8. (At the Svishtakṛit oblation) the 'spreading under' and taking an Avadâna are done once, the sprinkling over (of Âgya) twice.

9. The Avadâna for the first deity (is taken) out of the middle (of the Sthâlpâka);

10. It is offered over the centre (of the fire).

7, 1 seq. Hiranyakesin I, 7, 23, 2 seq.

6. As to the technical meaning of upahatya or upaghâtam, comp. the note on Gobhila I, 8, 2; Grhyasamgraha I, 111.

11. (The Avadāna) for the second (deity is taken) from the northern part (of the Sthālpāka) ;

12. It is offered over the easterly part of the northerly part (of the fire).

13. Having silently anointed (a part of) the Barhis (by dipping it) into the remains both (of the Sthālpāka and the Āgya) in the way prescribed (in the Srauta ritual) for the (part of the Barhis called) Prastara, he throws (that part of the Barhis) into the fire.

14. (The rule regarding) the second sprinkling (of water round the fire) is valid (here).

15. He gives (the remains of) that (sacrificial food) with butter to a Brāhmaṇa to eat—

16. Whom he reveres. To that (Brāhmaṇa) he makes the present of a bull.

17. In the same way, with the exception of the sacrificial gift, they should sacrifice a Sthālpāka from then onwards, on the days of the new and full moon, after having fasted.

18. Some say that a vessel full (of grain) is the sacrificial gift.

19. From then onwards he should offer morning and evening with his hand these two oblations (to Agni and to Agni Svishṭakṛi.) of (rice) grains or of barley.

13. Comp. Srauta-sūtra III, 5, 9 seqq.—On the prastara, see Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, 64. 142. 146.

14. See above, I, 2, 8. The upahomas prescribed above, I, 2, 7, are not performed here, but the second parisheṣṭana is.

16. I have altered in my translation the division of the two sentences. Comp. Hiraṇyakeśin I, 7, 23, 5–6, and the note there.

19. The two regular daily oblations corresponding to the Agni-hotra of the Srauta ritual.

20. The deities are the same as at the Sthâlpâka (just described).

21. Some say that the first oblation in the morning is sacred to Sûrya.

22. Before and after (those oblations) the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire is performed) as stated above.

23. By the sacrifice of the new and full moon the other ceremonies have been explained (the knowledge of) which is derived from practice.

24. The deities (of those rites) are as stated (with regard to each particular case), having their place between Agni (Sûtra 5) and Svishṭakṛit (Sûtra 7).

25. The sacrifice (of a cow) on the arrival of a guest (should be performed as stated below) without alterations.

26. (The deities) of the Vaisvadeva ceremony are the Visve devâs,

27. Of ceremonies performed on full-moon days, the full-moon day on which they are performed.

PATALA 3, SECTION 8.

1. At the opening and concluding ceremonies of the Vedic study, the *Rishi* who is indicated (as the

22. See I, 2, 3, 8.

23. See I, 1, 1.

25. See below, V, 13, 16.

26. See Âpastamba Dharma-sûtra II, 2, 3, 1 (S. B. E., vol. ii, p. 103).

27. For instance, the *Śrāvaṇī paurnamâsī* is the deity of the ceremony described below, VII, 18, 5 seq.

8, 1. Haradatta observes that at the *kândopâkarana* and *kânda-samâpana* the *Rishi* of that *kânda*, at the general *adhyâyopâkarana* and *samâpana* all *kândarshis*, should be worshipped.

Rishi of the *Kānda* which they study, is the deity to whom the ceremony belongs),

2. And in the second place *Sadasaspati* (cf. *Mantrap.* I, 9, 8).

3. They reject a sacrifice performed by a wife or by one who has not received the *Upanayana* initiation, and a sacrifice of salt or pungent food, or of such food as has an admixture of a despised sort of food.

4. Sacrifices connected with special wishes and *Bali* sacrifices (should be performed) as stated (even against the clauses of the last *Sūtra*).

5. Whenever the fire flames up of itself, he should put two pieces of wood on it with the next two (verses; *M.* I, 9, 9-10),

6. Or with (the two formulas), 'May fortune reach me! May fortune come to me!'

7. Let him notice the day on which he brings his wife home.

8. (From that day) through three nights they should both sleep on the ground, they should be chaste, and should avoid salt and pungent food.

9. Between their sleeping-places a staff is interposed, which is anointed with perfumes and wrapped round with a garment or a thread.

10. In the last part of the fourth night he takes up the (staff) with the next two (verses; *M.* I, 10, 1-2), washes it and puts it away; then (the ceremonies) from the putting of wood on the fire down to the *Āgyabhāga* oblations (are performed), and while she takes hold of him, he sacrifices the oblations (indicated by the) next (*Mantras*; *M.* I, 10, 3-9); then he enters upon the performance of the *Gaya* and following oblations, and performs (the

rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire). Then he makes her sit down to the west of the fire, facing the east, and pours some Āgrya of the remains (of those oblations) on her head with the (three) Vyāhritis and the word Om as the fourth (M. I, 10, 10-13). Then they look at each other with the next two verses (M. I, 11, 1-2), according to the characteristics (contained in those verses); with the next verse (M. I, 11, 3) he besmears the region of their hearts with remains of Āgrya; then he should murmur the next three verses (I, 11, 4-6), and should murmur the rest (of the Anuvāka; I, 11, 7-11) when cohabiting with her.

11. Or another person should recite (the rest of the Anuvāka) over her, (before they cohabit).

12. During her (first) monthly illness he instructs her about the things forbidden (to menstruous women), contained in the Brāhmaṇa, in the section, 'A menstruous woman with whom,' &c.

13. After the appearance of her monthly illness, he should, when going to cohabit with her after her illness, recite over her, after she has bathed, the next verses (M. I, 12, 1-13, 4).

PĀṬALA 3, SECTION 9.

1. Each following night with an even number, from the fourth (after the beginning of her monthly illness) till the sixteenth, brings more excellent offspring to them, if chosen for the (first) cohabiting after her illness; thus it is said.

2. If he sneezes or coughs while going about on

business, he should touch water and should murmur the two following (verses ; M. I, 13, 5. 6) according to the characteristics (which they contain).

3. In the same way with the next (Mantras—M. I, 13, 7-10—he should address the following objects), according to the characteristics (which those Mantras contain) : a conspicuous tree, a heap of excrements, the skirt (of his garment) which is blown against him by the wind, and a shrieking bird.

4. One (for instance, the wife's father) who wishes that the hearts of both (husband and wife) may be in accord should observe chastity through at least three nights and should prepare a Sthālpāka. Then (the ceremonies) from the putting (of wood) on (the fire) down to the Āgyabhāga oblations (are performed), and while the wife takes hold of him, he sacrifices of the Sthālpāka the oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras ; M. I, 14, 1-7) ; then he enters upon the performance of the *Gaya* and following oblations, and performs (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire). (The remains of) the (sacrificial food) with butter, he should give to eat to an even number of Brāhmaṇas, at least to two, and should cause them to pronounce wishes for his success.

5. When the moon, on the following day, will be in conjunction with Tishya, she strews three times seven barley-grains around (the plant) *Clypea Hermandifolia* with (the formula), 'If thou belongest to Varuṇa, I redeem thee from Varuṇa. If thou belongest to Soma, I redeem thee from Soma.'

6. On the following day she should set upright (the plant) with the next (verse; M. I, 15, 1), should recite the next three (verses; M. I, 15, 2-4) over it, should tie (its root) with the next (verse; M. I, 15, 5) to her hands so that (her husband) does not see it, and should, when they have gone to bed, embrace her husband with her arms, with the verse alluding to the word upadhâna ('putting on;' M. I, 15, 6).

7. Thus he will be subject to her.

8. By this (rite) also (a wife) overcomes her co-wives.

9. For this same purpose she worships the sun daily with the next Anuvâka (M. I, 16).

10. If a wife is affected with consumption or is otherwise sick, one who has to observe chastity, should rub her limbs with young lotus leaves which are still rolled up, and with lotus roots, with the next (formulas, limb by limb) according to the characteristics (contained in those formulas; M. I, 17, 1-6), and should throw away (the leaves and roots) towards the west.

11. With the next (verses; M. I, 17, 7-10) he should give the wife's garment (which she has worn at the wedding [?]) to (a Brâhmana) who knows this (ceremony).

PATALA 4, SECTION 10.

1. We shall explain the Upanayana (or initiation of the student).

2. Let him initiate a Brâhmana in the eighth year after the conception,

3. A Râganya in the eleventh, a Vaisya in the twelfth year after the conception.

4. Spring, summer, autumn : these are the (fit) seasons (for the Upanayana), corresponding to the order of the castes.

5. (The boy's father) serves food to Brāhmaṇas and causes them to pronounce auspicious wishes, and serves food to the boy. (The teacher?) pours together, with the first Yaḡus (of the next Anuvāka, warm and cold) water, pouring the warm water into the cold, and moistens (the boy's) head with the next (verse ; M. II, 1, 2).

6. Having put three Darbha blades into his hair (towards each of the four directions) (the teacher [?]) shaves his hair with the next four (verses ; M. II, 1, 3-6) with the different Mantras, towards the different (four) directions.

7. With the following (verse, M. II, 1, 7, somebody) addresses him while he is shaving.

8. Towards the south, his mother or a Brahmatârin strews barley-grains on a lump of bull's dung ; with this (dung) she catches up the hair (that is cut off), and puts it down with the next (verse ; M. II, 1, 8) at the root of an Udumbara tree or in a tuft of Darbha grass.

9. After (the boy) has bathed, and (the ceremonies) from the putting (of wood) on (the fire) down to the Âgyabhâga oblations (have been performed), he causes him to put a piece of Palâsa wood on the

10, 6, 7. The difference which Haradatta makes between the teacher who begins to shave him (pravapati) and the barber who goes on with shaving (vapantam) seems too artificial.

7. Haradatta : The teacher addresses the barber, &c.—Sudarśanârya : The mother of the boy or a Brahmatârin [comp. Sûtra 8] . . . addresses the teacher who shaves him.

9. Comp. above, II, 4, 3.

fire with the next (verse ; M. II, 2, 1), and makes him tread with his right foot on a stone to the north of the fire, with (the verse), 'Tread' (M. II, 2, 2).

10. Having recited the next two (verses ; M. II, 2, 3. 4) over a garment that has been spun and woven on one day, and has caused him, with the next three (verses ; M. II, 2, 5-7), to put it on, he recites over him, after he has put it on, the next (verse ; M. II, 2, 8).

11. He ties thrice around him, from left to right, a threefold-twisted girdle of Muñga grass with the next two (verses ; M. II, 2, 9. 10), and (gives him) a skin as his outer garment with the next (verse ; II, 2, 11).

12. To the north of the fire (the teacher) spreads out Darbha grass ; on that he causes (the boy) to station himself with the next (verse ; M. II, 3, 1), pours his joined hands full of water into (the boy's) joined hands, makes him sprinkle himself three times with the next (verse ; M. II, 3, 2), takes hold of his right hand with the next (formulas ; M. II, 3, 3-12), gives him with the next (formulas ; M. II, 3, 13-23) in charge to the deities (mentioned in those Mantras), initiates him with the next Yagus (M. II, 3, 24), and murmurs into his right ear the (Mantra), 'Blessed with offspring' (II, 3, 25).

PATALA 4, SECTION 11.

1. The boy says, 'I am come to be a student' (II, 3, 26).

11. Comp. Âpast. Dharma-sûtra I, 1, 2, 33 ; 1, 3, 3 seq.

12. As to the words, 'he initiates him' (upanayati), comp. Sâṅkhâya II, 2, 11. 12 ; Âśvalâyana I, 20, 4 &c.

2. The other (i. e. the teacher) has to ask ; the boy has to answer (II, 3, 27-30).

3. The other murmurs the rest (of the Anuvāka),

4. And causes the boy to repeat (the Mantra) which contains wishes for himself (II, 3, 32).

5. (The rites) down to the Āgyabhāgas have been prescribed.

6. Having then caused him to sacrifice the oblations (indicated in the) next (Mantras; M. II, 4, 1-11), he enters upon (the performance) of the *Gaya* and following oblations.

7. Having performed (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), he puts down, to the west of the fire, a bunch of northward-pointed grass ; on that (the teacher) who performs the initiation, sits down with the next *Yagus* (M. II, 4, 12).

8. The boy, sitting to the east (of him), facing the west, seizes with his right hand (the teacher's) right foot and says, ' Recite the *Sāvitrī*, Sir !'

9. He recites (the *Sāvitrī*) to him, ' That (glorious splendour) of *Savitri*' (Taitt. Samh. I, 5, 6, 4 ; M. II, 4, 13) ;

10. *Pāda* by *Pāda*, hemistich by hemistich, and the whole (verse).

11. (When repeating the *Sāvitrī* *Pāda* by *Pāda*, he pronounces) the *Vyāhṛitis* singly at the beginning or at the end of the *Pādas* ;

12. In the same way (the first and the second *Vyāhṛiti* at the beginning or at the end) of the hemistichs ; the last (*Vyāhṛiti*, when he repeats) the whole verse.

13. With the next Mantra (M. II, 4, 14) the boy touches his upper lip ;

11, 5. See above, Section 10, Sūtra 9.

14. With the next (II, 4, 15) both his ears ;
15. With the next (II, 5, 1) he takes up the staff.
16. The staff of a Brāhmaṇa is made of Palāśa wood, that of a Rāganya of a branch of the Nyagrodha tree, so that the downward-turned end (of the branch) forms the tip (of the staff), that of a Vaisya of Bādara or Udumbara wood.
17. Some state (only), without any reference to caste, that the staff should be made of the wood of a tree.
18. After (the teacher) has made him repeat (the formula), ' My memory ' (M. II, 5, 2), and he has bestowed an optional gift on his teacher, and (the teacher) has made him arise with (the formula, M. II, 5, 3), ' Up, with life ! ' (the student) worships the sun with the next (Mantras ; II, 5, 4).
19. If (the teacher) wishes, ' May this (student) not be estranged from me,' let him take (the student) by the right hand with the next (verse ; II, 5, 6).
20. They keep that fire (used at the Upanayana) three days,
21. And (during that time) salted and pungent food should be avoided.
22. Having wiped (with his hand wet) around (the fire) with (the formula), ' Around thee ' (M. II, 6, 1), he should put (twelve) pieces of wood on that (fire) with the next Mantras (II, 6, 2-13).
23. In the same way also on another (fire, when the Upanayana fire is kept no longer),
24. Fetching fuel regularly from the forest.
25. With the next (formula—M. II, 6, 14—the teacher) instructs (the student in his duties).

16, 17. These Sūtras are identical with Dharma-sūtra I, 1, 2, 38 (S. B. E., vol. ii, p. 9).

26. On the fourth day (after the Upanayana the teacher) takes the garment (of the student) for himself with the next (verse ; M. II, 6, 15), having made him put on another (garment).

PĀṬALA 5, SECTION 12.

1. Having studied the Veda, when going to take the bath (which signifies the end of his studentship), he enters a cow-shed before sunrise, hangs over its door a skin with the hair inside, and sits there.

2. On that day the sun should not shine upon him.

3. At noon, after (the ceremonies) from the putting (of wood) on the fire down to the Āgya-bhāga oblations (have been performed), he puts a piece of Palāsa wood on (the fire) with the next (verse ; M. II, 7, 1), sits down to the west of the fire on a mat or on erakā grass, recites the next (verse, II, 7, 2) over a razor, and hands it over to the barber with the next Yagus (II, 7, 3). (The rites) beginning with the pouring together of (warm and cold) water down to the burying of the hair are the same as above (comp. M. II, 7, 4).

4. He sits down behind the cow-shed, takes the girdle off, and hands it over to a Brahmacārin.

5. The (Brahmacārin) hides it with the next Yagus (II, 7, 5) at the root of an Udumbara tree or in a tuft of Darbha grass.

6. With water of the description stated above he

26. The garment which the teacher takes for himself is that mentioned above, IV, 10, 10.

12, 3. See above, IV, 10, 5-8.

6. See IV, 10, 5.

bathes with the six next (verses; II, 7, 6-11), and with the next (II, 7, 12) he cleanses his teeth with a stick of Udumbara wood.

7. Having bathed and shampooed his body with such ingredients as are used in bathing, (aromatic powder, &c.),

8. He puts on with the next Yagus (M. II, 7, 13) a fresh under garment, and anoints himself, after having given the salve in charge of the deities with the next (Mantras, II, 7, 14), with the next (verse, II, 7, 15) with sandal salve which is scented with all kinds of perfumes. With the next (verse, II, 7, 16) he moves about a gold pellet with its setting, which is strung on a string, three times from left to right in a water-pot; with the next (verse, II, 7, 17) he ties the (pellet) to his neck; in the same way, without Mantras, he ties a pellet of Bâdara wood to his left hand, and repeats the rites stated above with a fresh upper garment, with the (verses), 'May the rich' (comp. above, IV, 10, 10; M. II, 7, 18).

9. To the skirt (of that garment) he ties two ear-rings, puts them into the (sacrificial spoon called) Darvi, offers the oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras; M. II, 8, 1-8), pouring the Âgya over (the ear-rings), and enters upon (the performance of) the Gaya and following oblations.

10. Having performed (the ceremonies) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), he should tie (one of the ear-rings) with the same (verses) to his right ear, and with the same (verses one) to his left ear.

11. In the same way he should with the following (formulas, M. II, 8, 9-9, 5), according to the characteristics (contained in them), (put) a wreath on his

head, anoint (his eyes), look into a mirror, (put on) shoes, (and should take) a parasol and a staff.

12. He keeps silence until the stars appear.

13. When the stars have appeared, he goes away towards the east or north, worships the quarters (of the horizon) with the next hemistich, and the stars and the moon with the next (M. II, 9, 6).

14. Having spoken with a friend he may go where he likes.

PĀṬALA 5, SECTION 13.

1. Now this (is) another (way for performing the Samāvartana). He bathes silently at a bathing-place and puts silently a piece of wood on (the fire).

2. He sits down on a bunch of grass, as stated above (comp. M. II, 9, 7), at a place where they are going to honour him (with the Argha reception).

3. A king and a chieftain (sit down) in the same way (as a Brāhmaṇa), with the next two (formulas, M. II, 9, 8. 9), according to the characteristics (contained in them).

4. (The host) announces (to the guest), 'The water for washing the feet!'

5. (The guest) should recite the next (verse, II, 9, 10) over (that water) and should stretch out the right foot first to a Brāhmaṇa, the left to a Sūdra.

6. Having touched the person who washes him, he should touch himself (i.e. his own heart) with the next (formula, M. II, 9, 11).

7. (The host, taking the Argha water) in an

13, 2. See above, IV, 11, 7.

5. Comp. Āśvalāyana-Grihya I, 24, 11. 12.

earthen vessel which he holds with two bunches of grass, announces (to the guest), 'The Argha water!'

8. (The guest) should recite the next (formula, II, 9, 12) over (that water) and should murmur the next Yagus (II, 9, 13), while a part (of the water) is poured over his joined hands.

9. Over the rest (of the water) which is poured out towards the east, he recites the next (verse, M. II, 9, 14).

10. (The host) pours together curds and honey in a brass vessel, covers it with a larger (brass cover), takes hold of it with two bunches of grass, and announces (to the guest), 'The honey-mixture!'

11. Some take three substances, (those stated before) and ghee.

12. Some take five, (the three stated before), and grains, and flour.

13. The guest recites the next two (formulas, M. II, 10, 1. 2) over (the honey-mixture) and sips water with the two Yagus (II, 10, 3. 4) before (eating) and afterwards; with the next (verse, II, 10, 5) he should partake three times (of the food) and should give the remainder to a person towards whom he is kindly disposed.

14. A king or a chieftain should only accept it and (give it) to his Purohita.

15. (The host) announces the cow with (the word), 'The cow!'

16. After the guest has recited the next (formula, M. II, 10, 6) over (the cow, the host) cooks its omentum, and having performed the 'spreading under' and the sprinkling over (of Āgrya), he sacrifices it with the next (verse, M. II, 10, 7) with a Palāsa leaf from the middle or the end (of the stalk).

17. If the guest chooses to let (the cow) loose, he murmurs the next (formulas, II, 10, 8-11) in a low voice (and says) loudly, 'Om! Let it loose!' (II, 10, 12).

18. (In this case) he recites the next (formulas, M. II, 10, 13-17) in a low voice over the food which is announced to him (instead of the cow), (and says) loudly, 'Om! Make it ready!' (II, 10, 18).

19. For his teacher, for a *Ritvig*, for his father-in-law, for a king he ought to perform this (Arghya ceremony) as often as they visit his house, if at least one year has elapsed (since they came last).

20. For a renowned teacher (of the Veda the ceremony should be performed) once.

PATALA 6, SECTION 14.

1. The *Śmantonnayana* (or parting of the pregnant wife's hair, is performed) in her first pregnancy, in the fourth month.

2. (The husband) serves food to *Brāhmaṇas* and causes them to pronounce auspicious wishes; then, after (the ceremonies) from the putting (of wood) on the fire down to the *Āgyabhāga* oblations (have been performed), he offers the oblations (indicated in the) next (Mantras, M. II, 11, 1-8), while (the wife) takes hold of him, and enters upon the (performance) of the *Gaya* and following oblations.

3. Having performed (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), he makes her sit down to the west of the fire, facing the east, and parts her hair upwards (i. e. beginning from the front) with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots,

with three Darbha blades, and with a bunch of un-ripe Udumbara fruits, with the Vyâhr̥itis or with the two next (verses, II, 11, 9. 10).

4. He says to two lute-players, 'Sing!'

5. Of the next two (verses, II, 11, 11. 12) the first (is to be sung on this occasion) among the (people of the) Sâlvas.

6. The second (is to be used) for Brâhmanas; and the river near which they dwell is to be named.

7. He ties barley-grains with young shoots (to the head of the wife); then she keeps silence until the stars appear.

8. When the stars have appeared, he goes (with his wife) towards the east or north, touches a calf, and murmurs the Vyâhr̥itis; then she breaks her silence.

9. The Pumsavana (i.e. the ceremony to secure the birth of a male child) is performed when the pregnancy has become visible, under the constellation Tishya.

10. From a branch of a Nyagrodha tree, which points eastward or northward, he takes a shoot with two (fruits that look like) testicles. The putting (of wood) on the fire, &c., is performed as at the Sîmantonnayana (Sûtra 2).

11. He causes a girl who has not yet attained maturity to pound (the Nyagrodha shoot) on an upper mill-stone with another upper mill-stone, and to pour water on it; then he makes his wife lie

6. Âsvalâyana I, 14, 7; Pâraskara I, 15, 8. Comp. Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft, XXXIX, 88.

7, 8. Sudarsanârya mentions that instead of the singular, 'She keeps silence, she breaks her silence,' some read the dual, so that the husband and his wife are referred to.

down on her back to the west of the fire, facing the east, and inserts (the pounded substance) with his thumb into her right nostril, with the next Yagus (II, 11, 13).

12. Then she will give birth to a son.

13. Here follows the ceremony to secure a quick deliverance.

14. With a shallow cup that has not been used before, he draws water in the direction of the river's current; at his wife's feet he lays down a Tûryanti plant; he should then touch his wife, who is soon to be delivered, on the head, with the next Yagus (II, 11, 14), and should sprinkle her with the water, with the next (three) verses (II, 11, 15-17).

15. Yadi garāyu na pated evamvīhitābhir evādbhir uttarābhyām (II, 11, 18. 19) avokshet.

PATALA 6, SECTION 15.

1. After he has touched the new-born child with the Vātsapra hymn (Taitt. Samh. IV, 2, 2; M. II, 11, 20), and has taken him on his lap with the next Yagus (M. II, 11, 21), with the next (three) (verses—II, 11, 22; 12, 1. 2—one by one) he addresses the child, kisses him on his head, and murmurs (the third verse) into his right ear.

2. And he gives him a Nakshatra name.

3. That is secret.

4. He pours together honey and ghee; into this (mixture) he dips a piece of gold which he has tied with a noose to a Darbha blade. With the next (three) formulas (II, 12, 3-5) he gives the boy (by

15, 1. We ought to read uttarābhir, not uttarābhyām. Comp. below, Sûtra 12.

means of the piece of gold, some of the mixture) to eat. With the next five (verses, II, 12, 6-10) he bathes him. Then he pours curds and ghee together and gives him this (mixture which is called) 'sprinkled butter' (*prishadâgrya*) to eat out of a brass vessel, with the *Vyâhr̥itis* to which the syllable 'Om' is added as the fourth (II, 12, 11-14). The remainder he should mix with water and pour out in a cow-stable.

5. With the next (verse, M. II, 13, 1) he places (the child) in the mother's lap; with the next (II, 13, 2) he causes her to give him her right breast; with the next two (verses, II, 13, 3. 4) he touches the earth, and after (the child) has been laid down, (he touches him) with the next (formula, II, 13, 5).

6. With the next *Yagus* (II, 13, 6) he places a water-pot at (the child's) head, sacrifices mustard seeds and rice-chaff with his joined hands three times with each of the next (formulas, II, 13, 7-14, 2), repeating each time the word *Svâhâ*, and says (to the people who are accustomed to enter the room in which his wife lies), 'Whenever you enter, strew silently (mustard seeds with rice-chaff) on the fire.'

7. This is to be done until the ten days (after the child's birth) have elapsed.

8. On the tenth day, after (the mother) has risen and taken a bath, he gives a name to the son. The father and the mother (should pronounce that name first).

9. (It should be a name) of two syllables or of four syllables; the first part should be a noun; the second a verb; it should have a long vowel (or) the *Visarga* at the end, should begin with a sonant, and contain a semi-vowel.

10. Or it should contain the particle *su*, for such a name has a firm foundation; thus it is said in a *Brāhmaṇa*.

11. A girl's name should have an odd number of syllables.

12. When (the father) returns from a journey, he should address the child and kiss him on his head with the next two (verses, M. II, 14, 3. 4), and should murmur the next Mantras (II, 14, 5) into his right ear.

13. With the next *Yagus* (II, 14, 6) he addresses a daughter (when returning from a journey).

PĀṬALA 6, SECTION 16.

1. In the sixth month after the child's birth he serves food to *Brāhmaṇas* and causes them to pronounce auspicious wishes; then he should pour together curds, honey, ghee, and boiled rice, and should give (the mixture) to the boy to eat, with the next (four) Mantras (II, 14, 7-10);

2. (He should feed him) with partridge, according to some (teachers).

3. In the third year after his birth the *K'aula* (or tonsure is performed) under (the *Nakshatra* of) the two *Punarvasus*.

4. *Brāhmaṇas* are entertained with food as at the initiation (*Upanayana*).

5. The putting (of wood) on the fire, &c. (is performed) as at the *Śimantonnayana*.

6. He makes (the boy) sit down to the west of

12. Comp. above, *Sūtra* 1.

16, 4. See above, IV, 10, 5.

6. Comp. VI, 14, 3.

5. See above, VI, 14, 2.

the fire, facing the east, combs his hair silently with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, with three Darbha blades, and with a bunch of unripe Udumbara fruits; and he arranges the locks in the fashion of his ancestral *Rīshis*,

7. Or according to their family custom.

8. The ceremonies beginning with the pouring together of (warm and cold) water and ending with the putting down of the hair are the same (as above; comp. M. II, 14, 11).

9. He puts down the razor after having washed it off.

10. The ceremony is (repeated) three days with the (same razor). (Then) the rite is finished.

11. (The father) gives an optional gift (to the Brāhmaṇa who has assisted).

12. The Godāna (or the ceremony of shaving the beard, is performed) in the sixteenth year, in exactly the same way or optionally under another constellation.

13. Or he may perform the Godāna sacred to Agni.

14. Some prescribe the keeping of a vow through one year in connection with the Godāna.

8. See IV, 10, 5-8.

10. I translate as if the words *tena tryaham* and *karmani-vṛttiḥ* formed two Sūtras.

13. 'Having performed the same rites as at the opening of the study of the *Āgneya-kānda*, he performs an *Upasthāna* to the deities as taught with regard to the *Sukriyavrata*.' Haradatta.—'After the ceremonies down to the *Āgyabhāgas* have been performed, one chief oblation of *Āgya* is offered with the formula, "To Agni, the *Rīshi* of the *Kānda*, *svāhā!*"' Sudarsanārya.

14. Comp. the statements given in the note on Gobhila III, I, I.

15. The difference (between the *Kāula* and the *Godāna*) is that (at the *Godāna*) the whole hair is shaven (without leaving the locks).

16. According to the followers of the *Sāma-veda* he should 'touch water.'

PĀṬALA 7, SECTION 17.

1. The ground for building a house should be inclined towards the south-west. He elevates the surface and sweeps (the earth) with a broom of *Palāsa* wood or of *Samī* wood, with the next (verse, M. II, 15, 1), in the same (south-west) direction ;

2. In the same way three times.

3. He touches the ground, which has thus been prepared, with the next (verse, II, 15, 2). Then he has the pits for the posts dug from left to right, throws the earth (from the pits) towards the inside (of the building-ground), and erects the right door-post with the next two (verses, M. II, 15, 3. 4) ;

4. In the same way the other (door-post).

5. Having erected after (the door-posts) the other (posts) in the same order in which (the pits) have been dug, he recites the next *Yagus* (II, 15, 5) over the ridge-pole when it is placed (on the posts),

6. The next (six) (*Yagus* formulas, II, 15, 6-11) over the (house when it is) finished, according to the characteristics contained in the single formulas.

7. He sets a piece of *Palāsa* wood or of *Samī* wood on fire, takes the fire up (in a dish) with the next verse (II, 15, 12), carries it to the house with

16. The *udakopasparsana* according to the rite of the *Sāma-veda* is described by *Gobhila*, I, 2, 5 seqq.

the next Yagus (II, 15, 13), and places the fire in the north-eastern part of the house with the next (II, 15, 14).

8. The place for the water-barrel is to the south of that spot.

9. He strews there Darbha grass, so that its points are turned in every direction, pours rice and barley-grains over the (grass) with the next (verse, II, 15, 15), and thereon he places the water-barrel.

10. With the next (Yagus, II, 15, 16) he pours four potfuls of water into it.

11. If (the barrel) breaks, he recites the next (verse, II, 15, 17) over it.

12. After the ceremonies from the putting of wood on the fire down to the Āgyabhāga oblations have been performed, he offers the (four) oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras; II, 15, 18–21); then he enters upon the performance of the *Gaya* and following oblations.

13. Having performed (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), he should sprinkle (water) with a water-pot around the house or the resting-place on the inside, with the next Yagus (II, 15, 22) three times from left to right; then he should serve cakes, flour, and boiled rice to the *Brāhmaṇas*.

PATA 7, SECTION 18.

1. When a boy is attacked by the dog-demon (i. e. epilepsy), (the father or another performer of the ceremony), having devoted himself to austerities

(such as fasting), covers him with a net. Then he causes a gong to be beaten or a bell to be rung, takes (the boy) by another way than the door into the gambling-hall, raises (the earth in the middle of the hall) at the place in which they gamble, sprinkles it (with water), casts the dice, lays (the boy) on his back on the dice, and besprinkles him with his joined hands with curds and salt, with the next (eleven) (formulas, II, 16, 1-11), in the morning, at noon, and at night.

2. Then he will get well.

3. Over a boy who suffers from the 'Sañkha' disease, (the father, &c.) having devoted himself to austerities, should recite the next two (verses, II, 16, 12. 13), and should pour (water) on his head with a water-pot with the next (verse, II, 16, 14), in the morning, at noon, and at night.

4. Then he will get well.

5. On the day of the full moon of (the month) *Srāvana* after sunset a *Sthālpāka* (is offered).

6. After the ceremonies down to the *Āgyabhāga* oblations have been performed in the same way as at the fortnightly sacrifices, he sacrifices of the *Sthālpāka*, and with each of the next (formulas, II, 16, 15-17) he offers with his joined hands *Kim-suka* flowers.

7. With the next (three) verses (II, 17, 1-3) (he offers) pieces of *Āragvadha* wood (*Cathartocarpus fistula*);

3. 'Sañkhin is a person attacked by such a disease that he utters cries like the sound of a conch trumpet (sañkha).' Haradatta.

5. Here follows a description of the *Sarpabali*.

6. Comp. above, III, 7, 2-3.

8. Then the Âgya oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras, II, 17, 4-7).

9. Then he enters upon the performance of the Gaya and following oblations.

10. Having performed (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), he silently takes the objects required (for the rites which he is going to perform), goes out in an easterly or northerly direction, prepares a raised surface, draws on it three lines directed towards the east and three towards the north, pours water on the (lines), and lays (an offering of) flour (for the serpents) on them, with the next (formula, II, 17, 8).

11. Silently (he lays down) unground (?) grain, roasted grain, collyrium, ointment, (the fragrant substance called) Sthagara, and Uśira root.

12. With the next (formulas, II, 17, 9-26) he should worship (the serpents), should sprinkle water round (the oblations), should return (to his house) silently without looking back, should sprinkle (water) with a water-pot from left to right, thrice around the house or the resting-place on the inside, with the two verses, 'Beat away, O white one, with thy foot' (II, 17, 27. 28), and should offer food to the Brâhmanas.

PATALA 7, SECTION 19.

1. The unground grain (which is left over, see above, VII, 18, 11) they give to the boys to eat.

2. Let him repeat in the same way this Bali-offering of whatever food he has got or of flour, from that day to full moon of (the month) Mârgaśrsha.

3. On the day of the full moon of Mārgasirsha after sunset a Sthâlpâka (is offered as above, VII, 18, 5).

4. In the Mantra for the Bali-offering he changes (the word 'I shall offer' into) 'I have offered.'

5. Then he does not offer (the Bali) any longer.

6. (Now follows) the Âgrayana sacrifice (or partaking of the first-fruits) of one who has not set up the (Srauta) fires.

7. He prepares a Sthâlpâka of the fresh fruits, sacrifices to the deities of the (Srauta) Âgrayana sacrifice with (Agni) Svishṭakṛit as the fourth, fills his mouth with grains, swallows them, sips water, forms a lump of the boiled (sacrificial) food, and throws it up with the next Yagus (II, 18, 1) to the summit of the house.

8. (Now follows) the 'redescent' in the winter.

9. With the next Yagus (II, 18, 2) they 'redescent' (or take as their sleeping-place a layer of straw instead of the high bedsteads which they have used before). With the next Yagus formulas (II, 18, 3-7) they lie down on a new layer (of straw) on their right sides,

10. The father to the south, the mother to the north (of him), and so the others, one after the other from the eldest to the youngest.

11. After he has arisen, he touches the earth with the next two (verses, II, 18, 8. 9).

12. In the same way the lying down, &c., is repeated thrice.

13. Having prepared a Sthâlpâka for Īsâna and

8. Comp. the note on Sâṅkhâya IV, 17, 1.

13. The description of the sūlagava sacrifice, which here follows, agrees in most points with the statements of Hiranyakesin II, 3, 8.

one for Kshetrapati, he goes out in an easterly or northerly direction, prepares a raised surface, (and then follow the ceremonies) beginning with the putting of wood on the fire.

14. To the west of the fire he builds two huts.

PATALA 7, SECTION 20.

1. With the next (verse, II, 18, 10) he has the Îsâna led to the southern (hut),

2. With worldly words the 'bountiful goddess' to the northern (hut),

3. To the middle (between the two huts) the 'conqueror.'

4. He gives them water to drink in the same order in which they have been led (to their places), takes three portions of boiled rice (from the Sthâlipâka prepared for Îsâna), takes (these portions of rice) to the fire, makes (the three gods) touch them with the next (formulas, II, 18, 11-13), sacrifices of these portions, to each god of the portion which belongs to him, with the next (formulas, II, 18, 14-30), cuts off (Avadânas) from all (portions), and sacrifices with the next Yagus (II, 18, 31) to Agni Svishtakrit.

5. Having worshipped (the god Îsâna) with the next Yagus (II, 18, 32), he distributes with the next (formulas, II, 18, 33-39) leaves together with portions of boiled rice, two (leaves) with each (Yagus), then ten to the divine hosts (II, 18, 40), and ten to the (divine hosts) that follow (and are referred to in the next Yagus, II, 18, 41).

20, 1-3. Comp. Hiraṇyak. II, 3, 8, 2-4. Haradatta explains the Îsâna, the mîḍkushî, and the gayanta as images of the three gods.

6. With the next (formulas, II, 18, 42-45) he does the same as before (i.e. he distributes two leaves with each Mantra).

7. Having formed a lump of boiled rice, he puts it into a basket of leaves, and with the next Yagus (II, 18, 46) hangs it up on a tree.

8. Here he should murmur the Rudra texts (Taitt. Samh. IV, 5),

9. Or the first and last (Anuvāka).

10. He places his cows around the fire so that the smoke (of the sacrifice) may reach them.

11. With his firmly shut fist full of Darbha grass he besprinkles (them) with scents; the bull first.

12. He should perform a sacrifice to Kshetrapati, without a fire, in the path used by his cows.

13. He has (the Kshetrapati) led to his place in the same way as the Īsāna (see above, Sūtra 1).

14. He puts (portions of boiled rice) into four or seven leaves, naming (the god).

15. Let him sacrifice quickly; the god has a strong digestion (?).

16. With the next two (verses, II, 18, 47. 48) he does worship (to Kshetrapati).

17. The Sthālpāka (belonging to Īsāna) he gives to the Brāhmanas to eat;

18. That belonging to Kshetrapati his uterine relations eat,

19. Or as is the custom in their family.

11. On grumush/i, see the notes of the commentators, p. 93 of Dr. Winternitz's edition, and the commentary on Taitt. Samhitā V, 4, 5, 3 (Indische Studien, XII, 60).

15. I have translated here as in Hiranyak. II, 3, 9, 11. Haradatta and Sudarsanārya give another explanation of the words 'pāko devaḥ'; see p. 93 of the edition.

PATALA 8, SECTION 21.

1. The times for the monthly *Srâddha* are in the second fortnight (of the month), as they are stated.

2. Let him feed, without regard of (worldly) purposes, pure *Brâhmanas*, versed in the Mantras, who are not connected with himself by consanguinity or by their Gotra or by the Mantras (such as his teacher or his pupils), an odd number, at least three.

3. He makes oblations of the food (prepared for the *Brâhmanas*) with the next (verses, II, 19, 1-7);

4. Then the *Âgya* oblations (indicated by the next (Mantras, II, 19, 8-13).

5. Or invertedly (i. e. he offers *Âgya* with the verses referred to in Sûtra 3, and food with those referred to in Sûtra 4).

6. Let him touch the whole (food) with the next (formulas, II, 19, 14-16).

7. Or the (single) prepared (portions of food destined) for the single *Brâhmanas*.

8. Having caused them with the next (formula, II, 20, 1) to touch (the food, he gives it to them to eat).

9. When they have eaten (and gone away), he goes after them, circumambulates them, turning his right side towards them, spreads out southward-pointed *Darbha* grass in two different layers, pours water on it with the next (formulas, II, 20, 2-7), distributes the *Pindas*, ending in the south, with the next (formulas, II, 20, 8-13), pours out water as before with the next (formulas, 14-19), worships (the

21, 1. Comp. *Dharmasâstra* II, 7, 16, 8 seq.; *Sacred Books*, vol. ii, p. 139. Comp. Professor Bühler's remarks, vol. ii, p. xiv.

ancestors) with the next (formulas, II, 20, 20-23), sprinkles with the next (verse, 24) water three times from right to left round (the *Pindās*) with a water-pot, besprinkles the vessels, which are turned upside down, repeating the next *Yagus* (25) at least three times without taking breath, sets up the vessels two by two, cuts off (*Avadānas*) from all (portions of food), and eats of the remains at least one morsel with the next *Yagus* (26).

10. Of the dark fortnight that follows after the full moon of *Māgha*, the eighth day falls under (the constellation of) *Gyesh/hā*: this day is called *Ekāsh/hakā*.

11. In the evening before that day (he performs) the preparatory ceremony.

12. He bakes a cake of four cups (of rice).

13. (The cake is prepared) in eight dishes (like a *Puroḍāsa*), according to some (teachers).

PATALA 8, SECTION 22.

1. After the ceremonies down to the *Āgyabhāga* oblations have been performed in the same way as at the fortnightly sacrifices, he makes with his joined hands oblations of the cake with the next (verse, II, 20, 27).

2. The rest (of the cake) he makes ready, divides (it) into eight parts and offers it to the *Brāhmanas*.

12, 13. Comp. *Hiranyak.* II, 5, 14, 3 seq.

22, 1. Comp. above, VII, 18, 6.

2. I believe that *śeṣaḥ* means the rest of the cake. The word 'siddhaḥ' possibly refers to such preparations of the food as are indicated in *Hiranyak.* II, 5, 14, 7. Haradatta understands *śeṣaḥ* as the rest of the rites (*tantrasya śeṣaḥ*): 'The rest of the rites is

3. On the following day he touches a cow with a Darbha blade, with the words, 'I touch thee agreeable to the Fathers.'

4. Having silently offered five Āgya oblations, and having cooked the omentum of the (cow), and performed the 'spreading under' and the sprinkling over (of Āgya), he sacrifices (the omentum) with the next (verse, II, 20, 28) with a Palāsa leaf from the middle or the end (of the stalk).

5. (He sacrifices) boiled rice together with the meat (of the cow) with the next (verses, II, 20, 29-35),

6. Food prepared of meal with the next (verse, II, 21, 1),

7. Then the Āgya oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras, II, 21, 2-9).

8. (The rites) from the Svishtakṛit down to the offering of the Pindas are the same (as at the Srāddha).

9. Some (teachers) prescribe the Pinda offering for the day after the Ashṭakâ.

10. Here (follows) another (way for celebrating the Ashṭakâ sacrifice). He sacrifices curds with his joined hands in the same way as the cake.

11. Having left over from the meat of the (cow, see above, 3. 4) as much as is required, on the day after (the Ashṭakâ) (he performs) the rite of the Anvashṭakâ.

12. This rite has been explained in the description of the monthly Srāddha.

13. If he goes out in order to beg for something,

the regular one, without alterations: it must be admitted that the expressions used by Hiranyak. II, 5, 14, 10 would agree well with this explanation.

4. See above, V, 13, 16.

let him murmur the next (Mantras, II, 21, 10-16) and then state his desire.

14. If he has obtained a chariot, he has the horses put to it, lets it face the east, and touches with the next (verse, II, 21, 17) the two wheels of the chariot or the two side-pieces.

15. With the next Yagus (II, 21, 18) he should mount, and drive with the next (verse, II, 21, 19) towards the east or north, and should then drive off on his business.

16. Let him mount a horse with the next (formulas, II, 21, 20-30),

17. An elephant with the next (formula, II, 21, 31).

18. If any harm is done him by these two (beasts), let him touch the earth as indicated above.

19. If he is going to a dispute, he takes the parasol and the staff in his left hand.

PĀṬALA 8, SECTION 23.

1. Having sacrificed, with his right hand, a fist full of chaff with the next (verse, II, 21, 32), he should go away and murmur the next (verse, 33).

2. Over an angry person let him recite the two next (formulas, II, 22, 1. 2); then his anger will be appeased.

3. One who wishes that his wife should not be touched by other men, should have big living centipedes ground to powder, and should insert (that powder) with the next (formula, II, 22, 3), while she is sleeping, into her secret parts.

4. For success (in the generation of children)

18. See VII, 19, 11. On *reshane*, comp. below, 23, 9.

23, 3. Comp. *Hiranyak*. I, 4, 14, 7.

let him wash (his wife) with the urine of a red-brown cow.

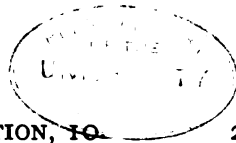
5. For success (in trade) let him sacrifice with the next (verse—II, 22, 4—some portion) from the articles of trade which he has in his house.

6. If he wishes that somebody be not estranged from him, let him pour his own urine into the horn of a living animal, and sprinkle (it) with the next two (verses, II, 22, 5. 6) three times from right to left around (the person) while he is sleeping.

7. In a path which servants or labourers use to run away, he should put plates (used for protecting the hands when holding a hot sacrificial pan) on (a fire), and should offer the oblations (indicated by the) next (Mantras, II, 22, 7–10).

8. If a fruit falls on him from a tree, or a bird befouls him, or a drop of water falls on him when no rain is expected, he should wipe that off with the next (Mantras, II, 22, 11–13), according to the characteristics (contained in these Mantras).

9. If a post of his house puts forth shoots, or if honey is made in his house (by bees), or if the footprint of a dove is seen on the hearth, or if diseases arise in his household, or in the case of other miracles or prodigies, let him perform in the new-moon night, at dead of night, at a place where he does not hear the noise of water, the rites from the putting (of wood) on the fire down to the Âgya-bhâga oblations, and let him offer the oblations (indicated in the) next (Mantras, II, 22, 14–23), and enter upon the performance of the *Gaya* and following oblations.



10. Having performed (the ceremonies) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), he puts up towards the south with the next (verse, II, 22, 24) a stone as a barrier for those among whom a death has occurred.

End of the *Āpastambīya-Grihya-sūtra*.

SYNOPTICAL SURVEY

OF THE

CONTENTS OF THE GRĪHYA-SŪTRAS.

1. The sacred Grīhya fire. S. I, 1; Â. I, 9; P. I, 2; G. I, 1; Kh. I, 5, 1 seq.; H. I, 22, 2 seq.; 26; Âp. 5, 13 seq.
 2. General division of Grīhya sacrifices. S. I, 5; 10; Â. I, 1, 2 seq. (comp. III, 1); P. I, 4, 1.
 3. Regular morning and evening oblations. S. I, 3, 8 seq. (comp. V, 4); Â. I, 2, 1 seq.; 9; P. I, 9; G. I, 1, 22 seq.; 3; 9, 13 seq.; Kh. I, 5, 6 seq.; H. I, 23, 8 seq.; Âp. 7, 19 seq.
 4. The Bali oblations. S. II, 14; Â. I, 2, 3 seq.; P. II, 9 (comp. I, 12); G. I, 4; Kh. I, 5, 20 seq.; Âp. 8, 4.
 5. Sacrifices on the days of the new and full moon. S. I, 3 (comp. V, 4); Â. I, 10; P. I, 12; G. I, 5 seq.; Kh. II, 1; 2, 1 seq.; H. I, 23, 7; Âp. 7, 17.
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6. General outline of Grīhya sacrifices. S. I, 7 seq.; Â. I, 3; P. I, 1; G. I, 3 seq.; Kh. I, 1 seq.; H. I, 1, 9 seq.; Âp. 1, 1 seq.
 - a. The yagñopavīta, the prāñnāvīta, the touching of water. G. I, 2; Kh. I, 1, 4 seq.; Âp. 1, 3, 8.
 - b. Besmearing of the surface with cow-dung, drawing of the lines. S. I, 7, 2 seq.; Â. I, 3, 1; P. I, 1, 2; G. I, 1, 9; 5, 13; Kh. I, 2, 1 seq.
 - c. The fire is carried forward. S. I, 7, 9; Â. I, 3, 1; P. I, 1, 2; G. I, 1, 11; Kh. I, 2, 5; H. I, 1, 10.
 - d. The samūhana. S. I, 7, 11; Â. I, 3, 1; G. IV, 5, 5; Kh. I, 2, 6.
 - e. The strewing of grass around the sacred fire. S. I, 8, 1 seq.; Â. I, 3, 1; P. I, 1, 2; G. I, 5, 16 seq.; 7, 9 seq.; Kh. I, 2, 9 seq.; H. I, 1, 11 seq.; Âp. 1, 12 seq.
 - f. The purifiers. S. I, 8, 14 seq.; Â. I, 3, 2 seq.; P. I,

- 1, 2; G. I, 7, 21 seq.; Kh. I, 2, 12 seq.; H. I, 1, 23; Âp. 1, 19.
- g. Preparation of the Âgya for sacrifice. S. I, 8, 18 seq.; Â. I, 3, 3; P. I, 1, 2 seq.; G. I, 7, 19 seq.; Kh. I, 2, 14 seq.; H. I, 1, 27; Âp. 1, 22.
- h. The Âgya oblations. S. I, 9; Â. I, 3, 4 seq.; P. I, 1, 4; 5, 3 seq.; G. I, 8; 9, 26 seq.; Kh. I, 3, 12 seq.; H. I, 2, 12 seq.; 3; Âp. 2, 5 seq.
7. Sacrifices of cooked food. S. I, 3; Â. I, 10; G. I, 6, 13 seq.; 7 seq.; Kh. II, 1; Âp. 7.
8. Animal sacrifice (comp. Ash/takâ, Anvash/takya, Sûlagava). Â. I, 11; P. III, 11; G. III, 10, 18-IV, 1; Kh. III, 4; H. II, 15.
- a. The omentum. Â. I, 11, 10 (comp. II, 4, 13); IV, 8, 18; P. III, 11, 4, 6; G. III, 10, 30 seq.; IV, 4, 22 seq.; Kh. III, 4, 9 seq. 25 seq.; H. II, 15, 6 seq.
- b. The Avadânas. Â. I, 11, 12 (comp. II, 4, 14); P. III, 11, 6 seq.; G. IV, 1, 3, 9 &c.; Kh. III, 4, 14 seq.; H. II, 15, 9 seq.
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9. Marriage. S. I, 5 seq.; Â. I, 5 seq.; P. I, 4 seq.; G. II, 1 seq.; Kh. I, 3 seq.; H. I, 19 seq.; Âp. 2, 12 seq.
- a. Different kinds of marriage (brâhma, daiva, &c.). Â. I, 6.
- b. Election of the bride. S. I, 5, 5 seq.; Â. I, 5; G. II, 1, 1 seq.; III, 4, 4 seq.; H. I, 19, 2; Âp. 3, 10 seq.
- c. The wooers go to the girl's house. S. I, 6; Âp. 2, 16; 4, 1 seq.
- d. Sacrifice when the bride's father has declared his assent. S. I, 7 seq.
- e. The bride is washed. S. I, 11; G. II, 1, 10, 17; Kh. I, 3, 6.
- f. Dance of four or eight women. S. I, 11, 5.
- g. The bridegroom goes to the girl's house. S. I, 12.
- h. He gives her a garment, anoints her, gives her a mirror, &c. S. I, 12, 3 seq.; P. I, 4, 12 seq.; G. II, 1, 18; Kh. I, 3, 6; Âp. 4, 8.
- i. Argha at the wedding. S. I, 12, 10; G. II, 3, 16 seq.; Kh. I, 4, 7 seq.; Âp. 3, 5 seq.
- k. Sacrifice with the Mahâvyâhritis and other formulas (Gaya, Abhyâtâna, &c., formulas). S. I, 12, 11;

- Â. I, 7, 3; P. I, 5, 3 seq.; G. II, 1, 24; Kh. I, 3, 8. 11; H. I, 19, 7 (comp. 3, 8 seq.; 20, 8); Âp. 5, 2. 11 (comp. 2, 7).
- l. Seizing of the bride's hand. S. I, 13, 2; Â. I, 7, 3 seq.; P. I, 7, 3; G. II, 2, 16; Kh. I, 3, 17. 31; H. I, 20, 1; Âp. 4, 11 seq.
- m. The formula, 'This am I, that art thou.' S. I, 13, 4; Â. I, 7, 6; H. I, 20, 2.
- n. The treading on the stone. S. I, 13, 10 seq.; Â. I, 7, 7; P. I, 7, 1; G. II, 2, 3; Kh. I, 3, 19; H. I, 19, 8; Âp. 5, 3.
- o. Circumambulation of the fire. S. I, 13, 13; Â. I, 7, 6; P. I, 5, 1; 7, 3; G. II, 2, 8; Kh. I, 3, 24; H. I, 20, 5; Âp. 5, 1. 7.
- p. Sacrifice of fried grain. S. I, 13, 15 seq.; Â. I, 7, 8; P. I, 6, 1 seq.; G. II, 2, 5 seq.; Kh. I, 3, 20 seq.; H. I, 20, 3 seq.; Âp. 5, 4 seq.
- q. The seven steps. S. I, 14, 5 seq.; Â. I, 7, 19; P. I, 8, 1; G. II, 2, 11; Kh. I, 3, 26; H. I, 20, 9 seq.; 21, 1 seq.; Âp. 4, 16.
- r. The bride is carried away to her new home. S. I, 15; Â. I, 7, 21; 8; P. I, 8, 10; 10; G. II, 2, 17 seq.; 4; Kh. I, 4, 1 seq.; H. I, 22, 1; Âp. 5, 12 seq.
- s. Ceremonies on entering the new home; looking at the polar star. S. I, 16, 17, comp. Â. I, 7, 22; comp. P. I, 8, 19; comp. G. II, 3, 5 seq.; 4, 6 seq.; comp. Kh. I, 4, 3; H. I, 22, 6 seq.; Âp. 6, 8 seq.
- t. The rites of the fourth day; the cohabitation. S. I, 18. 19; P. I, 11, 13; G. II, 5; Kh. I, 4, 12; H. I, 23, 11; 24, 25; Âp. 8, 8 seq.
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10. The Pumsavana (i.e. the ceremony to secure the birth of a male child). S. I, 20; Â. I, 13; P. I, 14; G. II, 6; Kh. II, 2, 17 seq.; H. II, 2; Âp. 14, 9 seq.
11. A ceremony for the protection of the embryo. S. I, 21 (comp. Â. I, 13, 1).
12. The Sîmantonnayana (or parting of the pregnant wife's hair). S. I, 22 (comp. V, 4); Â. I, 14; P. I, 15; G. II, 7, 1 seq.; Kh. II, 2, 24 seq.; H. II, 1; Âp. 14, 1 seq.
Song of lute-players. S. I, 22, 11 seq.; Â. I, 14, 6 seq.; P. I, 15, 7 seq. (comp. H. II, 1, 3); Âp. 14, 4 seq.

13. Ceremony before the confinement. S. I, 23; P. I, 16, 1 seq.; G. II, 7, 13 seq.; Kh. II, 2, 28 seq.; H. II, 2, 8 seq.; Âp. 14, 13 seq.
14. The Gâtakarman (or ceremony for the new-born child) and similar rites. S. I, 24 (comp. V, 4); Â. I, 15; P. I, 16, 3 seq.; G. II, 7, 17 seq.; 8, 1 seq.; Kh. II, 2, 32; 3, 1 seq.; H. II, 3, 2 seq.; Âp. 15.
 - a. Name given to the child. S. I, 24, 4 seq.; Â. I, 15, 4 seq.; P. I, 17; G. II, 7, 15; 8, 8 seq.; Kh. II, 2, 30 seq. 3, 6 seq.; H. II, 4, 10 seq.; Âp. 15, 2 seq. 8 seq.
 - b. The 'production of intelligence.' S. I, 24, 9; Â. I, 15, 2; P. I, 16, 3; G. II, 7, 20; Kh. II, 2, 34; H. II, 3, 9.
 - c. Driving away demons and goblins from the child. P. I, 16, 23; H. II, 3, 7.
15. The getting up of the mother from childbed. S. I, 25 (with enumeration of the Nakshatras and their presiding deities, chap. 26); P. I, 17, 1; comp. H. II, 4, 6; Âp. 15, 8.
16. How the father should greet his children when returning from a journey. Â. I, 15, 9; P. I, 18; G. II, 8, 21; Kh. II, 3, 13; H. II, 4, 16; Âp. 15, 12.
17. The feeding of the child with solid food (Annaprâsana). S. I, 27; Â. I, 16; P. I, 19; H. II, 5; Âp. 16, 1 seq.
18. The tonsure of the child's head (Kûṣṭhakarman). S. I, 28; Â. I, 17; P. II, 1; G. II, 9; Kh. II, 3, 16 seq.; H. II, 6; Âp. 16, 3 seq.
19. The ceremony of shaving the beard (Godâna-Karman, Keśânta). S. I, 28, 18 seq.; Â. I, 18; P. II, 1, 3 seq.; G. III, 1; Kh. II, 5, 1 seq.; H. II, 6, 16 seq.; Âp. 16, 12 seq.
20. The initiation of the student. Studentship. The Samâvartana. S. II, 1 seq.; III, 1; IV, 5 seq.; VI; Â. I, 19 seq.; III, 5; 8-10; P. II, 2-6; 8; 10-12; G. II, 10-III, 4; Kh. II, 4-III, 1, 32; III, 2, 16-33; H. I, 1 seq.; II, 18-20; Âp. 10 seq.
 - a. Time of the initiation. The patitasâvitrika. S. II, 1, 1 seq.; Â. I, 19, 1 seq.; P. II, 2, 1 seq.; 5, 36 seq.; G. II, 10, 1 seq.; Kh. II, 4, 1 seq.; H. I, 1, 2 seq.; Âp. 10, 1 seq.
 - b. The skin, the girdle, and the staff belonging to the different castes. S. II, 1, 1 seq. 15 seq.; II, 13; Â. I, 19, 10 seq.; P. II, 5, 16 seq.; G. II, 10, 8 seq.; H. I, 1, 17; 4, 7; Âp. 11, 16 seq.

- c. Rite of the initiation. *S.* II, 1, 26 seq.; *Â.* I, 20, 2 seq.; *P.* II, 2, 5 seq.; *G.* II, 10, 15 seq.; *Kh.* II, 4, 7 seq.; *H.* I, 1, 5 seq.; 3, 14 seq.; *Âp.* 10, 5 seq.
- d. The standing duties of the student (begging, putting fuel on the fire, &c.). *S.* II, 4, 5; 6; 9; 10; *Â.* I, 20, 11 seq.; 22, 1 seq.; *P.* II, 2, 2; 4; 5; *G.* II, 10, 34. 42 seq.; *Kh.* II, 4, 19. 25 seq.; *H.* I, 5, 10; 7, 1 seq. 15 seq.; 8, 2. 8 seq.; *Âp.* 11, 22 seq.
- e. The *Sāvitrī*. *S.* II, 5 seq.; *Â.* I, 21, 5 seq.; 22, 29; *P.* II, 3, 3 seq.; *G.* II, 10, 38 seq.; *Kh.* II, 4, 20 seq.; *H.* I, 6, 6 seq.; *Âp.* 11, 8 seq.
- f. The study of the Veda. *S.* II, 7 seq.; IV, 8; *Â.* I, 22, 12 seq.; III, 5, 10 seq.; *P.* III, 16; *Kh.* III, 2, 22 seq.; *H.* I, 8, 16.
- g. Daily recitation of Vedic texts (*svādhyāya*). *S.* I, 4; *Â.* III, 2-4.
- h. Secret doctrines and special observances connected with them. *S.* II, 11-12; VI, 1-6; *G.* III, 1-2; *Kh.* II, 5.
- i. The opening of the annual course of study (*Upākaraṇa*). *S.* IV, 5; *Â.* III, 5; *P.* II, 10; *G.* III, 3; *Kh.* III, 2, 16 seq.; *H.* II, 18, 1 seq.; *Âp.* 8, 1.
- k. The end of the term (*Utsarga*). The *Tarpana* ceremony. *S.* IV, 6. 9-10 (comp. VI, 5. 6); *Â.* III, 5, 13. 19 seq. (comp. III, 4); *P.* II, 11, 10 seq.; 12; *G.* III, 3, 14 seq.; *Kh.* III, 2, 26 seq.; *H.* II, 18, 8 seq.; *Âp.* 8, 1.
- l. Interruptions of study. *S.* IV, 7; *Â.* IV, 4, 17 seq.; *P.* II, 11; *G.* III, 3, 9 seq. 16 seq.; *Kh.* III, 2, 27 seq.
- m. The student's setting out on a journey. *S.* II, 8; *Â.* III, 10.
- n. The bath taken at the end of studentship (*Samāvartana*). *S.* III, 1; *Â.* III, 8; 9; *P.* II, 6; 8; *G.* III, 4, 7 seq.; *Kh.* III, 1; *H.* I, 9 seq.; *Âp.* 12-13, 2.
21. Rules of conduct for a *Snātaka*. *S.* IV, 11-12; *Â.* III, 9, 6; *P.* II, 7; *G.* III, 5; *Kh.* III, 1, 33 seq.
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22. House-building. *S.* III, 2 seq.; *Â.* II, 7 seq.; *P.* III, 4 seq.; *G.* IV, 7; *Kh.* IV, 2, 6 seq.; *H.* I, 27-28; *Âp.* 17.

- a. Election of the ground. Â. II, 7 seq.; G. IV, 7, 1 seq.; Kh. IV, 2, 6 seq.
 - b. Entering the new house. S. III, 4; Â. II, 9, 9; P. III, 4, 5 seq., 18.
 - c. The putting up of the water-barrel. P. III, 5; Âp. 17, 8 seq.
 - d. Leaving the house when travelling and returning to it. S. III, 5-7; Â. II, 10, 1 seq.; H. I, 29.
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23. Ploughing. S. IV, 13; Â. II, 10, 3, 4; P. II, 13; G. IV, 4, 27 seq.
 24. Partaking of the first-fruits (Âgrayana). S. III, 8; Â. II, 2, 4 seq.; P. III, 1; G. III, 8, 9 seq.; Kh. III, 3, 16 seq.; Âp. 19, 6 seq.
 25. Sacrifice to Sîtâ. P. II, 17; comp. G. IV, 4, 29.
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26. Ceremonies referring to cattle (comp. also the Âsvayuga sacrifice, below, No. 30).
 - a. The driving out of the cows, and other rites referring to the cows. S. III, 9; Â. II, 10, 5 seq.; G. III, 6; Kh. III, 1, 45 seq.; H. I, 18.
 - b. Making marks on the cattle. S. III, 10.
 - c. The Vṛṣhotsarga. S. III, 11; P. III, 9.
 - d. The Sūlagava ('spit-ox' offered to Rudra). Â. IV, 8; P. III, 8; H. II, 8-9; Âp. 19, 13-20, 19.
 - α. Distribution of Palāra leaves. P. III, 8, 11; H. II, 9, 1 seq.; Âp. 20, 5 seq.
 - β. Sacrifice to Kshetrapati. H. II, 9, 8 seq.; Âp. 20, 12 seq.
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27. The Kaitra offerings. S. IV, 19.
 28. The Srāvana sacrifice to the Serpents. S. IV, 15; Â. II, 1; P. II, 14; G. III, 7 (comp. IV, 8, 1); Kh. III, 2, 1 seq.; H. II, 16; Âp. 18, 5-19, 2.
 29. The Praushṭapada sacrifice. P. II, 15.
 30. The Âsvayuga sacrifice. S. IV, 16; Â. II, 2, 1-3; P. II, 16; G. III, 8, 1 seq.; Kh. III, 3, 1 seq.
 31. The rites of the Âgrahāyaṇī (concluding ceremonies of the rites devoted to the Serpents). S. IV, 17, 18; Â. II, 3; P. III, 2; G. III, 9 (comp. IV, 8, 1); Kh. III, 3, 6 seq.; H. II, 17; Âp. 19, 3 seq. 8 seq.
 32. The Ashvakās. S. III, 12-14; Â. II, 4, 5; P. III, 3; G.

- III, 10 seq.; Kh. III, 3, 28 seq.; H. II, 14 seq.; Âp. 21, 10 seq.
- a. The first Ash/akâ. S. III, 12, 2 seq.; P. III, 3, 4; G. III, 10, 9 seq.; Kh. III, 3, 30 seq.
 - b. The second Ash/akâ (animal sacrifice). S. III, 13, 1 seq.; P. III, 3, 8; G. III, 10, 18-IV, 1; Kh. III, 4, 1 seq.
 - c. The third Ash/akâ. S. III, 14; G. IV, 4, 17 seq.; Kh. III, 3, 32 seq.
 - d. The Anvash/akya ceremony. S. III, 13, 7; Â. II, 5; P. III, 3, 10; G. IV, 2, 3; Kh. III, 5; H. II, 15; Âp. 22, 3 seq. 11.
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33. Disease and death of a person who has set up the Srauta fires. Â. IV, 1.
 Burning the dead body. Â. IV, 2-4.
 The gathering of the bones. Â. IV, 5.
 Expiatory ceremonies after the death of a Guru or other misfortune. Â. IV, 6.
 Death. Burning dead bodies. P. III, 10.
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34. Srâddha offerings to the Fathers. S. IV, 1-4; Â. II, 5, 10 seq.; IV, 7; G. IV, 4 (comp. chap. 2, 3); Kh. III, 5, 35; H. II, 10-13; Âp. 21, 1-9.
- a. The invited Brâhmanas. S. IV, 1, 2 seq.; Â. II, 5, 10 seq.; IV, 7, 2 seq.; G. IV, 2, 33 seq.; H. II, 10, 2 seq.; Âp. 21, 2 seq.
 - b. Offering of the Pindas. S. IV, 1, 9 seq.; Â. II, 5, 4 seq.; IV, 7, 28; P. III, 10, 50 seq.; G. IV, 3, 8 seq.; Kh. III, 5, 18 &c.; H. II, 12, 3 seq.; Âp. 21, 9.
 - c. The Ekoddish/a Srâddha. S. IV, 2 (comp. Â. IV, 7, 1); P. III, 10, 50 seq.
 - d. The Sapindîkarama. S. IV, 3; V, 9 (comp. P. III, 10, 51).
 - e. The Âbhyudayika Srâddha. S. IV, 4, comp. Â. II, 5, 13; IV, 7, 1; G. IV, 3, 35.
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35. The Arghya reception (comp. Argha at the wedding, above, 9, i). S. II, 15-17; Â. I, 24; P. I, 3; G. IV, 10; Kh. IV, 4, 5 seq.; H. I, 12, 7 seq.; 13; Âp. 13, 3 seq.
- a. The persons to whom an Arghya reception is due.

- S. II, 15, 4 seq.; 16, 3; Â. I, 24, 1 seq.; P. I, 3, 1; G. IV, 10, 23 seq.; Kh. IV, 4, 21 seq.; Âp. 13, 2 seq.; 14. 19. 20.
- b. The cow offered to the guest. S. II, 15, 1 seq.; 16, 1; Â. I, 24, 30 seq.; P. I, 3, 26 seq.; G. IV, 10, 18 seq.; Kh. IV, 17 seq.; H. I, 13, 10 seq.; Âp. 13, 15 seq.
- c. Miscellaneous rules about the reception of guests. S. II, 17.

rites for the obtainment of special wishes, for averting
misfortune; different expiations.

36. Longer sections are devoted to the description of ceremonies for the obtainment of special wishes by G. IV, 5-6; 8-9; Kh. IV, 1-4, 4. Comp. Â. III, 6, 1 seq.; Âp. 8, 4.
- a. Rites for procuring success and averting evil in disputes and on different other occasions. H. I, 14, 7-15, 8; Âp. 22, 19 seq.; 23, 2 seq. Entering a court of justice. P. III, 13.
- b. Mounting a chariot and similar acts. Â. II, 6; P. III, 14-15, 6; Âp. 22, 14.
- c. Rites when going out on business or on dangerous ways. Â. III, 7, 8-10.
- d. Sacrifice of a person menaced by unknown danger. Â. III, 11.
- e. Going out and begging. Âp. 22, 13 seq.
- f. Formulas to be pronounced on receiving gifts. P. III, 15, 22 seq.
- g. Crossing a river. S. IV, 14.
- h. Formulas to be pronounced at cross-roads and other different places. P. III, 15, 7 seq.; H. I, 16, 8 seq.
- i. Rites referring to battles. Â. III, 12.
- k. Rites in order that friends may not be estranged and servants may not run away. P. III, 7; H. I, 13, 19-14, 5; Âp. 23, 6. 7.
- l. Rite when first seeing the new moon. H. I, 16, 1.
- m. Rite for establishing concord between husband and wife. Âp. 9, 4 seq.
- n. Rite if one cannot pay a debt. G. IV, 4, 26.
- o. Oblations for sick persons. Â. III, 6, 3 seq.; for a

- sick child. P. I, 16, 24 seq.; for a boy suffering from epilepsy. H. II, 7; Âp. 18, 1 seq. Cure for headache. P. III, 6.
- p. Penance of a student who has broken his vow of chastity. P. III, 12.
- q. Different expiations. S. V, 1, 8. 9; 5-6; 8; 10; 11; Â. III, 6, 5-7, 2; 7, 7; 10, 9 seq.; G. III, 3, 30 seq.; Kh. II, 5, 35 seq.; H. I, 16, 2 seq. 14 seq.-chap. 17, 6; Âp. 8, 5 seq.; 9, 2 seq.; 23, 9 seq.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTER.

37. Qualities of a Brâhmaṇa on whom gifts should be bestowed. S. I, 2.
38. The choosing of priests for officiating at a sacrifice. Â. I, 23.
39. The Kaitya sacrifice. Â. I, 12, 1 seq. (comp. Pâr. III, 11, 10 seq.).
40. The Dhanvantari sacrifice. Â. I, 12, 7.
41. Consecration of ponds. S. V, 2.
42. Consecration of gardens. S. V, 3.
43. Sandhyâ or twilight devotion. S. II, 9; Â. III, 7, 3 seq.
44. The sacrificer setting out on a journey makes the sacred fire enter him. S. V, 1, 1 seq.; H. I, 26, 12 seq.

ÂPASTAMBA'S
YAGÑA-PARIBHÂSHÂ-SÛTRAS.

INTRODUCTION.

AS Professor Oldenberg was unable to find any other texts connected with the *Grihya-sûtras*, I have tried to bring this volume to its proper size by adding a translation of Āpastamba's *Yagñā-Paribhāshā-sûtras*. These *Sûtras* give some general information about the performance of sacrifices, and may prove useful to the students both of the *Srauta* and the *Grihya* sacrifices. *Paribhāshā* is defined as a general rule or definition applicable throughout a whole system, and more binding than any particular rule. How well this sense of *paribhāshā* was understood in India, we may see from a passage in the *Sisupālavadha* XVI, 80 :

Paritakṣ pramitāksharāpi sarvaṃ
vishayam prāptavati gatā pratishṭhām
na khalu pratihanyate kutasṅkit
paribhāsheva garīyaṣi yadāgñā.

‘Whose (the king’s) command, though brief, having reached the whole kingdom round about and obtained authority, is never defeated, being of the highest weight, like a *Paribhāshā*.’

These *Paribhāshās* are a very characteristic invention of ancient Indian authors, particularly during the *Sûtra* period. We find them as early as the *Anukramanīs*, and even at that early time they had been elaborated with many purely technical contrivances. Thus we are told in the *Index* to the *Rig-veda* that, as a general rule, if no deity is mentioned in the index of the hymns, *Indra* must be supposed to be the deity addressed; when no metre is mentioned, the metre must be understood to be the *Trishṭubh*; at the beginning of each *Maṇḍala* the hymns must be taken to be addressed to *Agni*, till we come to hymns distinctly addressed to *Indra*. Now it is clear that in this case these *Paribhāshās* or general instructions must have been laid down

before the whole work was carried out. The same applies to other Paribhâshâs, such as those of the metrical Sûtras, but I feel more doubtful as to the Paribhâshâs in the grammatical Sûtras of Pânini. To judge from the Paribhâshendusekhara, it would seem that the Paribhâshâ-sûtras to Pânini's grammar also had been settled before a single Sûtra of Pânini was composed, and yet it seems almost incredible that this gigantic web of Sûtras should have been woven on so complicated a warp. This question ought to be settled once for all, as it would throw considerable light on the workmanship of Pânini's Sûtras, and there is no one better qualified to settle it for us than the learned editor of the Paribhâshendusekhara. It is different with our Paribhâshâs. There is no necessity to suppose that they were worked out first, before the Sûtras were composed. They look more like useful generalisations than like indispensable preliminary instructions. They give us a general idea of the sacrifice, and inculcate rules that ought to be observed throughout. But I doubt whether they are as essential for enabling the priest to carry out the instructions of the Sûtras in performing a sacrifice as the grammatical paribhâshâs are in carrying out the grammatical rules of Pânini.

The Âpastamba-sûtras for which our Paribhâshâs are intended are said to have comprised thirty Prasnas (see Burnell, Catalogue, p. 19, and p. xxix in Professor Oldenberg's Introduction). Burnell mentions that sometimes two Prasnas, treating of the *Paitrîmedhika* rites, were counted as the thirty-first and thirty-second of the whole work. Of these thirty Prasnas fifteen have been edited with Rudradatta's commentary by Professor Garbe in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1882-1885. Rudradatta's commentary does not seem to have extended beyond the fifteenth Prasna; some authorities, however, suppose that Haradatta, to whom commentaries on the later Prasnas are ascribed, was only another name for Rudradatta. According to Kaundappa's *Prayogaratnamâlâ* (see Burnell, Classified Index, I, p. 17 a), the Paribhâshâ-sûtras formed part of the twenty-fourth Prasna (*katurvimse tatah prasne nyâyaprâ-*

varahautrakam). Here Nyāya in the sense of method, way, plan, seems to stand for Paribhāṣhā. Another name is Sāmānya-sūtra (see Burnell, Classified Index, p. 15 b, where it is mentioned as § 4 of Prasna XXIV). Kaundappā-kārya himself, who is said to have been minister of Virābhūpati, the son of the famous king Bukka of Vigayanagara, begins his work with a paribhāṣhā-parikkhedha.

I published a German translation of these Sūtras with notes many years ago, in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1855. I here give the same translation, but I have shortened the notes and compared the translation once more with the MSS.

The principal MSS. used are MS. I. O. L. 1676 b, 259, and 1127. MS. 1676 b, now 308, is described in Professor Eggeling's Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office, vol. i, p. 58 b. It is written in Devanāgarī, contains thirty leaves, and is called at the end iti Srikapardinā bhāshye uddhṛitasāram paribhāṣhāpaṭalam. MS. 259, now 309, contains twenty-seven leaves in Devanāgarī, and is called at the end iti Kapardisvāmi-bhāshye paribhāṣhāpaṭalam. MS. 1127, now 307, in Devanāgarī, is dated Samvat 1691, Śāka 1556, and contains on 220 leaves portions of Tālavṛindanivāsin's manual, the Āpastambasūtra-prayoga-vṛitti, and on pp. 75 a-116 a Kapardisvāmin's commentary on Āpastamba's Paribhāṣhāpaṭalam. Burnell mentions another copy of this work in his Classified Index, I, p. 17 b, and he states (Catalogue, p. 24) that, according to tradition, the author was a native of Southern India, called Andappillai, and that tālavṛinda or tālavṛinta is a translation of the Tamil panai-kkāṭu, a very common name for villages among palmyra trees (panai = palmyra, kāṭu = forest).

While preparing my new translation for the Press, I received a printed edition of the text and commentary published by 'Sṛī Satyavratasāmasramibhaṭṭākārya in his valuable Journal, the Ushā, beginning in the eighth fasciculus. He gives also a Bengālī translation, and some commentaries in the same language, which have proved useful in certain difficult passages.

ÂPASTAMBA'S YAGÑA-PARIBHÂSHÂ-SÛTRAS.

GENERAL RULES OF THE SACRIFICE.

SÛTRA I.

We shall explain the sacrifice.

Commentary.

Yagñā, sacrifice, is an act by which we surrender something for the sake of the gods. Such an act must rest on a sacred authority (āgama), and serve for man's salvation (sreyo-rtha). The nature of the gift is of less importance. It may be puroḍāsa, cake; karu, pulse; sāmñāyā, mixed milk; paśu, an animal; soma, the juice of the Soma-plant, &c.; nay, the smallest offerings of butter, flour, and milk may serve for the purpose of a sacrifice.

Yagñā, yāga, yagana, and ishṭi are considered as synonyms.

SÛTRA II.

The sacrifice is for the three colours or castes (varṇa), for Brāhmaṇas and Rāganyas, also for the Vaisya.

Commentary.

Though the sacrifice is meant for the three castes, here called varṇa, i.e. colour, the third caste, that of the Vaisya or citizen, is mentioned by itself, while the two castes, the Brāhmaṇas and Rāganyas (the Kshatriyas or nobles), are mentioned together. This is done because there are certain sacrifices (bahuyagamāna), performed by Brāhmaṇas and Rāganyas together, in which Vaisyas take no part. In the Sāṅkhāyana-sūtras, I, 1, 3, also

the Vaisya is mentioned by himself. In Kâtyâyana's Sûtras, however, no such distinction is made, and we read, I, 6, *Brâhmana-râganya-vaisyânâm sruteh*. Women, if properly married, are allowed to participate in sacrifices, but no one is allowed to be accompanied by a Sûdrâ woman, even though she be his wife. Properly a Brâhmana should marry a wife of his own caste only. A Kshatriya may marry a woman of his own or of the Brâhmana caste. A Vaisya's proper wife should be taken from his own caste. See, however, Manu III, 12 seq.

The four castes, with the Sûdra as the fourth, are mentioned once in the Rig-veda, X, 90, 12. The opposition between Âryas and Sûdras occurs in the Atharva-veda, XIX, 62, &c., and in most of the Brâhmanas. In the Satapatha Brâhmana we read of the four castes, Brâhmana, Râganya, Vaisya, and Sûdra, and we are told that none of them vomits the Soma. Kâtyâyana excludes from the sacrifice the *aṅgahîna*, cripple, *shanda*, eunuch, and all *asrotriyas*, persons ignorant of the Veda, which would bar, of course, the whole class of the Sûdras, but they are also specially excluded. Concessions, however, had to be made at an early time, for instance, in the case of the Rathakâra, who is admitted to the Agnyâdhâna, &c. This name means chariot-maker, but Âpadeva, in his *Mîmâmsâ-nyâya-prakâsa*, remarks that, though rathakâra means a chariot-maker etymologically, it should be taken here as the name of a clan, namely that of the Saudhanvanas (MS. Mill 46, p. 13^b). Deva, in his commentary on the Kâtyâyana-sûtras, makes the same remark. See also Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 12 seq. These Saudhanvanas, often identified with the *Rîbhus*, are evidently the followers of *Bribu*, mentioned RV. VI, 45, 31; 33, and wrongly called *Bridhu* in Manu X, 107; see M. M., Hist. of A. S. L., p. 494. In the Sâṅkhâya-Srauta-sûtras, XVI, 11, 11 (ed. Hillebrandt), he is rightly called *Bribu*. In later times Rathakâra is the name of a caste, and its members are supposed to be the offspring of a marriage between a Mâhishya and a Karani. A Mâhishya is the son of a Kshatriya and a Vaisya,

a Karāṇī the daughter of a Vaisya and a Sūdrā. Sudhanvan also is used in Manu, X, 23, as the name of a caste, namely the offspring of fallen (vrātya) Vaisyas.

Another exception is made in favour of a Nishâda-sthapati, a Nishâda chieftain. If it meant a chieftain of Nishâdas, it might be meant for a Kshatriya who happens to be a chieftain of Nishâdas. Here it is meant for a chieftain who is himself a Nishâda, a native settler. He is admitted to the Gavedhuka sacrifice.

Again, although, as a rule, the sacrificer must have finished his study of the Veda and be married, a sacrifice is mentioned which a Brahmaṭṭarin, a student, may perform. The case thus provided for is, yo brahmaṭṭarī striyam upeyât, sa gardabham pasum âlabheta. As these sacrificers are not upanīta, and therefore without the sacred fires, their sacrifices have to be performed with ordinary fires, and the sacrificial offerings, the puroḍâsas, are not cooked in kapâlas, jars, but on the earth, while the avadânas (cuttings), heart, tongue, &c, are sacrificed in water, and not in fire. The Nishâda chieftain has to learn the necessary Vedic verses by heart, without having passed through a regular course of Vedic study. The same applies to women, who have to recite certain verses during the sacrifice.

That certain women are admitted to the sacrifice, is distinctly stated by Kâtyâyana, I, 1, 7, strī kâvisheshât.

SŪTRA III.

The sacrifice is prescribed by the three Vedas.

Commentary.

In order to know the whole of the sacrifice, one Veda is not sufficient, still less one sâkhâ (recension) only. The sacrifice is conceived as a whole, and its members (aṅgas) are described in different parts of the three Vedas.

SŪTRA IV.

By the *Rig*-veda, the *Yagur*-veda, the *Sâma*-veda (is the sacrifice prescribed).

SÛTRA V.

The Darsa-pûrnamâsau, the new and full-moon sacrifices, are prescribed by the *Rig-veda* and the *Yagur-veda*.

SÛTRA VI.

The Agnihotra is prescribed by the *Yagur-veda*.

SÛTRA VII.

The Agnishṭoma is prescribed by all.

Commentary.

By saying all, the *Atharva-veda* is supposed to be included, at least according to one commentator.

The Agnishṭoma requires sixteen priests, the *Paśu* sacrifices six, the *Kâturmâsyas* five, the *Darsa-pûrnamâsas* four.

SÛTRA VIII.

With the *Rig-veda* and *Sâma-veda* the performance takes place with a loud voice (*ukṛkaiḥ*).

Commentary.

Even lines of the *Yagur-veda*, if they are contained in the *Rig-veda* and *Sâma-veda*, would have to be pronounced with a loud voice. Certain mantras, however, are excepted, viz. the *gapa*, *abhimantrana*, and *anumantrana* mantras.

SÛTRA IX.

With the *Yagur-veda* the performance takes place by murmuring (*upâmsu*).

Commentary.

This murmuring, *upâmsu*, is described as a mere opus operatum, the words being repeated without voice and without thought. One may see the movements of the vocal organs in murmuring, but one should not hear them at a distance. If verses from the *Rig-veda* or *Sâma-veda*

occur in the Yagur-veda, they also have to be murmured. See Kāty. I, 3, 10.

SŪTRA X.

With the exception of addresses, replies, choosing of priests (pravara), dialogues, and commands.

Commentary.

As all these are meant to be understood by others, they have therefore to be pronounced in a loud voice. The address (āsruta) is *om srāvaya*; the reply (pratyāsruta) is *astu srausha*¹; the choosing of priests (pravara) is *agnir devo hotā*; a dialogue (samvāda) is *brahman prokshishyāmi, om proksha*; a command (sampresha) is *prokshanîr āsādaya*.

SŪTRA XI.

In the Sāmidhent hymns the recitation is to be between (the high and the low tone).

Commentary.

The Sāmidhentis are the hymns used for lighting the fire. One commentator explains antarā, between, as between high tone (krushṭa) and the murmuring (upāṃsu). Another distinguishes three high tones, the krushṭa (also called tāra or krauñka), the madhyama, and the mandra, and assigns the madhyama to the Sāmidhent hymns. The mandra notes come from the chest, the madhyama notes from the throat, the uttama notes from the head.

SŪTRA XII.

Before the Āgyabhāgas (such as the Āgya-portions at the Darsa-pūṛṇamāsa), and at the morning Savana (oblation of Soma), the recitation is to be with the soft (mandra) voice.

¹ See Hillebrandt, Das Altind. Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 94.

Commentary.

The pronunciation is loud, *uk̐kaiḥ*, but soft, *mandra*. Satyavrata restricts this rule to the passages mentioned in Sûtra X. He also treats the second part of Sûtras XII, XIII, and XIV as separate Sûtras.

SÔTRA XIII.

Before the *Svishtakṛit* (at the *Darsa-pûṛṇamâsa*) sacrifice, and at the midday *Savana*, the recitation is to be with the middle voice.

SÔTRA XIV.

In the remainder and at the third *Savana* with the sharp (*krushṭa*) voice¹.

Commentary.

The remainder refers to the *Darsa-pûṛṇamâsa* sacrifice, the three *Savanas* to the *Soma* sacrifice. Satyavrata takes all these rules as referring to the cases mentioned in Sûtra X.

SÔTRA XV.

The movement of the voice is the same.

Commentary.

In the three cases mentioned before, the voice moves quickly, when the words are to be pronounced high; slowly, when low; and measuredly, when neither loud nor low.

SÔTRA XVI.

The *Hotṛi*-priest performs with the *Rîg-veda*.

SÔTRA XVII.

The *Udgâtri*-priest with the *Sâma-veda*.

¹ See on this, *Rig-veda Prâtisâkhya* 13, 17; *Âsval.* I, 5, 27; *Sâṅkh.* I, 14; Hillebrandt, l. c. p. 103.

SŪTRA XVIII.

The Adhvaryu-priest with the Yagur-veda.

SŪTRA XIX.

The Brahma-priest with all.

Commentary.

‘With all’ means with the three Vedas, because the Brahma-priest, or superintendent of the whole sacrifice, must be acquainted with the three Vedas. Others would include the Atharva-veda.

SŪTRA XX.

When it is expressly said, or when it is rendered impossible, another priest also may act.

Commentary.

Vipratishedha is explained by asambhava and asakti.

SŪTRA XXI.

The priestly office (ârtvigya) belongs to the Brâhmanas.

Commentary.

Sacrifices may be performed for Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and, in certain cases, even for others, but never by any but Brâhmanas. The reason given for this is curious,—because Brâhmanas only are able to eat the remains of a sacrifice. See Satap. Br. II, 3, 1, 39; Kâtyâyana IV, 14, 11; also I, 2, 8, com.

SŪTRA XXII.

For all sacrifices the fires are laid once.

Commentary.

The sacrificial fires have to be arranged for the first time

by a peculiar ceremony, called the Agnyâdhâna. They are generally three (Tretâ), the Gârhapatya, the father; the Dakshina, the son; and the Âhavanîya, the grandson. The first laying of the Gârhapatya fire-altar takes place in spring for a Brâhmana, in summer for a Râganya, in winter for a Vaisya.

SÔTRA XXIII.

If it is said, *guhوتي*, 'he sacrifices,' it should be known that sarpir âgya, melted butter, is meant.

Commentary.

Sarpis is here taken as an adjective, running; yad asarpat tat sarpir abhavat. Âgya is explained as navanîtavikâradravyagâtîyavaḥanaḥ sabdaḥ, i. e. a word signifying any kind of substance made of fresh butter.

In the Aitareya-Brâhmana I, 3, we read âgyam vai devânâṃ surabhi, ghrîtam manushyânâṃ, ayutam pitrînâṃ, navanîtam garbhânâṃ, 'Âgya is sweet or fragrant to the gods, ghrîta to men, ayuta to the manes, navanîta to children.' Here the commentator explains that âgya is butter, when melted (*vilînam* sarpis), ghrîta, when hardened. Ayuta, sometimes called astu, is butter, when slightly melted, nishpakva, when thoroughly melted. According to Kâtyâyana I, 8, 37, âgya is of different kinds. It may be simple ghrîta, which, as a rule, should be made of the milk of cows. But in the absence of âgya, the milk of buffaloes (*mâhisha*), or oil (*taila*), or sesam-oil (*gârtila*), or linseed oil (*atasîsneha*), &c., may be taken.

SÔTRA XXIV.

If it is said, *guhوتي*, it should be known that the Adhvaryu is meant as performer.

Commentary.

Though there is a man who offers the sacrifice, yet the actual homa, the throwing of butter &c. into the fire, has to be performed by the Adhvaryu priest.

SÔTRA XXV.

Likewise, the spoon (*guhû*) as the vessel.

Commentary.

Guhû, the spoon, is so called because it is used for pouring out (*guhوتي*, *homa*).

SÔTRA XXVI.

If the *guhû* has been elsewhere employed, let it be done with a ladle (*sruva*).

Commentary.

The *guhû* is a *sruk*, a spoon, the *sruva*, a ladle.

SÔTRA XXVII.

The offering is made in the *Âhavantya* fire.

SÔTRA XXVIII.

The sacrificial vessels are kept from the first laying of the fires (*âdhâna*) for the whole life.

Commentary.

All sacrificial vessels and instruments are to be kept, and most of them are burnt with the sacrificer at his death.

SÔTRA XXIX.

At every sacrifice these vessels are to be purified.

SÔTRA XXX.

The rule for the sacrifice are the Mantras and *Brâhmanas*.

SÔTRA XXXI.

The name *Veda* belongs both to the Mantras and *Brâhmanas*.

SÔTRA XXXII.

The Brâhmanas are the precepts for the sacrifice.

SÔTRA XXXIII.

The rest of the Brâhmana, that which does not contain precepts, consists of explanations, i. e. reproof, praise, stories, and traditions.

Commentary.

It is difficult to find words corresponding to technical terms in Sanskrit. Arthavâda, which I have translated by explanation, means not only the telling of the meaning, but likewise the telling of the object; parakṛiti, story, means literally the action of another; purâkalpa, traditions, means the former state. The difference between the two is stated to be that parakṛiti refers to the act of one person, purâkalpa to that of several. This subject is fully treated in the Pûrva-mîmâmsâ. Satyavrata begins a new Sûtra with 'reproof' (nindâ).

SÔTRA XXXIV.

All the rest are Mantras.

SÔTRA XXXV.

But passages which are not handed down, are not to be classed as Mantras, as, for instance, the pravarâ, the words used in choosing priests, divine or human; ûha, substitution of one word for another; and nâmadheya-grahana, the mentioning of the names of particular sacrificers.

Commentary.

The reason why such passages are not to be treated as Mantras is that they should not be subject to some of the preceding rules, as, for instance, the murmuring, enjoined in Sûtra IX. Those passages naturally vary in each sacrifice. With regard to the names a distinction is made

between the gârhyam nâma, the domestic name of a person, such as Yagñasarman, and the astrological name, such as Rauhiṇa, derived from the star Rohinī.

SŪTRA XXXVI.

Likewise the sound of a carriage and the sound of a drum.

Commentary.

These sounds, though serving for the sacrifice, are not to be considered as liable to the rules given for the recitation of Mantras.

SŪTRA XXXVII.

The prohibition of reciting Mantras in the Svādhyâya does not apply to the sacrifice, because there is then a different object.

Commentary.

Svādhyâya, i. e. self-reading, is the name given to the study of the Veda, both in first learning and in afterwards repeating it. This study is under several restrictions, but these restrictions cease when the Veda is used for sacrificial purposes.

SŪTRA XXXVIII.

Sacrificial acts are accompanied by one Mantra.

Commentary.

If it is said that the priest cuts the plants with fourteen verses, that means that there are fourteen plants to be cut and that one verse is used for each plant.

SŪTRA XXXIX.

This applies also to sacrificial acts which have a number and are to be carried out by separate (repeated) acts.

Commentary.

If a rule is given, such as *triḥ prokshati*, he sprinkles thrice, the mantra which accompanies the act, is recited once only. Again in the case of acts that require repetitions, such as rubbing, pounding, &c., the hymns are recited once only.

SÛTRA XL.

The same applies to rubbing, sleeping, crossing a river, down-pours of rain, the conjuring of unlucky omens, unless they happened some time ago.

Commentary.

If several members of the body are to be rubbed, the verses required for the purpose are recited once only. A prayer is enjoined if one wakes during the night. If one wakes more than once that prayer is not to be repeated. In crossing a river the necessary verse is not to be repeated at every wave, nor during a down-pour, at every drop of rain. If some unlucky sight has to be conjured, the conjuring verse is spoken once and not repeated, unless some time has elapsed and a new unlucky sight presents itself.

SÛTRA XLI.

In case of a journey, however, one hymn is used till the object (of the journey) has been accomplished.

Commentary.

I read *prayāne tu-â-arthanirvṛitteḥ*. Another reading is *arthanivṛittiḥ*.

SÛTRA XLII.

It is the same also with regard to acts which do not produce an immediate effect.

Commentary.

The commentators distinguish between acts which

produce a visible effect, such as pounding or sprinkling, and acts which do not, such as addressing, approaching, looking. The latter are called *asamnīpātin*. Thus when the stones used for the preparation of Soma are addressed, the hymn which is used for addressing them, is not repeated for each single stone, the same as in Sūtra XL. Sūtras XLI and XLII are sometimes joined.

SŪTRA XLIII.

Repetition takes place in the case of the Havish-*krī*t, Adhrigu, Puroṇuvākyā, and Manotā hymns, (because they have to be used) at different times.

Commentary.

Havish*krī*t-adhrigu-puroṇuvākyā-manotam is to be taken as a Dvandva compound.

The Havish*krī*t hymn is an invocation when the havis is made. The Adhrigu hymn is 'Daivyāḥ samitāraḥ,' &c. The Puroṇuvākyā hymn is that which precedes the Yāgyā, immediately after the Sampraisha. The Manotā hymn is 'Tvam hy agne prathamam manotā,' &c. These hymns are to be repeated, if the act which they accompany has to be repeated after a certain interval.

SŪTRA XLIV.

When it is expressly stated, one sacrificial act may be accompanied by many hymns.

Commentary.

Thus we read, 'He takes the Abhri, the hoe, with four Mantras.'

SŪTRA XLV.

One ought to let the beginnings of a sacrificial act coincide with the end of the Mantras.

Commentary.

The mantra which indicates the nature and purpose of a sacrificial act should come first, and as soon as it has been finished the act should follow. See Kâty. I, 3, 5.

SÛTRA XLVI.

In the case of the âghâra, sprinkling of clarified butter, and of dhârâ, pouring out of Soma, the beginning of the mantra and the act takes place at the same time.

SÛTRA XLVII.

Mantras are indicated by their first words.

Commentary.

These first words are often called Pratîkas, and rules are given in Âsvalâyana's Srauta-sûtras I, 1, 17-19, as to the number of words that should form such a pratîka, if it is meant for one verse, for three verses, or for a whole hymn. According to Âsvalâyana, if one foot is quoted, it is meant for a verse ; if an imperfect foot of an initial verse is quoted, it is meant for a whole hymn ; if more than a foot is quoted, it is meant for three verses.

SÛTRA XLVIII.

One should know that with the beginning of a following mantra, the former mantra is finished.

SÛTRA XLIX.

In the case of Hotrâ and Yâgamâna-mantras, an aggregation takes place.

Commentary.

Hotrâs are mantras recited by the Hotri-priest, Yâgamânâs are mantras recited by the sacrificer himself. They are hymns which accompany, but do not enjoin any sacrificial act.

SÔTRA L.

In the case of the Yâgyâs and Anuvâkyâs this (the aggregation) is optional.

Commentary.

The Yâgyâ is explained by *praya~~kk~~hati yâgyayâ*, the Anuvâkyâ by *âhvayat~~y~~ anuvâkyayâ*. Sometimes more than one are mentioned, but in that case the priest is free to do as he likes. According to the same principle, when we read that one should sacrifice with rice or with barley, that means that rice should be used after the rice-harvest, barley after the barley-harvest, and not that rice and barley should be used at the same time.

SÔTRA LI.

It is the same with numbers.

Commentary.

If we read that, as in the case of fees to be given to priests, two, seven, eleven, twelve, twenty-one, sixty, or a hundred, this means that either one or the other, not that all should be given at the same time.

SÔTRA LII.

But accumulation is meant in the buying (of Soma), in the redemption, and in initiation.

Commentary.

When it is said that Soma is bought for a goat, gold, &c., that it is re-bought from the priests by means of a fee, or that at the time of the Dîkshâ, the purification and initiation of a sacrificer, clothes, gold, grain, &c., should be given, these are cases not of aut-aut but of et-et.

The Soma-plant, which is supposed to be bought from northern barbarians, is botanically described in an Âyurvedic extract, quoted in the Dhûrtasvâmi-bhâshyañkā (MS. E. I. H. 531, p. 3^b), as

syāmālāmlā *ka* nishpatrá kshirini tvaki māmśalā, sleshmalā vamanī vallī somākhyā *khāgabhoganam*. 'The creeper called Soma is dark, sour, without leaves, milky, fleshy on the surface, producing phlegm and vomiting, food for goats.'

This passage, quoted from some Âyur-vedic text, is still the only one which gives an approximative description of the Soma-plant. Dr. Hooker says that the predicates 'sour and milky' point to *Sarcostemma*, but the question is not decided yet. For further information see George Watt, *The Soma Plant*, an extract from the third volume of the *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, and Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, pp. 14 seq.

SŪTRA LIII.

If one has performed an offering to Rudra, to the Rākshasas, to Nirṛiti, or to the Pitṛis, if one has cut or broken or thrown away anything, or rubbed oneself, &c., one should touch water.

Commentary.

The touching of water is for the sake of purification. Nirasana is left out in some MSS. The *ka*, inserted after *abhimarsanāni*, is explained, as usual, as including other acts also, corresponding to our etc.

SŪTRA LIV.

All priestly performances take place on the northern side of the Vihâra.

Commentary.

Uttarata-upakârah has to be taken as a compound. Vihâra is explained as *vihriyante+gnayaḥ pātrāni ka yasmin dese*, i.e. the sacrificial ground. Upakâra is explained as *adhvaryvâdînām samkaraḥ*, and this *saṃkara*, according to Kâtâyana I, 3, 42, is the path between the Kâtvâla and Utkara, the Utkara being on the west, the *pranîtas* on the east of the Vihâra. Kâtâyana I, 8, 26, expresses the same rule by *uttarata-upakâro yagñah*, the *vihâra* being the place where the *yagña* takes place.

SÔTRA LV.

The priest should never turn away from the fire,
i. e. should never turn his back on the altar.

SÔTRA LVI.

Nor from the Vihâra.

SÔTRA LVII.

Sacrificial utensils should be turned inside, the
performers being outside.

Commentary.

The meaning is that the priest should carry such things
as spoons, vessels, &c., holding them towards the altar.
The sacrificer and his wife should likewise be on the inside
of the priest, and the priests should take precedence side-
ways according to their rank.

SÔTRA LVIII.

After a sacrificial object has been hallowed by a
Mantra, the priest should not toss it about.

SÔTRA LIX.

Sacrificial acts intended for the gods, should be
performed by the priest towards the east or towards
the north, after he has placed the Brahmanic cord
over the left and under the right arm (*yagñopavī-
tin*), and turning towards the right.

SÔTRA LX.

Sacrificial acts intended for the Fathers should be
performed by the priest towards the south, after he
has placed the Brahmanic cord over the right and

under the left arm (prâkṣinâvṛitin), and turning towards the left.

SÛTRA LXI.

Ropes which have to be joined, should be joined by the priest from left to right, after having tied them from right to left.

SÛTRA LXII.

Ropes which are not joined (single ropes), should be tied by the priest from left to right.

Commentary.

The exact process here intended is not quite clear. The ropes seem to have been made of vegetable fibres. See Kâty. I, 3, 15-17.

SÛTRA LXIII.

Let a man sacrifice with the Amâvâsyâ sacrifice at the time of the Amâvâsyâ, new moon.

Commentary.

Amâ-vâsyâ is the dwelling together, i. e. the conjunction, of sun and moon, an astronomical expression which was adopted in the common language of the people at a very early time. It does not occur, however, in the Rîg-veda. In our Sûtra amâvâsyâ is used in the sense both of new moon and new-moon sacrifice.

SÛTRA LXIV.

And let a man sacrifice with the Paurṇamâsyâ sacrifice at the time of the Paurṇamâstī, full moon, thus it is said.

Commentary.

Here the full moon is called paurṇamâstī, the sacrifice paurṇamâsyâ. Satyavrata joins the two Sûtras in one, and leaves out yagētetī, which may have belonged to the commentary.

SŪTRA LXV.

Let a man observe that full-moon day as a day of abstinence on which the moon comes out full before.

Commentary.

The full moon (*paurṇamāsī*) is really the very moment on which the moon is full and therefore begins to decrease. That moment on which sun and moon are, as the Hindus said, at the greatest distance from each other, is called the *parva-sandhi*, the juncture of the two phases of the moon. Thus the name of *paurṇamāsī* belongs to the last day of the one and to the first day (*pratipad*) of the other phase, and both days might be called *paurṇamāsī*. If therefore the moon is full on the afternoon, the evening, or the twilight of one day, that day should be observed as a fast-day, and the next day should be the day of sacrifice.

The meaning of *purastād*, which I have translated by before, is doubtful. One commentator says it has no object, and should be dropped, *purastād ity etat padam asmin sūtra idānim anvayaṁ nalabhate prayoga-nābhāvāt*. *Purastād*, before, may, however, mean before the second day, on which the real sacrifice takes place, and the commentator mentions *purastāt-paurṇamāsī* as a name of the *ĥaturdaśī-yuktā*, i.e. the full moon beginning on the fourteenth day. The same kind of full moon is also called *Anumati*, *Pūrvā-paurṇamāsī*, and *Sandhyā-paurṇamāsī*, while that which takes place on the *pratipad*, the first day of the lunar phase, is called *Rākā*, *Uttarā-paurṇamāsī*, *Astamitoditā*, and *Svāh-pūritā*.

Corresponding to these two kinds of *Paurṇamāsī* there are also two kinds of *Amāvāsyā*. That which falls on the fourteenth day is called *Pūrvā-amāvāsyā*, or *Sinivālī*, the *ἑνὴ καὶ νέα*; that which falls on the *pratipad*, the first day of the new phase, is called *Kuhū*, *Uttarā-amāvāsyā*, *Svoyuktā*. See also *Ait.-Brāhm.* II, 4; *Nir.* XI, 31-32.

SÛTRA LXVI.

Or the day when one says, To-morrow it will be full.

Commentary.

In that case the day before should be observed as a day of abstinence. The real full moon would then take place in the fore-noon, *pûrvâhne*, of the next day. Abstinence, *upavâsa*, consists in abstaining from meat and from *maithuna*, in shaving beard and head, cutting the nails, and, what seems a curious provision, in speaking the truth. See *Kâty.-Srauta-sûtras* II, 1, 8-12.

SÛTRA LXVII.

The *Vâgasaneyins* mention a third, the *Kharvikâ* full moon.

Commentary.

Kharva means small. If one divides the night into twelve parts, and if in a portion of the twelfth part the greatest distance of sun and moon takes place, then the full moon is called *kharvikâ*, also *kshîṇâ*. Or, if on the sixteenth day, the full moon takes place before noon, that also is called *kharvikâ paurnamâsî*. In that case abstinence or fasting takes place on the sixteenth day (*tasyâm shodase-hany upavâsah*). Both *paurnamâsîs* are also called *sadyaskâlâ*.

SÛTRA LXVIII.

Let a man observe that new-moon day (*amâvâsyâ*) as a day of abstinence, on which the moon is not seen.

Commentary.

This *Sûtra* has to be connected with *Sûtra* LXV. The abstinence takes place on the day, if the actual new moon, the nearest approach of sun and moon, falls on the afternoon, at night, or at twilight. And this new moon, the junction of the fifteenth day and the *pratipad*, is called *Kuhû*. We should read *amâvâsyâm*.

SŪTRA LXIX.

Or the day when one says, To-morrow they will not see it.

Commentary.

In that case, when the real new moon takes place in the fore-noon, abstinence is observed on the day before, and the new moon is called *Sinivālī*. *Satyavrata* reads *svo yukta iti vā* instead of *svo na drashṭāra iti vā*. *Dra-shṭāraḥ* should be explained as *īkshītāraḥ*, 'they will not see it.' There is much difference of opinion on this subject among different *Sākhās*, *Sūtrakāras*, and their commentators; see *Taitt. Samh.* III, 4, 9; *Weber, Ind. Stud.*, V, p. 228.

SŪTRA LXX.

The principal acts (*pradhāna*), prescribed in one (typical) performance, follow the same special rules (*vidhāna*).

Commentary.

This *Sūtra* is variously explained: *Satyāvrata's* commentary, which I have followed in the translation, explains *pradhānāni* as *āgneyādīni*, i.e. the chief parts of such a sacrifice as the *Darsa-pûṇamāsa*; *vidhānāni* as *āṅgāni*. *Kapardisvāmin's* commentary also explains *vidhānāni* as the *āṅgāni* of a *pradhānam*; *pradhānam* as *pûṇamāsa*, &c. It would therefore mean that such ceremonies as the *āgneya* (*ashṭa-kapāla*), *āgnīshomiya* (*ekādasa-kapāla*), and *upāṃsu*, which form the *pradhānas* of the *Darsapûṇamāsa*, retain throughout the same *vidhānas* or *āṅgas* as prescribed in one *Prakarana*, viz. the *Darsapûṇamāsa*. The *Āṅgas* or members are all the things used for sacrificial purposes, milk, butter, grains, animals, &c.

SŪTRA LXXI.

The special rules are limited by (the purpose of) the (typical) performance (*prakarana*).

Commentary.

Here the rules (vidhis) are again the Ângas, which belong to a sacrifice, as the members belong to the body.

SÛTRA LXXII.

If no special instruction is given (in the Sruti), the acts are general.

SÛTRA LXXIII.

If a special instruction is given, they are restricted.

Commentary.

Nirdeśa is explained as viśeṣa-sruti, and the meaning is supposed to be that unless such a special rule is given, the Ângas of all the Pradhâna acts remain the same, as, for instance, the Paryagnikarâṇa, the Prayâgas, &c. Special instructions are when it is said: payasâ maitravaruṇam sṛiṇâti, sruveṇa puroḍâsam anakti, he cooks the Maitravaruṇa with milk, he anoints the Puroḍâsa with the spoon, &c.

SÛTRA LXXIV.

The Aṣṭâ-kapâla for Agni, the Ekâdasa-kapâla for Agni-Shomau, and the Upâṃsu-yâga (the muttered offering of butter), form the principal acts at the Paurṇamâsî, the full moon.

Commentary.

The Aṣṭâ-kapâla is the cake baked in eight cups, the Ekâdasa-kapâla that baked in eleven cups, and respectively destined for Agni and Soma. What is meant are the sacrificial acts for which these cakes are used.

SÛTRA LXXV.

The other Homas are Âṅga.

Commentary.

The other acts, such as the prayâgas and anuyâgas, are auxiliary, and have no promise of reward by themselves.

SŪTRA LXXVI.

The Ashṭā-kapāla for Agni, the Ekādasa-kapāla or Dvādasa-kapāla for Indra-Agni, form the principal acts at the Amāvāsyā, the new moon, in the case of one who does not sacrifice with Soma.

SŪTRA LXXVII.

In the case of one who sacrifices with Soma, the second principal act is the Sāmnāyya (both at the full-moon and new-moon sacrifices).

Commentary.

The Sāmnāyya is a mixture of dadhi and payas, sour and sweet milk, and is intended for Indra or Mahendra¹. It takes the place of the second Puroḍāsa at the new-moon sacrifice.

SŪTRA LXXVIII.

In the case of a Brāhmaṇa, who does not sacrifice with Soma, the Agnīshomīya cake is omitted.

Commentary.

This rule does not seem to be accepted by all schools. It is not found in Kātyāyana, and Hiranyakesin observes: Nāsomayāgino brāhmaṇasyāgnīshomīyāḥ puroḍāso vidyate ekeshām. See Hillebrandt, l. c. p. iii.

SŪTRA LXXIX.

Without distinction of caste, the Aindrāgna offering is omitted for one who offers the Sāmnāyya.

Commentary.

Even though he be not a Somayāgin, says the commentary.

¹ Vaidya in his Dictionary explains it, however, as any substance mixed with clarified butter and offered as a burnt offering, which can hardly be right.

This whole matter is summed up in Kapardin's commentary : Amâvâsyâyâm asomayâgina aindrâgna-sâmnâyayor vikalpah. Paurṇamâsyâm tv asomayâgino brâhmanasyâgnishomîyayâgâbhâvah. Tdrahitâpi paurṇamâsi purushârtham sâdhayati. Tatra dvayor eva hi yâgayoh paurṇamâsisabdavâkyatvam asti, pratyekam nâmayogât. Tasmâd agnishomîyayâgarahitâv evetarau purushârtham sâdhayatah.

SÛTRA LXXX.

The Pitri-yagña, the sacrifice to the fathers, is not Aṅga (auxiliary) because its own time is prescribed.

Commentary.

The text should be pitriyagñah svakâlavidhânâd anaṅgaḥ syât. This sacrifice for the Manes, called also the Pinda-pitriyagña, falls under the new-moon sacrifice, but is to be considered as a pradhâna, a primary sacrifice, not as an aṅga, a member of the Darsa.

SÛTRA LXXXI.

Also, because it is enumerated like the Darsa-pûrṇamâsa sacrifice.

Commentary.

This refers to such passages from the Brâhmanas as : There are four great sacrifices, the Agnihotram, the Darsapûrṇamâsau, the Kâturmâsyâni, and the Pinda-pitriyagñah.

SÛTRA LXXXII.

Also, because, when the Amâvâsyâ sacrifice is barred, the Pitriyagña is seen to take place.

SÛTRA LXXXIII.

A principal act (pradhâna) is accompanied by auxiliary acts (aṅga).

Commentary.

This Sûtra forms sometimes part of the preceding Sûtra, and would then refer to the *Pitriyagña* only.

SÔTRA LXXXIV.

A principal act is what has its own name, and is prescribed with special reference to place, time, and performer.

Commentary.

This Sûtra is sometimes divided into two; the first, *dese kâle kartarîti nirdisyate*, the second, *asvasabdam yat*. The following are given as illustrations. If it is said that 'he should sacrifice with the *Vaisvadeva* on a slope inclined to the East,' we have the locality. If it is said that 'he should sacrifice with the *Vâgapeya* in autumn,' we have the time. If it is said that 'the sacrificer himself should offer the *Agnihotra* on a *parvan* (change of the moon),' we have the performer. In each of these cases, therefore, the prescribed sacrificial act is a *pradhâna sângham*, a principal act with auxiliary members.

SÔTRA LXXXV.

The *Darvi-homa* (libation from a ladle) stands by itself.

Commentary.

Apûrva is explained by the commentator, not in its usual sense of miraculous, but as not being subject to the former regulations.

SÔTRA LXXXVI.

They are ordered by the word *guhoti*, he pours out.

SÔTRA LXXXVII.

They are offered with the word *Svâhâ*.

Commentary.

According to *Kâtyâyana* I, 2, 6-7, the *guhotis* are

offered sitting, the yagatis standing. See Sôtra XCII. The guhoti acts consist in pouring melted butter into the fire of the Âhavanîya altar, which is so called because 'âhû-yante-sminn âhutaya kshipyanta iti.'

SÔTRA LXXXVIII.

Taking (the butter) once.

SÔTRA LXXXIX.

Or, if there are several Âhuti, taking (the butter) for each Âhuti.

SÔTRA XC.

Or, doing as he likes in dividing (the butter).

Commentary.

These three Sôtras belong together. They teach that one slice (avadâna) of butter should be taken, melted, and poured on the Âhavanîya fire; or, if there are more than one âhuti, then one slice should be taken for each. This, however, is made optional again by the last Sôtra.

SÔTRA XCI.

There is no fuel (in the Darvi-homa), except at the Agnihotra.

Commentary.

In the case of the Agnihotra it is distinctly stated, dve samidhâv âdadhât, let him lay down two sticks.

SÔTRA XCII.

One pours out (guhoti) the Darvi-homas, sitting west of the Âhavanîya fire, and bending the right knee, or not bending it.

SÔTRA XCIII.

If it is distinctly stated, it is done in a different way.

Commentary.

The vidhi, contained in Sûtra XCII, is therefore called autsargika, general, and liable to exceptions, as when it is said, that he turns to the east.

SÔTRA XCIV.

One pours out (*guhōti*) all âhutis, west of the Âhavanīya fire, passing (the altar) southward, and then turning to the north.

SÔTRA XCV.

The Âsruta and Pratyâsruta, the Yâgyâ and Anuvâkyâ, the Upastarâna and Abhighârâna, with the slicings, the *Katurgrîhîta* also, and the Vashaṭkāra constitute the Darvi-homas.

Commentary.

The Âsruta is â srāvaya; the Pratyâsruta, astu sraushaṭ; Anuvâkyâ and Yâgyâ are verses, the first inviting the deity, the second accompanying the sacrifice. Whenever vegetable, animal, or sâmnâyya offerings have to be sliced, upastarâna, spreading, and abhighârâna, sprinkling with fat, take place. With âgya offerings there is *Katurgrîhîta* (taking four times), and the Vashaṭkāra.

SÔTRA XCVI.

With âhutis one should let the act (the pouring out) take place after the Vashaṭkāra has been made, or while it is being made.

Commentary.

The Vashaṭkāra consists in the word Vashaṭ, to be uttered by the Hotri-priest. The five sacrificial interjections are, svâhâ, sraushaṭ, vaushaṭ, vashaṭ, and svadhâ.

SÔTRA XCVII.

With the Grahas the act should be made to coincide with the Upayâma.

Commentary.

Grahas are offerings of Soma, and likewise the vessels (*kamasa*) in which the Soma is offered. The Soma is offered with the words *upayâma-grîhîto-si*, and while these words are being uttered, the fluid should be poured out (*dhârâṃ srâvayet*).

SÛTRA XCVIII.

With the *Ishṭakâs*, the act should be made to coincide with the words *tayâ deva tena*.

Commentary.

When the different *ishṭakâs* or bricks are placed together for building an altar, &c., the act itself begins with the first and ends with the last words of the accompanying verse.

SÛTRA XCIX.

When there is a number of *Puroḍâsas*, one should slice off one after another, saying for each portion *vyâvartadhvam* (separate)!

Commentary.

Puroḍâsa is a cake made of meal (*pakvaḥ pishtapindah*), different from *karu*, which is more of a pulse consisting of grains of rice or barley, and clarified butter (*ghrîtatandulo-bhayâtmakam*). This *puroḍâsa* cake has to be divided for presentation to different deities. If there are more than two deities, the plural *vyâvartadhvam*, separate, has to be used.

SÛTRA C.

When the two last are sliced off, he should say for each portion, *vyâvartethâm*, separate ye two!

Commentary.

Each slice, *avadâna*, is said to be about a thumb's breadth. In the case of *sâmnâyya*, the mixture of sour and sweet milk, a kind of coagulated sour milk, each portion is to be of the same breadth, but, as it is fluid, it is

taken out with a ladle (*sruva*) of a corresponding size ; see *Kātyāyana* I, 9, 7.

SŪTRA CI.

For these two last portions he makes the indication of the deity.

Commentary.

With the earlier portions, there is a rule which of two gods should have the first or the second portion. With the last couple, however, the priest may himself assign whichever portion he likes to one or the other god. The commentary says, *svayam eva idam asyâ iti saṅkalpayet*.

SŪTRA CII.

When there is a number of *Karus* and *Puroḍâsas*, one separates what belongs to the *Karus* and what belongs to the *Puroḍâsas*, before the strewing.

Commentary.

Prâg adhvapanât, before the strewing, is explained by *prâg adhvapanârthakṛishṇâginâdânât*, before one takes the black skin which is used for the strewing.

SŪTRA CIII.

One then marks the two (the materials for the *Karus* and the *Puroḍâsas*) according to the deities (for whom they are intended).

SŪTRA CIV.

Let the word *idam* be the rule.

Commentary.

This means that the offering (*havis*) intended for each deity should be pointed out by the words *idam*, this, *Agneḥ*, is for *Agni*, &c. Thus we read with regard to the offerings intended for certain gods and goddesses: *idam Dhâtur*, *idam Anumatyâ*, *Râkâyâḥ* *Sinîvâlyâḥ*, *Kuhvâḥ*.

SÔTRA CV.

All this applies also to *Karus* and *Purodâsas* which are separated.

Commentary.

The commentary explains *vyatishikta* by *anyonyam vyavahita*, though it is difficult to see how it can have that meaning. It is said that in the *Vaisvadeva* the *Karus* and *Purodâsas* are *vyatishikta*, but that they also have to be divided before the *adhivapana*, and to be marked for each deity. Thus we read: *Idam Agneḥ, Savituḥ, Pûshno, Marutâm, Dyâvâprithivyoḥ, &c.*

SÔTRA CVI.

At the time when the *Kapâlas* are put on the fire, one puts on the *karu* with the first *kapâla* verse.

Commentary.

Karu is here used for the vessel for boiling the *karu*, the *karusthâlî*. The first of these verses is *dhrishṭir asi*. *Kapâlas* are the jars in which the rice is cooked.

SÔTRA CVII.

The verse is adapted and changed to *dhruvoḥ si*.

Commentary.

Samnâma means the same as *ûha*, i. e. the modification of a verse so as to adapt it to the object for which it is used. In our case, *karu*, being a masculine, *dhrishṭi*, a feminine, is replaced by *dhruva*, a masculine.

SÔTRA CVIII.

At the time when the meal is to be cleansed, one cleanses the grains.

Commentary.

This takes place after the *karu*-pot has been put on. The *tandulas* are the unhusked grains, *pishṭa* is the

ground flour. In Sanskrit a distinction is made between *sasya*, the corn in the field, *dhânya*, corn with the husk, *tandula*, grains without husks, *anna*, roasted grains.

SÔTRA CIX.

At the time of cooking (*adhisrapana*) one throws the grains in with the cooking verse.

Commentary.

This verse is *gharmo-si*.

SÔTRA CX.

Without taking the *karu* (out of the *sthâli*) one puts it down.

SÔTRA CXI.

At the *Darsa-pûrnamâsa* sacrifices there are fifteen *Sâmidhenis*.

Commentary.

Sâmidhenis are particular verses recited while the fire is being kindled. The first and last verses are repeated thrice, so as to make fifteen in all.

SÔTRA CXII.

At the *Ishî* and *Paśubandha* sacrifices there are seventeen *Sâmidhenis*, when they are so handed down.

SÔTRA CXIII.

When it is said that wishful *ishîs* are performed in a murmur, this means that the names of the chief deities are pronounced in a murmur (likewise the *yâgyâ* and *anuvâkyâ*).

SÔTRA CXIV.

The *Darsa-pûrnamâsa* sacrifice is the *Prakṛiti* or norm for all *ishîs*.

Commentary.

The Sûtras, in describing the performance of certain sacrifices, treat some of them in full detail. These are called *prakṛiti*. *Prakriyante-smin dharmâ iti prakaranam prakṛitih*. They form the type of other sacrifices, which are therefore looked upon as mere modifications, *vikṛiti*, and in describing them those points only are fully described in which they differ from their *prakṛiti*. A sacrifice which is a *vikṛiti*, may again become the *prakṛiti* of another sacrifice. This system is no doubt compendious, but it is not free from difficulty, and, in some cases, from uncertainty. It shows how much system there is in the Indian sacrifices, and how fully and minutely that system must have been elaborated, before it assumed that form in which we find it in the Brâhmanas and Sûtras. It must not be supposed that the sacrifices which serve as *prakṛiti*, are therefore historically the most ancient.

SÛTRA CXV.

It is also the norm for the Agnîshomîya Pasu, the animal sacrifice for Agnî-Shomau.

SÛTRA CXVI.

And this is the norm for the Savanîya.

SÛTRA CXVII.

And the Savanîya is the norm for the Aikâ-dasinas.

SÛTRA CXVIII.

And the Aikâdasinas are the norm for the Pasuganas.

Commentary.

The rules for the Pasuganas are therefore to be taken over from the Aikâdasinas, the Savanîya, the Agnîshomîya-pasu, and the Darśa-pûrnamâsa, so far as they have been modified in each particular case, and are

finally determined by the rules of each *Paṣugana*, as, for instance, the *Āditya-paṣu*.

SÔTRA CXIX.

The *Vaisvadeva* is the norm for the *Varuna-praghâsa*, *Sâkamedha*, and *Sira*.

Commentary.

The *Vaisvadeva*, beginning, like the *Darsa-pûrnamâsa*, with an *Āgneya aṣṭakapâla*, takes certain rules from the *Darsa-pûrnamâsa*, and transfers these, together with its own, as, for instance, the nine *prayâgas*, to the *Varuna-praghâsa*, &c.

SÔTRA CXX.

The *Vaisvadevika Ekakapâla* is the norm for all *Ekakapâlas*.

Commentary.

The *Ekakapâla* is a *puroḍâsa* cake, baked in one *kapâla*. It is fully described in the *Vaisvadeva*, and then becomes the norm of all *Ekakapâlas*. An *ekakapâla* cake is not divided.

SÔTRA CXXI.

The *Vaisvadevī Āmikshâ* is the norm for the *Āmikshâs* (a preparation of milk).

SÔTRA CXXII.

Here the *Vikâra*, the modification, is perceived from similarity.

Commentary.

If it has once been laid down that the *Darsa-pûrnamâsa* is the *prakṛiti* or norm for all *iṣṭis*, then similarity determines the modification in all details, such as the offerings and the gods to whom offerings are made. Thus *Karu*, being a vegetable offering, would rank as a *vikâra* of *puroḍâsa*, which occurs in the *Darsa-pûrnamâsa* sacrifice, and is likewise vegetable. Honey and water

would be looked upon as most like the Âgya in the Darsa-pûrnamâsa. Âmikshâ, a preparation of milk, would come nearest to the Sâmnâyya, which is a mixture of sour and sweet milk.

SÛTRA CXXIII.

Offerings for one deity are vikâras of the Âgneya.

Commentary.

In the Darsa-pûrnamâsa, which is the prakṛiti of the ishṭis, the purodâsa for Agni is meant for one deity. Hence all offerings to one deity in the vikṛitis follow the general rules of the Âgneya purodâsa, as described in the Darsa-pûrnamâsa, for instance, the karu for Sûrya, the Dvâdasa-kapâla for Savitṛi.

SÛTRA CXXIV.

Offerings for two deities are vikâras of the Agnîshomîya.

Commentary.

They must, however, be vegetable offerings, because the purodâsa for Agnî-Shomau is a vegetable offering. As an instance, the Âgnâvaishṇava Ekâdasakapâla is quoted. Agnîshomîya has a short a, but the first a in âgnavaiṣṇava is long.

SÛTRA CXXV.

Offerings for many deities are vikâras also of the Aindrâgna.

Commentary.

The ka in bahudevâtâs ka is explained by the commentary as intended to include the Âgnâvaishṇava also. Any offering intended for more than one deity may be considered as intended for many deities.

SÛTRA CXXVI.

They are optionally vikâras of the Aindrâgna.

Commentary.

Sometimes these two Sūtras are combined into one. The commentator, however, sees in the *vā* of *aindrāgnavikārā vā* a deeper meaning. *Agnī-Shomau*, he says, consists of four, *Indrāgni* of three syllables. Therefore if the name of more than one deity consists of four syllables, it should be treated as a *vikāra* of the *Agnīshomīya*, if of less than four syllables, as a *vikāra* of the *Aindrāgna*.

SŪTRA CXXVII.

An exception must be made in the case of the gods of the *prakṛiti*, as, for instance, the *Aindra purodāsa*, the *Saumya karu*.

Commentary.

The exception applies to cases where the offering in a *vikṛiti* sacrifice is meant for the same principal deities as those of the *prakṛiti* offering. For instance, in the *Darsa-pūṛṇamāsa* *Agni* and *Soma* are the deities of the *Agnīshomīya*, *Indra* and *Agni* of the *Aindrāgna*. If then in one of the secondary or *vikṛiti* sacrifices there occurs an *Aindra purodāsa*, or a *Saumya karu*, then the *Aindra purodāsa* is treated as a *vikāra* of the *Aindrāgna*, the *Saumya karu* as a *vikāra* of the *Agnīshomīya*. The *Somendra karu* also, as its principal deity is *Soma*, would follow the *Agnīshomīya*, the *Indrāsomīya purodāsa*, as its principal deity is *Indra*, would follow the *Aindrāgna*.

SŪTRA CXXVIII.

If there is sameness both in the offering and in the deity, then the offering prevails.

Commentary.

If a *karu* for *Pragāpati* occurs in a *vikṛiti* sacrifice, it would follow that, being offered to *Pragāpati*, it should be offered with murmuring, but, as it is a vegetable offering, it follows the norm of the *purodāsa*, though the *purodāsa* is intended for *Agni*.

SÛTRA CXXIX.

If there is contradiction with regard to the substance and the preparation of an offering, the substance prevails.

Commentary.

A puroḍāsa may be made of vr̥hi, rice, or of n̥ivāra, wild growing rice. The wild rice has to be pounded, but not the good rice. The preparation, however, has to yield in a vikṛiti, the important point being the substance.

SÛTRA CXXX.

If there is contradiction with regard to the substance, the object prevails.

Commentary.

An example makes the meaning of this Sûtra quite clear. Generally the yûpa or sacrificial post for fastening sacrificial animals is made of Khadira wood. But if a post made of wood is not strong enough to hold the animal, then an iron post is to be used, the object being the fastening of the animal, while the material is of less consequence.

SÛTRA CXXXI.

In a Prakṛiti sacrifice there is no Ūha, modification of the mantras.

Commentary.

Certain mantras of the Veda have to be slightly altered, when their application varies. In the normal sacrifices, however, no such alteration takes place.

SÛTRA CXXXII.

In a Vikṛiti sacrifice modification takes place, according to the sense, but not in an arthavâda.

Commentary.

Some mantras remain the same in the Vikṛiti as in the Prakṛiti. Others have to be modified so as to be

adapted to anything new that has to be. If, for instance, there is a Purodâsa for Agni in the Prakṛiti, and in its place a Purodâsa for Sûrya in the Vikṛiti, then we must place Sûrya instead of Agni in the dedicatory mantra.

SÔTRA CXXXIII.

When we hear words referring to something else, that is arthavâda.

Commentary.

Arthavâda is generally explained as anything occurring in the Brâhmanas which is not vidhi or command. Here, however, it refers to Mantras or passages recited at the sacrifice. We saw how such passages, if they referred to some part of the sacrifice, had to be modified under certain circumstances according to the sense. Here we are told that passages which do not refer to anything special in the sacrifice, are arthavâda and remain unmodified. All this is expressed by the words paravâkyasṛavanât. Vâkya stands for padâni, words, such as are used in the nivâpa-mantra, &c. Some of these words are called samavetârthâni, because they tell of something connected with the performance of the sacrifice, as, for instance, Agnaye gushṭam nirvapâmi, I offer what is acceptable to Agni; others are asamavetârthâni, as, for instance, Devasya tvâ Savituḥ prasave. When such passages which are not connected with some sacrificial act occur (sṛavanât), they naturally remain unaltered.

SÔTRA CXXXIV.

If what is prescribed is absent, a substitute is to be taken according to similarity.

Commentary.

Here we have no longer modification, but substitution (pratinidhi). In cases where anything special that has been prescribed is wanting, a substitute must be chosen, as similar as possible, and producing a similar effect.

According to *Mandana's Trikāṇḍa*, the degrees of similarity are to be determined in the following order:

Kāryai rūpais tathā parnaiḥ kshīraiḥ pushpaiḥ phalair api,

Gandhai rasaiḥ sadrig grāhyam pūrvālābhe param param.

‘What is similar by effect, by shape, by leaves, by milk, by flowers, and by fruit, By smell, or by taste is to be taken one after the other, if the former cannot be found.’

SÛTRA CXXXV.

If there is nothing very like, something a little like may be substituted, only it must not be prohibited.

Commentary.

If in a *karu* of mudgas, kidney-beans, *phaseolus mungo*, these kidney-beans should fail, a substitute may be taken, but that substitute must not be *māshas*, *phaseolus radiatus*, because these *māshas* are expressly forbidden; for it is said, *Ayagñiyā vai māshāḥ*, ‘*Māshas* are not fit for sacrifice.’

SÛTRA CXXXVI.

The substitute should take the nature of that for which it is substituted.

Commentary.

Taddharma, having the same qualities. If, for instance, *nīvāra* has been substituted for *vrīhi*, it should be treated as if it were *vrīhi*. The name *vrīhi* should remain, and should not be replaced by *nīvāra*, just as *Soma*, if replaced by *pūtikā*, is still called *Soma*. Thus, when in the course of a sacrifice *vrīhi* has once been replaced by *nīvāra*, and *vrīhi* can be procured afterwards, yet *nīvāra* is then to be retained to the end. If, however, the substituted *nīvāra* also come to an end, and afterwards both *nīvāra* and *vrīhi* are forthcoming, then *vrīhi* has the preference. If neither be forthcoming, then some substitute is to be taken that approaches nearest to the substitute, the *nīvāra*, not to the

original *vr̥hi*. Further, if a choice has been allowed between *vr̥hi*, rice, and *yava*, barley, and *vr̥hi* has been chosen, and afterwards, as substitute for *vr̥hi*, *nīvāra*, then, if *nīvāra* come to an end, and in the absence of *vr̥hi*, when a new supply of both *nīvāra* and *yava* has been obtained, the *yava* is to be avoided, and the original substitute for *vr̥hi*, the *nīvāra*, must be retained. In most of these cases, however, a certain penance also (*prāyaścitta*) is required.

SŪTRA CXXXVII.

If something is wanting in the measure, let him finish with the rest.

Commentary.

If it is said that a *puroḍāsa* should be as large as a horse's hoof, and there is not quite so much left, yet whatever is left should be used to finish the offering.

SŪTRA CXXXVIII.

Substitution does not apply to the master, the altar-fire, the deity, the word, the act, and a prohibition.

Commentary.

The master is meant for the sacrificer himself and his wife. Their place cannot, of course, be taken by anybody else. The altar-fire is supposed to have a supernatural power, and cannot be replaced by any other fire. Nothing can take the place of the invoked deities, nor of the words used in the mantras addressed to them, nor can the sacrifice itself be replaced by any other act. Lastly, when it is said that *māshas*, *varakas*, *kodravas* are not fit for sacrifice, or that a man ought not to sacrifice with what should not be eaten by *Āryas*, nothing else can be substituted for what is thus prohibited.

SŪTRA CXXXIX.

The *Prakṛiti* stops from three causes, from a corollary, from a prohibition, and from loss of purpose.

Commentary.

A corollary (pratyâmnâna) occurs, when it is said, 'instead of Kusa grass, let him make a barhis of reeds.' A prohibition (pratishedha) occurs, when it is said, 'he does not choose an Ârsheya.' Loss of purpose (arthalopa) occurs, when peshana, pounding, would refer to kâru, a pulse, that cannot be pounded, while grains can be.

SÔTRA CXL.

The Agnishôma is the Prakṛiti of the Ekâha sacrifices.

Commentary.

The Ekâha are sacrifices accomplished in one day.

SÔTRA CXLI.

The Dvâdasâha is the Prakṛiti of the Aharganas.

Commentary.

The Dvâdasâha lasts twelve days and is a Soma sacrifice. It is either an Ahîna or a Sattrâ. An Ahargana is a series of daily and nightly sacrifices. Those which last from two nights to eleven nights are called Ahîna. Those which last from thirteen to one hundred nights or more are called Sattras.

SÔTRA CXLII.

The Gavâmayana is the Prakṛiti of the Sâm-vatsarikas.

Commentary.

The Gavâmayana lasts three years, and it is the type of all Sâm-vatsarika sacrifices, whether they last one, two, three or more years. They all belong to the class of Sattras.

SÔTRA CXLIII.

Of the Nikâyi sacrifices the first serves as Prakṛiti.

Commentary.

Among the Nikāyi sacrifices, lit. those which consist of a number, all having the same name, but different rewards, the first is the prakṛiti of the subsequent ones. The commentator calls them sādyaaskra &c., and mentions as the first the Agnishōma. See Sūtra CXLVI, and Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 218.

SŪTRA CXLIV.

At the Agnishōma there is the Uttara-vedi.

Commentary.

The commentator explains this by saying that at the Soma sacrifices, i. e. at the Agnishōma, Ukthya, Shoḍasin, and Atirātra, the fire is carried from the Āhavanīya to the Uttara-vedi, which is also called the Soma altar.

SŪTRA CXLV.

The fire is valid for the successive sacrifices.

Commentary.

This fire refers to the fire on the Uttara-vedi, mentioned in the preceding Sūtra, and the object of the Sūtra seems to be to include the act of lighting the fire on the Uttara-vedi in the Prakṛiti, though properly speaking it does not form part of the Agnishōma. But I cannot quite understand the argument of the commentator.

SŪTRA CXLVI.

This does not apply to the Sādyaaskras, the Vāgapeya, the Shoḍasin, and the Sārasvata Sattra.

Commentary.

With regard to the Shoḍasin and its vikāra, the Vāgapeya, the laying of the fire is not mentioned. In the case of the Sādyaaskras, it becomes impossible, because they have to be quickly finished. In the case of the Sārasvata Sattra, there is the same difficulty on account of not remaining in the same place (anavasthāpān nāgnis kīyate).

SÔTRA CXLVII.

A sacrificer wishes the object of his sacrifice at the beginning of the sacrifice.

Commentary.

Some MSS. read *kâmayeta*, 'he should wish,' but the commentator explains that such a command (*vidhi*) is unnecessary, because it is natural to form a wish (*svataḥ siddhatvât*).

SÔTRA CXLVIII.

At the beginning of a special part of the sacrifice, one should wish the object of that part of the sacrifice.

Commentary.

The commentary, though objecting, and objecting rightly, to *kâmayeta*, 'he should wish,' in the preceding Sûtra, accepts *kâmayeta* as determining the present Sûtra, saying *kâmayetety anuvartate*. One should read *yagñâṅgakâmam*, not *yagñakâmam*, for the commentary explains it by *yagñâṅgaphalasaṅkalpaḥ*. Whether it was really intended that there should be a special wish for each part or subsidiary act of a sacrifice (*yagñâṅga*), is another question, but the commentator evidently thought so.

Kâtyâyana, who treats the same subject (1, 2, 10 seq.), states that there should be this desire for a reward for certain sacrifices which are offered for a certain purpose, as, for instance, the *Dvâdasâha*, but that there are no such motives for other sacrifices, and parts of sacrifices. He mentions, first of all, a *niyama*, a precept for the sacrifice, such as 'Speak the truth.' Then a *nimitta*, a special cause, as when some accident has taken place that must be remedied, for instance, when the house has been burnt down, &c. Thirdly, the *Agnihotra*, the morning and evening Homa; fourthly, the *Darsa-pûrnamâsau*; fifthly, the *Dâkshâyana*, a *vikrîti* of the *Darsa-pûrnamâsau*, the *Âgrayana*; sixthly, the *Nirûdha-pasu*, the animal sacrifice. All these have to be performed as a sacred

duty, and without any view to special rewards. Thus we read in *Vāsishṭha* :

Avasyam brāhmaṇo-gnīn ādadhīta, darsapūrṇamāsāgrayaneshṭikāturmāsyaparusomais ka yageta, 'A Brāhmaṇa should without fail place his fires, and offer the *Darsapūrṇamāsa*, the *Āgrayaneshṭi*, the *Kāturmāsyas*, the *Paśu*, and the *Soma* sacrifices.'

Hārīta says: *Pākayagñān yagen nityam haviryagñāms ka nityasaḥ, Somāms ka vidhipūrvena ya ikkheḍ dharmam avyayam*, 'Let a man offer the *Pākayagñas* always, always also the *Haviryagñas*, and the *Soma* sacrifices, according to rule, if he wishes for eternal merit.' The object of these sacrifices is *aparimitaniḥsreyasarūpamoksha*, eternal happiness, and hence they have to be performed during life at certain seasons, without any special occasion (*nimitta*), and without any special object (*kāma*). According to most authorities, however, they have to be performed during thirty years only. After that the *Agnihotra* only has to be kept up. The proper seasons for these sacrifices are given by *Manu*, IV, 25-27 :

'A Brāhmaṇa shall always offer the *Agnihotra* at the beginning or at the end of the day and of the night, and the *Darsa* and *Paurṇamāsa* (*ishṭis*) at the end of each half-month ;

'When the old grain has been consumed the (*Āgrayana*) *Ishṭi* with new grain ; at the end of the (three) seasons the (*Kāturmāsyas*) sacrifices ; at the solstices an animal (sacrifice) ; at the end of the year *Soma* offerings ;

'A Brāhmaṇa, who keeps sacred fires, shall, if he desires to live long, not eat new grain or meat, without having offered the (*Āgrayana*) *Ishṭi* with new grain and an animal (sacrifice)¹.'

These *Pākayagñas*, *Haviryagñas* or *ishṭis*, and *Soma* sacrifices are enumerated by *Gautama*², as follows :

¹ See *Manu*, transl. by Bühler, S. B. E., XXV, who quotes to the same purpose *Gaut.* VIII, 19-20 ; *Vās.* XI, 46 ; *Vi.* LIX, 2-9 ; *Baudh.* II, 4, 23 ; *Yāgyñ.* I, 97, 124-125.

² *Kātyāyana*, p. 34.

| Seven Pâkasamsthâs : | Seven Haviryagñasamsthâs : | Seven Somasamsthâs : |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) Ashvakâ, | (1) Agnyâdheyam, | (1) Agnish/omañ, |
| (2) Pârvanam, | (2) Agnihotram, | (2) Atyagnish/omañ, |
| (3) Srâddham, | (3) Darsapûrnamâsau, | (3) Ukthyañ, |
| (4) Srâvani, | (4) Kâturmâsyâni ¹ , | (4) Shodasî ² , |
| (5) Âgrahâyanî, | (5) Âgrayaneshñ, | (5) Vâgapeyañ, |
| (6) Kairî, | (6) Nirûdhaparubandhañ, | (6) Atirâtrañ, |
| (7) Âsvayugî. | (7) Sautrâmanî. | (7) Aptoryâmañ. |

In a commentary on Dhûrtasvâmin's Âpastambasûtra-bhâshya (MS. E. I. H. 137) another list is given :

| Pâkayagñas : | Haviryagñas : | Somayagñas : |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (1) Apûâsanahomañ, | Agnihotram, | Agnish/omañ, |
| (2) Vairvadevam, | Darsapûrnamâsau, | Atyagnish/omañ, |
| (3) Pârvanam, | Âgrayanam, | Ukthyañ, |
| (4) Ashvakâ, | Kâturmâsyâni, | Shodasî, |
| (5) Mâsîrâddham, | Nirûdhaparubandhañ, | Vâgapeyañ, |
| (6) Sarpabaliñ, | Sautrâmanî, | Atirâtrañ, |
| (7) Îsânabaliñ. | Pindapitriyagñañ. | Aptoryâmañ. |

This list is nearly the same as one given by Satyavrata Sââmâsrami in the Ushâ. He gives, however, another list, which is :

| Seven Pâkasamsthâs : | Seven Havihsamsthâs : | Seven Somasamsthâs : |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) Sâyamhomañ, | Agnyâdheyam, | Agnish/omañ, |
| (2) Prâtarhomañ, | Agnihotram, | Atyagnish/omañ, |
| (3) Shâlipâka, | Darsa- | Ukthyañ, |
| (4) Navayagñañ, | Paurnamâsau, | Shodasî, |
| (5) Vairvadevam, | Âgrayana, | Vâgapeyañ, |
| (6) Pitriyagñañ, | Kâturmâsyâni, | Atirâtrañ, |
| (7) Ashvakâ. | Parubandhañ. | Aptoryâmañ. |

According to the substances offered, sacrifices are some-

¹ Vairvadevam parva, Varunapraghâsâñ, sâkamedhâñ.

² Agnish/oma, Ukthya, Atirâtra, sometimes Shodasin, are the original Soma sacrifices; Atyagnish/oma, Vâgapeya, and Aptoryâma are later. See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, pp. 352, 391.

times divided into vegetable and animal sacrifices. The vegetable substances are, *tanūlāḥ*, *pishṭāni*, *phalīkaraṇāḥ*, *puroḍāśāḥ*, *odanaḥ*, *yavâgûḥ*, *prithukāḥ*, *lāgāḥ*, *dhânāḥ*, and *aktavaḥ*. The animal substances are, *payāḥ*, *dadhi*, *āgyam*, *āmikshā*, *vāginam*, *vapā*, *tvakāḥ*, *māmsam*, *lohitam*, and *pasurasaḥ*.

SŪTRA CXLIX.

If there are fewer Mantras and more (sacrificial) acts, then after dividing them into equal parts, let him perform the former with the former, the latter with the latter.

Commentary.

It happens, for instance, in certain *ishṭis* that a pair of *Yâgyâ* and *Anuvâkyâ* mantras is given, but six acts. In that case one half of the mantras is used for one half of the acts, and the other half of the mantras for the other half of the acts.

SŪTRA CL.

If there are fewer acts and more Mantras, let him perform and act with one mantra, those which remain are optional, as the materials for the sacrificial post.

Commentary.

Kapardisvâmin seems to have divided this Sūtra into three, the second being *avasishṭā vikalpārthāḥ*, the third *yathâ yûpadravyâniti*. But it is better to take it as one, as it is in MS. 1676.

If there are, for instance, fourteen vapanas, while there are many more mantras, let him select fourteen mantras and use them for each vapana, while the rest will be useful for another performance. A similar case occurs when different kinds of wood are recommended for making the sacrificial post, or when rice or barley are recommended for an offering. Here a choice has to be made. The iti at the end is explained as showing that there are other instances of the same kind.

SŪTRA CLI.

From the end there takes place omission or addition.

Commentary.

This refers again to the same subject, namely what has to be done if there are either more or less mantras than there are acts which they are to accompany. In that case it is here allowed to use as many mantras as there are acts, and to drop the rest of the mantras. Or, if there are less mantras than there are acts, then, after the mantras have been equally divided, the last verse is to be multiplied. For instance, in the Dvikapāla sacrifice for the two Asvins, the placing of the two kapālas is accompanied by two mantras. The rest of the mantras enjoined in the prakṛiti is left out. But if there are, for instance, twelve or more ishṭakās, bricks, to be placed, while there are only ten mantras, then the mantras are equally divided, and the fifth and tenth to be repeated, as many times as is necessary to equal the number of the ishṭakās.

SŪTRA CLII.

As the Prakṛiti has been told before, anything that has not been told before, should be at the end.

Commentary.

This seems to mean that anything new, peculiar to a Vikṛiti, and not mentioned in the Prakṛiti, should come in at the end, that is, after those portions of the sacrifice which are enjoined in the Prakṛiti.

SŪTRA CLIII.

The rule should stand on account of the fitness of the Kumbhī, a large pot, the Sūla, the spit for boiling the heart, and the two Vapâsrapanīs, the spits for roasting the vapâ.

Commentary.

Kumbhī is explained by sronyâdipâkasamarthā

brīhatī sthālī; *Sūla* by *hṛidayapākārthā yashīh*, and *Vapāsrapanī* by *vapāsrapanārthe yashī dve*. The exact object of the *Sūtra* is not quite clear. *Prabhutva* is explained by *samarthatva*, that is, fitness. This would mean, that on account of their fitness, or because they can be used for the object for which they are intended, or, so long as they can be used, the rule applying to them should remain. The commentary explains *tantram* by *tantratā* or *ekatā*. It may mean that the same pots and spits should be used, so long as they fulfil their purpose. The next *Sūtra* would then form a natural limitation.

SŪTRA CLIV.

But if there is a different kind of animal, there is difference (in pots and spits), owing to the diversity of cooking.

Commentary.

If different animals are to be cooked, then there must be different pots for each (*pratipasuṃ*), because each requires a different kind of cooking. The commentary adds that, as the reason for using different pots is given, that reason applies also to young and old animals of the same kind (*gāti*), i. e. the young and small animal would require a different pot and a different kind of cooking.

SŪTRA CLV.

At the *Vanaspati* sacrifice, which is a modification (*vikāra*) of the *Svishṭakṛit*, the addresses (*nigama*) of the deities should take place in the *Yāgyā*, because they are included in the *Prakṛiti*.

Commentary.

These *nigamas* of the deities are not mentioned in the rules of the *Vanaspati* sacrifice, but they are mentioned in the rules for the *Svishṭakṛit* sacrifice of the *Darsapūṛṇamāsa*, which is the *Prakṛiti*, and should therefore be taken over. Here again, because a reason is given, it is

understood that the same reason would apply to other portions of *Svishṭakṛit* also, such as the *Dvir abhi-ghâraṇa*, which is to be retained in the *Vanaspati* sacrifice.

SÛTRA CLVI.

The *Anvârambhanīyâ* or initiatory ceremony does not take place in a *Vikṛiti*, because the *Vikṛitis* would fall within the time of the *Pra-kṛiti*, and the *Anvârambhanīyâ* has but one object, namely (the initiation of) the *Darsa-pûṛṇamâsa* sacrifice.

Commentary.

The *Anvârambhanīyâ* ceremony has to be performed by those who begin the *Darsa-pûṛṇamâsa* sacrifice. It has thus one object only, and is never enjoined for any other cause. It is not therefore transferred to any *Vikṛiti*, such as the *Saurya* ceremony, &c. The *Darsa-pûṛṇamâsa* sacrifice having to be performed during the whole of life, or during thirty years, the *Vikṛitis* would necessarily fall within the same space of time. The initiatory ceremony has reference to the *Darsa-pûṛṇamâsa* sacrifice only, and thus serves as an introduction to all the *Vikṛitis*, without having to be repeated for each.

SÛTRA CLVII.

Or (according to others) the *Anvârambhanīyâ* should take place (in the *Vikṛitis* also), because the time (of the *Darsa-pûṛṇamâsa*) does not form an essential part.

Commentary.

This Sûtra is not quite clear. It shows clearly enough that, according to some authorities, the *Anvârambhanīyâ* or initiatory ceremony of the *Darsa-pûṛṇamâsa* sacrifice should take place in the *Vikṛitis* also; but why? Because the time has not the character of a *śeṣha*, which is said to be a synonym of *aṅga*, an essential part of a sacrifice.

When it is said that the Darsa-pûrnamâsa should be performed during life, this is not meant as determining the time of the sacrifice. It only means that so long as there is life a man should perform these sacrifices, and that their non-performance would constitute a sin. The former argument, therefore, that the time of the Vikṛiti sacrifices would fall within the time of the Prakṛiti sacrifice is not tenable.

SŪTRA CLVIII.

And again, because there is difference in the undertaking.

Commentary.

Ārambha, the beginning, is explained as the determination to perform a certain sacrifice (darsapûrnamâsâbhyām yakshya iti nistayapuraṅsaraḥ saṅkalpaḥ). The object of the undertaking in the case of the Darsa-pûrnamâsa sacrifice, as the Prakṛiti, is simply svarga, in the Vikṛitis it may be any kind of desire. Therefore the Anvârambhanīyâ ceremony of the Darsa-pûrnamâsas should be transferred to its Vikṛitis. This seems to have been the opinion of the same authorities who are referred to in Sūtra CLVII. The final outcome of the whole controversy, however, is clearly that our Ātārya is in favour of omitting the Anvârambhanīyâ in the Vikṛitis. Anayoḥ pakshayor anvârambhanīyâ-bhâvapakshasyaiva balavattvam ātāryâbhilashitam iti manyâmahe. The Anvârambhanīyâ is not to be considered as an ordinary Aṅga, but as a special act to fit the sacrificer to perform the Darsa-pûrnamâsa and to perform it through the whole of his life.

SŪTRA CLIX.

For every object (new sacrifice) let him bring forward the fire (let him perform the Agniprana-yana, the fetching of the Āhavantya from the Gârhapatya fire). When the sacrifice is finished

the fire becomes again ordinary fire, as when the (divine) fire has returned (to the firesticks).

Commentary.

The fire for a sacrifice is supposed to be set apart or consecrated (*sâstrîya*), but it is so for a special sacrifice only, and when that sacrifice is ended, it is supposed to become like ordinary fire again. *Artha* is *prayoga na*, the sacrifice for which the fire is intended (*agnisâdhyavihitakarmânushihânām; tasya tasya vihitasya karma no-nushihânârtham gârhapatyâdibhya âhavanîyâdyagnim prarayet*). The commentator remarks that there are two Agnis, the one who is visible, the other who is the god. Now while the divine Agni leaves the coals and ascends or is absorbed again in the two firesticks (*arāṇī*), the other remains like ordinary kitchen fire. See on *Samârohana*, Weber, *Ind. Stud.* IX, p. 311; *Āsvalâyana-Srauta-sûtra* III, 10, 4-5.

INDEX.

- agni, the (sacrificial) fire, Sûtra 55, 92 (Āhavanīya fire), 138, 145, 159; the (three) fires, 22.
- agniprayana, the fetching of the Āhavanīya from the Gârhapatya fire, 159.
- agnishoma, the Agnishoma, a Soma sacrifice, 7, 140, 143°, 144; p. 344.
- agnihotra, the Agnihotra, the morning and evening Homa, 6, 91, 148°; p. 344.
- agnishomīya, intended for Agni and Soma, 74, 78, 115, 124, 126°, 127°.
- agnyâdhâna, the (first) laying of the fires, 22°.
- agnyâdheya, p. 344.
- ânga, member (of the sacrifice), auxiliary act, 3°, 70°, 71°, 73°, 75, 80 (anaṅga), 83 (sâṅga), 157°, 158°.
- aṅgahīna, cripple, 2°.
- atikram, to pass (the altar), 94.
- atirâtra, a Soma sacrifice, 144°; p. 344.
- atyagnishoma, p. 344.
- atharvaveda, the Atharva-veda, 7°, 19°.
- adhivapana, the strewing, 102, 105°.
- adhirapana, cooking, 109.
- adhirapana-mantra, the cooking verse (gharmosi), 109.
- adhrigu, the Adhrigu hymn (daivyaḥ samitârâb, &c.), 43.
- adhvaryu, the Adhvaryu priest, 18, 24.
- anaṅga, not an Ânga, 80.
- anâdhyâya, prohibition of reciting, 37.
- anâmnâta, not handed down, 35.
- anirdeśa, without special instruction, 72.
- anumati, a kind of full moon, 65°.
- anumantrana, the Anumantrana-mantras, 8°.
- anuyâga, a certain auxiliary Homa, 75°.
- anuvâkyâ, Mantra used for invocation, 50, 95, (113), 149°.
- antarâ, turned inside, 57.
- antarâ, between (the high and the low tone), 11.
- anna, roasted grains, 108°.
- anvârambhanīyâ, initiatory ceremony, 156, 157°, 158°.
- apa~~tt~~bid, to slice off (the cake), 99.
- apaparyâvrit, to turn away from, 55.
- aparena, west, 92, 94.
- apûrva, standing by itself, 85; what has not been told before, 152.
- aptoryâma, p. 344.
- apratishiddha, not prohibited, 135.
- abhighârana, sprinkling with fat, 95.
- abhimantrana, the Abhimantrana-mantras, 8°.
- amantra, not to be classed as Mantras, 35.
- amâvâsyâ, new moon, new-moon day, 63, 65°, 68; new-moon sacrifice, 63, 76.
- amedhyapratimantrana, conjuring of unlucky omens, 40.
- ayagñīya, not fit for sacrifice, 135°.
- ayuta, butter when slightly melted, 23°.
- artha, object, 130, 159.
- arthanirvṛitti, accomplishment of the object, 41.
- arthalopa, loss of purpose, 139.
- arthavâda, explanation, 33; that part of the Mantra which does not refer to anything special in the sacrifice, 132, 133.
- avadâna, the slice or slicing of butter, 90°, 95, 100°.
- avavarshana, down-pour of rain, 40.
- asrotriya, person ignorant of the Veda, 2°.
- ashrakâ, p. 344.
- ashrakapâla, the cake baked in eight cups (at the full-moon and new-moon sacrifices), 74, 76.

- asannipâtin, not producing an immediate effect, 42.
 asamavetârtha, words (of a Mantra) not connected with the sacrifice, 133°.
 asomayâgin, one who does not sacrifice with Soma, 76, 78.
 astamitoditâ=râkâ, 65°.
 astu=ayuta, 23°.
 ahargana, a series of daily and nightly sacrifices, 141.
 ahîna, a series of sacrifices lasting from two nights to eleven nights (opp. sattra), 141°.
 âgnâvaishnava, for Agni and Vishnu, 124°, 125°.
 âgneya, intended for Agni, 74, 76, 123.
 âgrayana, the Âgrayaneshri, sacrifice with the new grain, 148°; p. 344.
 âgrahâyanî, p. 344.
 âghâra, sprinkling of clarified butter, 46.
 ât, to bend (one's knee), 92.
 âgya, melted butter, 23, 122°.
 âgyabhâgau, the Âgya-portions, 12.
 âtmâbhimarsana, rubbing oneself, 53.
 âdipradishra, indicated by the first words (Mantras), 47.
 âdhâna, the laying of the fires, 28.
 âmikshâ, a preparation of milk, 121, 122°.
 ârambha, the undertaking (of a sacrifice), 158.
 ârtvigya, the priestly office, 21.
 âvap, to throw (the grains) in, 109.
 âvritti, repetition, 43.
 âveshî, to tie (ropes), 61.
 âsruta, address, 10, 95.
 âsvayugî, p. 344.
 âsîna, sitting, 92.
 âhavanîya, the Âhavanîya fire (the grandson), 22°, 27, 94, 144°.
 âhuti, the offering at a Darvihoma, 94, 96, 89.
 idamabda, the word idam (to be used for assigning the havis to each deity), 104.
 indrâsomîya, intended for Indra and Soma, 127°.
 ishrakâ, brick (for building the altar, &c.), 98, 151°.
 ishri=yagña, sacrifice, 1°, 112, 113 (kâmyâ ishrayab), 114, 122°, 123°.
 îânabali, p. 344.
 îshatsadrisa, a little like, 135.
 ukthya, a Soma sacrifice, 144°; p. 344.
 uktaib, with a loud voice, 8, 12°.
 utkara, heap of rubbish, 54°.
 uttama, highest tone, 11°.
 uttara, successive, 145.
 uttarata-upâtâra, on the northern side of which the performances take place, 54.
 uttaravedi, the Soma altar, 144, 145°.
 Uttarâ-amâvâsyâ=Kuhû, 65°.
 Uttarâ-paurnamâsî=Râkâ, 65°.
 utpavana, cleansing, 108.
 utpû, to cleanse (the grains), 108.
 udagapavarga, performed towards the north, 59.
 udagâvritta, turning to the north 94.
 udgâtri, the Udgâtri priest, 17.
 upâtâra, priestly performance, 54.
 upadhâ, to put on the fire, 106.
 upadhâna, putting on the fire, 106.
 upabandha, belonging to, 155.
 upayâma, the Upayâma, the words upayâmagrîhîto-si, 97.
 upavas, to abstain, 65.
 upavâsa, abstaining from meat, &c., 66°.
 upastarana, spreading of fat, 95.
 upaspriś (apab), to touch water, 53.
 upâmsu, by murmuring, 9, 11°, 113.
 upâmsuyûga, the muttered offering of butter (at the full-moon sacrifice), 74.
 ūha, substitution of one word for another in a Mantra, 35, 107°, 131, 132.
 rigveda, the Rig-veda, 4, 5, 8, 9°, 16.
 ekakapâla, a puroḍâsa cake baked in one cup, 120.
 ekadevatâ, offering for one deity, 123.
 ekaprakarana, one (typical) performance, 70.
 ekamantra, accompanied by one Mantra, 38.

- ekâdāśakapāla**, cake baked in eleven cups (at the full-moon and new-moon sacrifices), 74, 76, 124°.
- ekāha**, sacrifice accomplished in one day, 140.
- aikādaśina**, the Aikādaśinas, 117, 118.
- aindra**, intended for Indra, 127.
- aindrāgna**, intended for Indra and Agni, 76, 79, 125, 126, 127°.
- autsargika** (vidhi), general (rule), 93°.
- aupāsana**homa, p. 344.
- kandūyana**, rubbing, 40.
- kapāla**, jar in which the rice is cooked, 106.
- kapāla**mantra, verse used for the Kapāla, 106.
- kartri**, the performer, 24, 57, 84.
- karmatodanā**, precept for the sacrifice, 32.
- karman**, sacrifice, sacrificial act, 37, 38, 44, 45 (karmādi), 59 (daivāni karmāni), 138, 149, 150, 159.
- kāma**, object, 147, 148.
- kāmay**, to wish, 147.
- kāmya**, wishful, 113 (kāmyā ishṭa-yab).
- kāla**, time, 80, 84, 157.
- kumbhī**, a large pot, 153.
- Kuhū**, the new moon on the first day of the lunar phase, 65°, 68°.
- krishnāgina**, black skin used for the strewing (adhivapana), 102°.
- kratu**, sacrifice, 22, 145, 147 (kratvādau).
- kratukāma**, object of the sacrifice, 147.
- kraya**, buying (of Soma), 52.
- krushra**, sharp voice, high tone, 11°, 14.
- krauṣṭa**, high tone, 11°.
- kshīṇā** = kharvikā, 67°.
- kharvikā**, the Kharvikā full moon, 67.
- gavāmayana**, 142.
- gārhapatya**, the Gārhapatya fire (the father), 22°.
- gārhya** (nāman), the domestic name, 35°.
- grah**, to take (the butter), 88, 89.
- graha**, offering of Soma, also Soma vessel, 97.
- ghṛita**, butter when hardened, 23°.
- katurgṛihīta**, the taking four times, 95.
- katurdaśiyuktā**, the full moon beginning on the fourteenth day, 65°.
- kandramas**, moon, 65.
- karu**, a pulse consisting of grains of rice or barley, and clarified butter, 99°, 102, (103, 105), 110, 122°, 123°, 127, 128°.
- karu** = karusthālī, 106, 108°.
- karupurodaśiya**, belonging to the Karu and Purodaśas, 102.
- karusthālī**, vessel for boiling the karu, 106°, (110).
- kāturmāsya**, one of the seven Haviryagñas, 7°, 148°, p. 344.
- kātvāla**, a hole in the ground for the sacrifices, 54°.
- keshapṛithaktvanirvartin**, to be carried out by separate (repeated) acts, 39.
- kaitrī**, p. 344.
- kodanā**, precept, 32, 86.
- kbedana**, cutting, 53.
- gapa**, the Gapa-mantras, 8°.
- gātibheda**, difference of the kind (of animal), 154.
- gānu**, knee, 92.
- guhū**, spoon, 25, 26°.
- guhōti**, see hu.
- guhōtikodana**, ordered by the word guhōti, he pours out, 86.
- tandula**, grain, 108, 109.
- taddharma**, having the same qualities, 136.
- tantra**, rule, 104, 153. See pratitantram.
- tayādeva-tena**, the words for placing the bricks together, 98.
- tāra**, high tone, 11°.
- tulyavat**, like, 81.
- trītiyasavana**, the third oblation of Soma, 14.
- dakshina**, the Dakshina fire (the son), 22°.
- dakshina**, right, 92 (gānu).
- dakshina**, southward, 94.
- dakshināpavarga**, towards the south, 60.

- darvihoma, libation from a ladle, 85, (86 to 91), 92, 95.
 darsapūrnāmāsau, the new and full-moon sacrifices, 5, 7°, 14°, 111, 114, 122°, 123°, 127°, 148°, 155° to 158°; p. 344.
 dākshāyana, 148°.
 dundubhisabda, the sound of a drum, 36.
 devatā, deity, 128, 138.
 devatānigama, address of the deity, 155.
 devatopadesana, indication of the deity, 101.
 dera, place, 84.
 daiva, intended for the gods (karma), 59.
 dravya, substance (of an offering), 129, 130.
 dravyasamukāya, accumulation, 52.
 dvādarakapāla, the cake baked in twelve cups (at the new-moon sacrifice), 76, 123°.
 dvādarāha, a Soma sacrifice lasting twelve days, 141.
 dvikapāla, a cake baked in two cups, sacrifice for the two Āsvins, 151°.
 dvidevatā, offering for two deities, 124.
 dhānya, corn with the husk, 108°.
 dhārā, pouring out of Soma, 46.
 nadītarana, crossing a river, 40.
 navanīta, fresh butter, 23°.
 navayagñā, p. 344.
 nāmadheyagrahana, the mentioning of the name (of particular sacrificers), 35.
 nikāyin, a series of sacrifices, all having the same name, but different rewards, 143.
 nigama, address, 155.
 nindā, reproach, 33.
 nimitta, special cause, 148°.
 niyama, precept, 148°.
 nirasana, throwing away, 53.
 nirūdbapasu, the animal sacrifice, 148°; p. 344.
 nirdiś, to prescribe with special reference to, 84.
 nirdeśa, special instruction, 73. See anirdeśa.
 nivṛt, to stop, to cease to apply, 138, 139.
 Nishādasthapati, a Nishāda chieftain, 2°.
 nivāra, wild growing rice, 129°, 136°.
 nairrita, offering to Nirriti, 53.
 pakti, cooking, 154.
 parakṛiti, story, 33.
 paravākya, words referring to something else, 133.
 parikraya, redemption, 52.
 parva-sandhi, the juncture of the two phases of the moon, 65°.
 pasu, animal sacrifice, 7°, 115.
 pasugana, 118.
 parubandha, Parubandha sacrifice, 112; p. 344.
 pākayagñā, domestic sacrifices, 148°; p. 344.
 pātra, sacrificial vessel, 25, 28.
 pārvaṇa, p. 344.
 pindapitriyagñā, the sacrifice to the Fathers, 80°; p. 344.
 pitri-yagñā, sacrifice to the Fathers, 80; p. 344.
 pitrya, intended for the Fathers, 60.
 pishā, pl., meal, 108.
 purastāt, before, 65.
 purastātpaurṇamāsī, the full moon beginning on the fourteenth day, 65°.
 purākalpa, tradition, 33.
 puroḍāsa, cake made of meal, 78, 99, 102, (103, 105), 122°, 123°, 124°, 127, 128°, 129°, 137°.
 puronuvākya, the Puronuvākya hymn (preceding the Yāgya, following after the Sampraisha), 43.
 pūrita, full (the moon), 66.
 pūrṇa, full (the moon), 65.
 pūrvā-amāvāsya, the new moon on the fourteenth day, 65°.
 pūrvā-paurṇamāsī = purastātpaurṇamāsī, 65°.
 paitrika, offering to the Pitris, 53.
 paurṇamāsī, full moon, full-moon day, 64, 65, 74.
 paurṇamāsya, full-moon sacrifice, 64.
 prakarana, typical performance, 70°, 71.
 prakṛiti, norm (for a sacrifice), 114, 122°, 123°, 127°, 131, 132°, 139, 140, 152, 155, 156, 157°, 158°.
 prakṛitidevatā, the deity of the prakṛiti, 127.
 prañi, to bring forward (the fire), 159.

pratitantram, at every sacrifice, 29.
 pratinidhâ, to substitute, 135.
 pratinidhi, substitute, 134, 138.
 pratipad, the first day of the lunar phase, 65°.
 pratimantrana, conjuring, 40.
 pratimantram, each (act) with one Mantra, 150.
 pratishidh, to bar, 82.
 pratishedha, prohibition, 138, 139.
 pratika, first words of a verse, 47°.
 pratyâmnâna, corollary, 139.
 pratyâruta, reply, 10, 95.
 pratyâhuti, for each Âhuti, 89.
 pradakshinam, turning towards the right, from left to right, 59, 61, 62.
 pradâna, offering, 87.
 pradhâna, principal act, 70, 74, 80°, 83, 113 (the name of the chief deities).
 prabhutva, fitness, 153.
 pramâna, rule, 30.
 prayâga, a certain auxiliary Homa, 75°.
 prayâna, journey, 41.
 pravara, the words used in choosing priests, 10, 35.
 praramsâ, praise, 33.
 prasamkhyâna, the being enumerated, 81.
 prasavyam, turning towards the left, from right to left, 60, 61.
 prâgapavarga, performed towards the east, 59.
 prâtinâvîtin, with the Brahmanic cord over the right and under the left arm, 60.
 prâtasavana, the morning-oblation of Soma, 12.
 prâtarhoma, p. 344.
 prâyaskitta, penance, 136°.
 bahudevâtâ, offering for many deities, 125.
 bahumantra, accompanied by many hymns, 44.
 Brîdhu = Brîbu, 2°.
 Brîbu, 2°.
 brahman, the Brahma-priest, 19.
 brâhmana, m., the Brâhmana (caste), 2, 21, 78.
 brâhmana, n., the Brâhmanas (sacred books), 30, 31, 32, 33.

bhid, bhidyate, there is difference, 154.

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bhedana, breaking, 53.

madhyama, middle tone, 11°, 13.
 manotâ, the Manotâ hymn (*tvaṃ hy agne prathamō manotâ, &c.*), 43.
 mantra, verse, 30, 31, 34, 37, 44°, 45 (mantrānta), (46), 47, 107 (mantram samnamati), 133°, 149, 150, 151°. See ekamantra, bahumantra.
 mantravat, hallowed by a Mantra, 58.
 mandra, soft tone, 11°, 12.
 mâtṛapatâra, wanting of the measure, 137.
 mādhyandina, the midday-oblation of Soma, 13.
 mâsha, phaseolus radiatus, 135°.
 mâsîrâddha, p. 344.
 mudga, kidney bean, phaseolus mungo, 135°.
 moksha, eternal happiness, 148°.

yag, to sacrifice, 63, 64, 87°.
 yagana = yagña, 1°.
 yagurveda, the Yagur-veda, 4, 5, 6, 8°, 9, 18.
 yagña, sacrifice, 1, 30, 54°.
 yagñânga, sacrificial utensil, 57, 58.
 yagñânga, special part of a sacrifice, 148.
 yagñâṅgakâma, object of part of a sacrifice, 148.
 yagñopavîtin, with the Brahmanic cord over the left and under the right arm, 59.
 yathâdevatam, according to the deities, 103.
 yathâbhâgam, for each portion, 99, 100.
 yathârtham, according to the sense, 132.
 yava, barley, 136°.
 yâga = yagña, 1°.
 yâgamânâ, Mantra recited by the sacrificer himself, 49.
 yâgyâ, Mantra used with the oblation, 43°, 50, 95, (113), 149°, 155.
 yûpa, the sacrificial post for fastening the animal, 130°.
 yûpadravya, material for the sacrificial post, 150.

rathakâra, chariot-maker, or name of a clan, 2°.

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rathasabda, the sound of a carriage, 36.

Rākā, the full moon on the first day of the lunar phase, 65°.

rākshasa, offering to the Rākshasas, 53.

rāganya, the Rāganya (caste), 2.

raudra, offering to Rudra, 53.

lopa, omission, 151.

laukika (agni), ordinary (fire), 159.

vaṭana, the saying expressly, 20, 44, 93.

vanaspati, the Vanaspati sacrifice, 155.

vapārapaṇi, the two spits for roasting the omentum (vapā), 153.

varunapraghāsa, a certain sacrifice, 119.

varna, colour or caste, 2.

varṇāviśheṣa, without distinction of caste, 79.

vashakāra, the word Vashaḥ (to be uttered by the Hotri-priest), 95, 96.

vashakri, to utter the sacrificial interjection vashaḥ, 96.

vākya, words, 133.

vāksandrava, the movement of the voice, 15.

vāgapeya, a certain Soma sacrifice, 146; p. 344.

vāgasaneyin, pl., the Vāgasaneyins, 67.

vāhya, turned outside, 57.

vikalpa, optional, 50, 150.

vikāra, modification, 122, 123, 124, (125), 126, 127°, 146°, 155.

vikṛiti, modification (of the prakṛiti), 114°, 123°, 127°, 128°, 129°, 132, 152°, 156, 157°, 158°.

vidhāna, rule, prescription, 70 (samānavidhāna), 80 (svakālavidhāna).

vidhi, rule, 71, 93°, 133°, 147°.

vipratishedha, impossibility, 20.

virodha, contradiction, 129, 130.

vivṛiddhi, addition, 151.

viḥāra, the sacrificial ground, 54, 56.

veda, the (three) Vedas, 3; Veda = Mantras and Brāhmanas, 31.

vaiśya, the Vaiśya (caste), 2.

vaiśvadeva, sacrifice for the Viśve Devās, 119, 120°, 121; p. 344.

vaiśvadevika, belonging to the Vaiśva deva, 120.

vaishamya, diversity, 154.

vaushaḥ, sacrificial interjection, 96°.

vyatishikta, separated, 105.

vyavasthā, to be restricted, 73.

vyāpṛita, employed elsewhere, 26.

vyāvṛit, to separate, 99, 100.

vṛihi, rice, 129°, 136°.

śabda, word, 138.

śasya, the corn of the field, 108°.

śākhā, recension, 3°.

śāstrīya, consecrated (fire), 159°.

śiṣha, what is prescribed, 134.

śulba, rope, 61.

śūdra, the Śūdra (caste), 2°.

śūla, spit for boiling the heart (of the sacrificial animal), 153.

śeṣa, essential part, 157.

śrāddha, p. 344.

śrāvaṇi, p. 344.

śraushaḥ, sacrificial interjection, 96°.

śvabpūritā = Rākā, 65°.

śvoyuktā = Kuhlī, 65°, 69°.

śanda, eunuch, 2°.

śhodasin, a certain Soma sacrifice, 144°, 146; p. 344.

samvāda, dialogue, 10.

samskāra, purification, 29; preparation (of an offering), 129.

samskāra, initiation, 52.

sāṅkhyā, number, 51.

sāṅkhyāyukta, having a number, 39.

samkara, path between the Kātvala and Utkara, 54°.

sattra, a series of sacrifices lasting from thirteen to one hundred nights or more (opp. ahina), 141°, 142°, 146°.

sadyaskālā, name of the Kharvikā full moon and the corresponding day of abstinence, 67°.

sandhyā-paurṇamāsī = purastātpaurṇamāsī, 65°.

samnam, to adapt and change (a verse), 107.

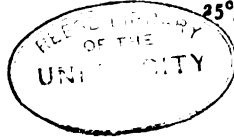
samṇāma = ūha, modification of a verse, 107°.

samnīpat, Caus., to let coincide, 45, 96.

samni, to offer the Sāmṇāya, 79.

samavadyo, to divide (the butter), 90.

- samavetârtha, words (of a Mantra) connected with the sacrifice, 133°.
- samas, to join (ropes), 61, 62.
- samânavidhâna, having the same rule, 70.
- samâruh, to return (to the firesticks, the divine fire), 159.
- samâsa, joining, 61 (°am gakkbanti, they have to be joined).
- samidh, fuel, 91.
- samuktaya, aggregation, 49, 52.
- sampraisha, command, 10, 43°.
- sarpabali, p. 344.
- sarpis, Adj., running, in sarpir âgya, melted butter, 23.
- savaniya, the Soma sacrifice, 116, 117.
- sâmvatsarika, a sacrifice lasting one, two, or more years, 142.
- sâkamedha, a certain sacrifice, 119.
- sânga, accompanied by auxiliary acts, 83.
- sâdyaskra, 143°, 146.
- sâdhârana, general, 72.
- sâmnâyya, the mixture (of sour and sweet milk, intended for Indra and Mahendra, at the new-moon sacrifice), 77, 79°, 100°, 122°.
- sâmaveda, the Sâma-veda, 4, 8, 9°, 17.
- sâmânya, similarity, 122, 128, 134.
- sâmidheni, the hymns or verses used for lighting the fire, 11, 111.
- sâyamhoma, p. 344.
- sârasvata (sattra), 146.
- Sinîvâlî = pûrvâ-amâvâsyâ, 65°, 69°.
- sîra, a certain sacrifice, 119.
- susadrîsa, very like, 135.
- somayâgin, one who sacrifices with Soma, 77, 79°.
- somasamsthâ, Soma sacrifices, 148°; p. 344.
- somendratârû, the târû intended for Soma and Indra, 127.
- sautrâmanî, p. 344.
- Saudhanvanas, 2°.
- saumya, intended for Soma, 127°.
- strî, woman (admitted to sacrifice), 2°.
- sthâlî, see târûsthâlî.
- sthâlîpâka, p. 344.
- sruk, spoon, 26°.
- sruva, ladle, 26.
- svadhâ, sacrificial interjection, 96°.
- svapna, sleeping, 40.
- svasabda, having its own name, 84.
- svâdhyâya, self-reading (of the Veda), 37.
- svâmin, master, i. e. sacrificer, 138.
- svâhâ, sacrificial interjection, 96°.
- svâhâkârapradâna, (a sacrifice) which is offered with the word Svâhâ, 87.
- svishtrakrit, the sacrifice for Agni Svishtrakrit, 13, 155.
- haviryagña, a class of sacrifices, 148°; p. 344.
- havishkrit, the Havishkrit hymn, used when the havis is made, 43.
- havis, offering, 104°, 128.
- hu, to pour out, to sacrifice, 23, 25°, 86, 87°, 92, 94.
- hotri, the Hotri-priest, 16, 49°.
- hotrâ, Mantra recited by the Hotri-priest, 49.
- homa, the Homa, burnt-oblation, 25°, 75.



TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

| CONSONANTS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. | |
|---|----------------------|-----------|----|-----------|---------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|------------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | | | | | | | | | III Class. |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | .. | .. | क | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | k | |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | .. | .. | ख | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | kh | |
| 3 Media | g | .. | .. | ग | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | .. | |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | .. | .. | घ | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | .. | |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | .. | .. | .. | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | .. | |
| 6 Nasalis | h (ng) | .. | .. | ङ | { 𐬚 (ng) 𐬛 (N) } | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | h, hs | |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | .. | .. | ह | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | .. | |
| 8 " lenis | ' | .. | .. | .. | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | .. | |
| 9 " asper faucalis | 'h | .. | .. | .. | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | .. | |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | 'h | .. | .. | .. | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | .. | |
| 11 " asper fricatus | .. | 'h | .. | .. | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | .. | |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | .. | 'h | .. | .. | 𐬡 | 𐬡 | 𐬡 | 𐬡 | 𐬡 | .. | |
| Gutturales modificatæ (palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | .. | k | .. | च | 𐬢 | 𐬢 | 𐬢 | 𐬢 | 𐬢 | k | |
| 14 " aspirata | .. | kh | .. | छ | 𐬣 | 𐬣 | 𐬣 | 𐬣 | 𐬣 | kh | |
| 15 Media | .. | g | .. | ज | 𐬤 | 𐬤 | 𐬤 | 𐬤 | 𐬤 | .. | |
| 16 " aspirata | .. | gh | .. | झ | 𐬥 | 𐬥 | 𐬥 | 𐬥 | 𐬥 | .. | |
| 17 " Nasalis | .. | ñ | .. | ञ | 𐬦 | 𐬦 | 𐬦 | 𐬦 | 𐬦 | .. | |

| CONSONANTS (continued). | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | .. | .. | य | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ي | י | y |
| 19 Spiritus asper | .. | (y) | .. | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | .. |
| 20 " lenis | .. | (y) | .. | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | .. |
| 21 " asper assibilatus | .. | s | .. | श | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | .. |
| 22 " lenis assibilatus | .. | z | .. | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | z |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | .. | .. | त | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ت | ת | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | .. | .. | थ | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ת | ת | th |
| 25 " assibilata | .. | .. | TH | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | .. |
| 26 Media | d | .. | .. | द | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ד | ד | .. |
| 27 " aspirata | dh | .. | .. | ध | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ד | ד | .. |
| 28 " assibilata | .. | .. | DH | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | .. |
| 29 Nasalis | n | .. | .. | न | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ن | נ | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | .. | .. | ल | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ل | ל | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | .. | l | .. | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | .. |
| 32 " mollis 2 | .. | .. | L | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | .. |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | .. | .. | स | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | س | ס | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | .. | .. | s (S) | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | .. |
| 35 " lenis | z | .. | .. | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ز | ז | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | .. | .. | z (z) | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | z |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | .. | .. | z (z) | .. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | .. | .. | z |

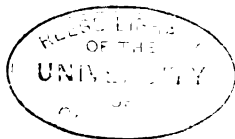
Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 38 | Tennis | t | . | . | . | ت | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 39 | " aspirata | th | . | . | . | ث | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 40 | Media | d | . | . | . | د | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 41 | " aspirata | dh | . | . | . | ذ | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 42 | Nasalis | n | . | . | . | ن | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 43 | Semivocalis | r | . | . | . | ر | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 44 | " fricata | r | . | . | . | ر | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 45 | " diacritica | R | . | . | . | ر | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 46 | Spiritus asper | sh | . | . | . | ش | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| 47 | " lenis | zh | . | . | . | ز | . | . | . | ط | . | ط |
| Labiales. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 48 | Tennis | p | . | . | . | پ | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 49 | " aspirata | ph | . | . | . | ف | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 50 | Media | b | . | . | . | ب | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 51 | " aspirata | bh | . | . | . | ب | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 52 | Tenuissima | p | . | . | . | پ | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 53 | Nasalis | m | . | . | . | م | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 54 | Semivocalis | w | . | . | . | و | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 55 | " aspirata | hw | . | . | . | ه | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 56 | Spiritus asper | f | . | . | . | ف | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 57 | " lenis | v | . | . | . | و | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 58 | Anusvāra | m | . | . | . | م | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |
| 59 | Visarga | h | . | . | . | ه | . | . | . | ب | . | ب |

Labiales.

| | | |
|----|--------------------------|---------|
| 48 | Tenuis | p |
| 49 | " aspirata | ph |
| 50 | Media | b |
| 51 | " aspirata | bh |
| 52 | Tenuissima | . . . p |
| 53 | Nasalis | m |
| 54 | Semivocalis | w |
| 55 | " aspirata | hw |
| 56 | Spiritus asper | f |
| 57 | " lenis | v |
| 58 | Anusvāra | . . . m |
| 59 | Vīsarga | . . . h |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | 0 | | | | | | | | | ā |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | ē | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 3 " labialis | ō | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | | | | | | | | | ā |
| 5 " longa | ā | (a) | | | | | | | | ā |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | | | | | | | | | i |
| 7 " longa | ī | (i) | | | | | | | | ī |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | ē | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 9 " longa | ē | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ri | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 11 " longa | ri | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | | | | | | | | u |
| 13 " longa | ū | (u) | | | | | | | | ū |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | | | | | | | | | e |
| 15 " longa | é (ai) | (e) | | | | | | | | é |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | āi | (ai) | | | | | | | | āi |
| 17 " " | ei (ēi) | | | | | | | | | ei, ēi |
| 18 " " | oi (ōu) | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 19 Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | | | | | | | | | o |
| 20 " longa | ō (au) | (o) | | | | | | | | ... |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | āu | (au) | | | | | | | | āu |
| 22 " " | eu (ēu) | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 23 " " | ou (ōu) | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 24 Gutturalis fracta | ä | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | ī | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 26 Labialis fracta | ü | | | | | | | | | ü |
| 27 Gutturo-labialis fracta | ö | | | | | | | | | ... |



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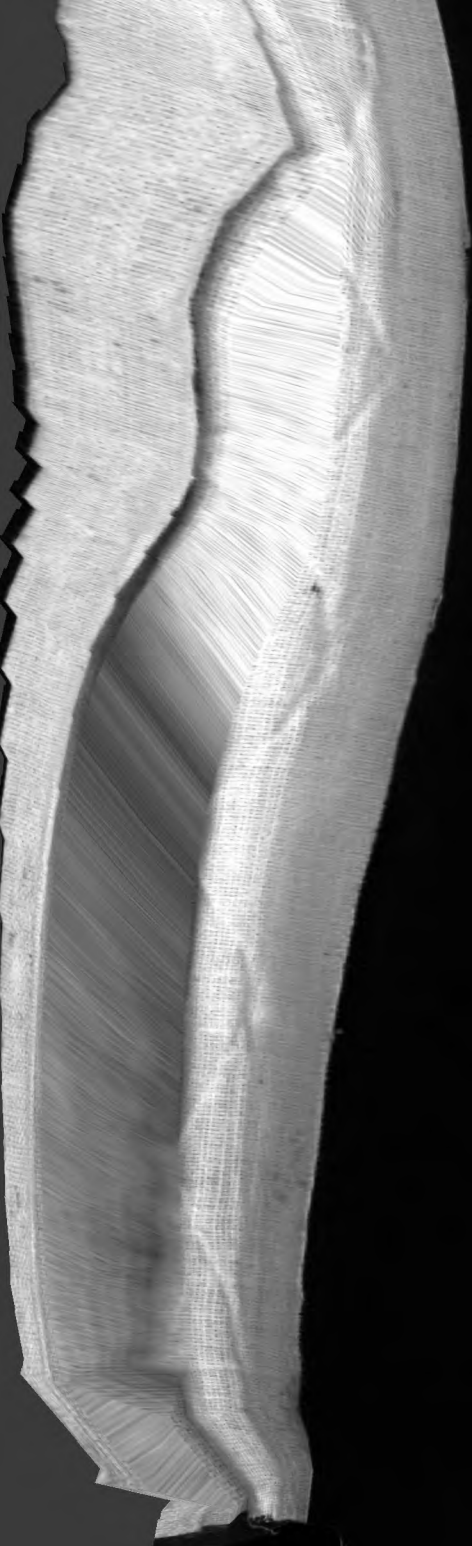
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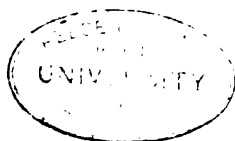
TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

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VOL. XXXII



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VEDIC HYMNS

TRANSLATED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

PART I

HYMNS TO THE MARUTS, RUDRA,
VÂYU, AND VÂTA

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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INTRODUCTION.

I finished the Preface to the first volume of my translation of the Hymns to the Maruts with the following words :

‘ The second volume, which I am now preparing for Press, will contain the remaining hymns addressed to the Maruts. The notes will necessarily have to be reduced to smaller dimensions, but they must always constitute the more important part in a translation or, more truly, in a deciphering of Vedic hymns.’

This was written more than twenty years ago, but though since that time Vedic scholarship has advanced with giant steps, I still hold exactly the same opinion which I held then with regard to the principles that ought to be followed by the first translators of the Veda. I hold that they ought to be decipherers, and that they are bound to justify every word of their translation in exactly the same manner in which the decipherers of hieroglyphic or cuneiform inscriptions justify every step they take. I therefore called my translation the first *traduction raisonnée*. I took as an example which I tried to follow, though well aware of my inability to reach its excellence, the *Commentaire sur le Yasna* by my friend and teacher, Eugène Burnouf. Burnouf considered a commentary of 940 pages quarto as by no means excessive for a thorough interpretation of the first chapter of the Zoroastrian Veda, and only those unacquainted with the real difficulties of the Rig-veda would venture to say that its ancient words and thoughts required a less painstaking elucidation than those of the Avesta. In spite of all that has been said and written to the contrary, and with every wish to learn from those who think that the difficulties of a translation of Vedic hymns have been unduly exaggerated by me, I cannot in the least

modify what I said twenty, or rather forty years ago, that a mere translation of the Veda, however accurate, intelligible, poetical, and even beautiful, is of absolutely no value for the advancement of Vedic scholarship, unless it is followed by pièces justificatives, that is, unless the translator gives his reasons why he has translated every word about which there can be any doubt, in his own way, and not in any other.

It is well known that Professor von Roth, one of our most eminent Vedic scholars, holds the very opposite opinion. He declares that a metrical translation is the best commentary, and that if he could ever think of a translation of the Rig-veda, he would throw the chief weight, not on the notes, but on the translation of the text. 'A translation,' he writes, 'must speak for itself. As a rule, it only requires a commentary where it is not directly convincing, and where the translator does not feel secure.'

Between opinions so diametrically opposed, no compromise seems possible, and yet I feel convinced that when we come to discuss any controverted passage, Professor von Roth will have to adopt exactly the same principles of translation which I have followed.

On one point, however, I am quite willing to agree with my adversaries, namely, that a metrical rendering would convey a truer idea of the hymns of the Vedic *R̥shis* than a prose rendering. When I had to translate Vedic hymns into German, I have generally, if not always, endeavoured to clothe them in a metrical form. In English I feel unable to do so, but I have no doubt that future scholars will find it possible to add rhythm and even rhyme, after the true meaning of the ancient verses has once been determined. But even with regard to my German metrical translations, I feel in honesty bound to confess that a metrical translation is often an excuse only for an inaccurate translation. If we could make sure of a translator like Rückert, even the impossible might become possible. But as there are few, if any, who, like him, are great alike as scholars and poets, the mere scholar seems to me to be doing his duty better when he produces a correct translation, though in

prose, than if he has to make any concessions, however small, on the side of faithfulness in favour of rhythm and rhyme.

If a metrical, an intelligible, and, generally speaking, a beautiful translation were all we wanted, why should so many scholars clamour for a new translation, when they have that by Grassmann? It rests on Böhlingk and Roth's Dictionary, or represents, as we are told, even a more advanced stage of Vedic scholarship. Yet after the well-known contributors of certain critical Journals had repeated ever so many times all that could possibly be said in praise of Grassmann's, and in dispraise of Ludwig's translation, what is the result? Grassmann's metrical translation, the merits of which, considering the time when it was published, I have never been loth to acknowledge, is hardly ever appealed to, while Ludwig's prose rendering, with all its drawbacks, is universally considered as the only scholarlike translation of the Rig-veda now in existence. Time tries the troth in everything.

There is another point also on which I am quite willing to admit that my adversaries are right. 'No one who knows anything about the Veda,' they say, 'would think of attempting a translation of it at present. A translation of the Rig-veda is a task for the next century.' No one feels this more strongly than I do; no one has been more unwilling to make even a beginning in this arduous undertaking. Yet a beginning has to be made. We have to advance step by step, nay, inch by inch, if we ever hope to make a breach in that apparently impregnable fortress. If by translation we mean a complete, satisfactory, and final translation of the whole of the Rig-veda, I should feel inclined to go even further than Professor von Roth. Not only shall we have to wait till the next century for such a work, but I doubt whether we shall ever obtain it. In some cases the text is so corrupt that no conjectural criticism will restore, no power of divination interpret it. In other cases, verses and phrases seem to have been jumbled together by later writers in the most thoughtless manner. My principle therefore has always been, Let us translate what we can, and thus reduce the untranslatable

portion to narrower and narrower limits. But in doing this we ought not to be too proud to take our friends, and even our adversaries, into our confidence. A translation on the *sic volo sic jubeo* principle does far more harm than good. It may be true that a judge, if he is wise, will deliver his judgment, but never propound his reasons. But a scholar is a pleader rather than a judge, and he is in duty bound to propound his reasons.

In order to make the difference between Professor von Roth's translations and my own quite clear, I readily accept the text which he has himself chosen. He took one of the hymns which I had translated with notes (the 165th hymn of the first *Mandala*), and translated it himself metrically, in order to show us what, according to him, a really perfect translation ought to be*. Let us then compare the results.

On many points Professor von Roth adopts the same renderings which I had adopted, only that he gives no reasons, while I do so, at least for all debatable passages. First of all, I had tried to prove that the two verses in the beginning, which the *Anukramanî* ascribes to Indra, should be ascribed to the poet. Professor von Roth takes the same view, but for the rest of the hymn adopts, like myself, that distribution of the verses among the singer, the Maruts, and Indra which the *Anukramanî* suggests. I mention this because Ludwig has defended the view of the author of the *Anukramanî* with very strong arguments. He quotes from the *Taitt. Br.* II, 7, 11, and from the *Tândya Br.* XXI, 14, 5, the old legend that Agastya made offerings to the Maruts, that, with or without Agastya's consent, Indra seized them, and that the Maruts then tried to frighten Indra away with lightning. Agastya and Indra, however, pacified the Maruts with this very hymn.

Verse 1.

The first verse von Roth translates as follows :

‘Auf welcher Fahrt sind insgemein begriffen
Die altersgleichen mitgebornen Marut?
Was wollen sie? woher des Wegs? Das Pfeifen
Der Männer klingt: sie haben ein Begehren.’

* Z. D. M. G., 1870, XXIV, p. 301.

Von Roth here translates *subh* by *Fahrt*, journey. But does *subh* ever possess that meaning? Von Roth himself in the Dictionary translates *subh* by *Schönheit*, *Schmuck*, *Bereitschaft*. Grassmann, otherwise a strict adherent of von Roth, does not venture even to give *Bereitschaft*, but only endorses *Glanz* and *Pracht*. Ludwig, a higher authority than Grassmann, translates *subh* by *Glanz*. I say then that to translate *subh* by *Fahrt*, journey, may be poetical, but it is not scholarlike. On the meanings of *subh* I have treated I, 87, 3, note 2. See also Gaedicke, *Accusativ*, p. 163.

But there comes another consideration. That *mimikshire* is used in the sense of being joined with splendour, &c. we see from such passages as I, 87, 6, *bhānū-bhiḥ sám mimikshire*, i. e. 'they were joined with splendour,' and this is said, as in our passage, of the *Maruts*. Prof. von Roth brings forward no passage where *mimikshire* is used in the sense in which he uses it here, and therefore I say again, his rendering may be poetical, but it is not scholarlike.

To translate *arḥanti śuśhmam* by 'das Pfeifen klingt,' is, to say the least, very free. *Sushma* comes, no doubt, from *svas*, to breathe, and the transition of meaning from breath to strength is intelligible enough. In the Psalms we read (xviii. 15), 'At the blast of the breath of thy nostrils the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the earth were discovered.' Again (Job iv. 9), 'By the blast of God they perish, and by the breath of his nostrils are they consumed;' Isaiah xi. 4, 'And with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.' Wrestlers know why breath or wind means strength, and even in the expression 'une œuvre de longue haleine,' the original intention of breath is still perceived. In most passages therefore in the *Rig-veda* where *sushma* occurs, and where it means strength, prowess, vigour, we may, if we like, translate it by breath, though it is clear that the poet himself was not always aware of the etymological meaning of the word. Where the sound of *sushma* is mentioned (IX, 50, 1; X, 3, 6, &c.), it means clearly breath. But when, as in VI, 19, 8, *sushma* has the adjectives *dhanaspr̥t*, *sudáksha*, we can hardly translate it by anything but strength. When, therefore,

von Roth translates *sushma* by whistling, and *arkanti* by sounding, I must demur. Whistling is different from breathing, nor do I know of any passage where *ark* with *sushma* or with any similar word for sound means simply to sound a whistle. Why not translate, they sing their strength, i.e. the Maruts, by their breathing or howling, proclaim themselves their strength? We find a similar idea in I, 87, 3, 'the Maruts have themselves glorified their greatness.' Neither Grassmann nor Ludwig venture to take *sushma* in the sense of whistle, or *arkanti* in the sense of sounding. Bergaigne seems to take *vrishanaḥ* as a genitive, referring to Indra, 'ils chantent la force à Indra,' which may have been the original meaning, but seems hardly appropriate when the verse is placed in the mouth of Indra himself (Journ. Asiat. 1884, p. 199). *Sushma* never occurs as an adjective. The passages in which von Roth admits *sushma* as an adjective are not adequate. Does *mitgeboren* in German convey the meaning of *sániḥ*, 'of the same nest?'

Verse 2.

The second verse contains few difficulties, and is well rendered by von Roth :

'An wessen Sprüchen freuen sich die Jungen?
Wer lenkt die Marut her zu seinem Opfer?
Gleich Falken streichend durch den Raum der Lüfte—
Wie bringt man sie mit Wunscheskraft zum Stehen?'

Verse 3.

The third verse is rendered by von Roth :

'Wie kommt es, Indra, dass du sonst so munter,
Heut' ganz alleine fährst, sag an Gebieter!
Du pflegtest auf der Fahrt mit uns zu plaudern;
Was hast du wider uns, sprich, Rosselenker!'

Von Roth takes *kútaḥ* in a causal sense, why? I believe that *kútaḥ* never occurs in that sense in the Rig-veda. If it does, passages should be produced to prove it.

Māhinaḥ can never be translated by 'sonst so munter.' This imparts a modern idea which is not in the original.

Subhānaḥ does not mean auf der Fahrt, and plaudern, adopted from Grassmann, instead of sám prikkhase, introduces again quite a modern idea. Ludwig calls such an idea 'abgeschmackt,' insipid, which is rather strong, but not far wrong.

Verse 4.

Von Roth :

'Ich liebe Sprüche, Wünsche und die Tränke,
Der Duft steigt auf, die Presse ist gerüstet;
Sie flehen, locken mich mit ihrem Anruf,
Und meine Füchse führen mich zum Mahle.'

It is curious how quickly all difficulties which beset the first line seem to vanish in a metrical translation, but the scholar should face the difficulties, though the poet may evade them.

To translate śúshmaḥ iyarti by 'der Duft steigt auf,' the flavour of the sacrifices rises up, is more than even Grassmann ventures on. It is simply impossible. Benfey (Entstehung der mit r anlautenden Personalendungen, p. 34) translates: 'My thunderbolt, when hurled by me, moves mightily.'

Again, prábhṛitaḥ me ádriḥ does not mean die Presse ist gerüstet. Where does Indra ever speak of the stones used for pressing the Soma as my stone, and where does prábhṛitaḥ ever mean gerüstet?

Verse 5.

Von Roth :

'So werden wir und mit uns unsre Freunde (Nachbarn),
Die freien Männer, unsre Rüstung nehmen,
Und lustig unsre Schecken alsbald schirren.
Du kommst uns eben ganz nach Wunsch, o Indra.'

The first lines are unnecessarily free, and the last decidedly wrong. How can svadhām ánu hí naḥ babhútha mean 'Du kommst uns eben ganz nach Wunsch?' Svadhâ does not mean wish, but nature, custom, wont (see I, 6, 4, note 2; and Bergaigne, Journ. Asiat. 1884, p. 207). Babhútha means 'thou hast become,' not 'thou comest.'

Verse 6.

Von Roth :

‘Da war’s auch nicht so ganz nach Wunsch, o Maruts,
 Als ihr allein mich gegen Ahi schicktet!
 Ich aber kräftig, tapfer, unerschrocken,
 Ich traf die Gegner alle mit Geschossen.’

The only doubtful line is the last. Von Roth’s former translation of *nam*, to bend away from, to escape from (cf. *φεύγω* and *bhug*), seems to me still the right one. He now translates ‘I directed my arrow on every enemy,’ when the genitive, as ruled by *ánamam*, requires confirmation. As to *sam ádhatta* I certainly think von Roth’s last interpretation better than his first. In the Dictionary he explained *samdhâ* in our passage by to implicate. Grassmann translated it by to leave or to desert, Ludwig by to employ. I took it formerly in the usual sense of joining, so that *yát mām ékam samádhatta* should be the explanation of *svadhâ*, the old custom that you should join me when I am alone. But the construction is against this, and I have therefore altered my translation, so that the sense is, Where was that old custom you speak of, when you made me to be alone, i. e. when you left me alone, in the fight with Ahi? The *udâtta* of *ánamam* is not irregular, because it is preceded by *hi*.

Verse 7.

Von Roth :

‘Gewaltiges hast du gethan im Bunde
 Mit uns, o Held, wir mit vereinter Stärke,
 Gewaltiges vermögen wir, du mächtiger
 Indra, wenn es uns Ernst ist, ihr Gesellen.’

By this translation, the contrast between ‘thou hast done great things with us,’ and ‘Now let us do great things once more,’ is lost. *Kṛinávâma* expresses an exhortation, not a simple fact, and on this point Grassmann’s metrical translation is decidedly preferable.

Verse 8.

Von Roth :

‘*Vṛitra* schlug ich mit eigener Kraft, ihr Marut,
 Und meine Wuth war’s, die so kühn mich machte,

Ich war's, der—in der Faust den Blitz—dem Menschen
Den Zugang bahnte zu den blinkenden Gewässern.'

This is a very good translation, except that there are some syllables too much in the last line. What I miss is the accent on the I. Perhaps this might become stronger by translating :

'Ich schlug mit eigner Kraft den *Vṛitra* nieder,
Ich, Maruts, stark durch meinen Zorn geworden ;
Ich war's, der blitzbewaffnet für den Menschen
Dem lichten Wasser freie Bahn geschaffen.'

Verse 9.

Von Roth :

'Gewiss, nichts ist was je dir widerstünde,
Und so wie du gibts keinen zweiten Gott mehr,
Nicht jetzt, noch künftig, der was du vermöchte :
Thu' denn begeistert was zu thun dich lüset.'

Here I doubt about begeistert being a true rendering of *pravṛiddha*, grown strong. As to *karishyāh* instead of *karishyā*, the reading of the MSS., Roth is inclined to adopt my conjecture, as supported by the analogous passage in IV, 30, 23. The form which Ludwig quotes as analogous to *karishyam*, namely, *pravatsyam*, I cannot find, unless it is meant for *Āpast. Srauta S. VI, 27, 2, namo vo-stu prāvātsyam iti Bahvrikāh*, where however *prāvātsyam* is probably meant for *prāvātsam*.

Grassmann has understood *devātā* rightly, while Roth's translation leaves it doubtful.

Verse 10.

Von Roth :

'So soll der Stärke Vorrang mir allein sein :
Was ich gewagt, vollführ' ich mit Verständniss.
Man kennt mich als den Starken wohl, ihr Marut,
An was ich rühre, Indra der bemeistert's.'

Von Roth has adopted the translation of the second line, which I suggested in a note ; Ludwig prefers the more abrupt construction which I preferred in the translation. It is difficult to decide.

Verse 11.

Von Roth :

‘Entzückt hat euer Rühmen mich, ihr Marut,
Das lobenswerthe Wort, das ihr gesprochen,
Für mich—den Indra—für den freud’gen Helden,
Als Freunde für den Freund, für mich—von selbst ihr.’

The last words für mich—von selbst ihr are not very clear, but the same may be said of the original *tanvê tanûbhih*. I still adhere to my remark that *tanu*, self, must refer to the same person, though I see that all other translators take an opposite view. Non liquet.

Verse 12.

Von Roth :

‘Gefallen find ich, wie sie sind, an ihnen,
In Raschheit und in Frische unvergleichlich.
So oft ich euch, Marut, im Schmuck erblickte,
Erfreut’ ich mich und freue jetzt an euch mich.’

This is again one of those verses which it is far easier to translate than to construe. *Ākkhānta* me may mean, they pleased me, but then what is the meaning of *kṛadāyātha kṛa nūnām*, ‘may you please me now,’ instead of what we should expect, ‘you do please me now.’ In order to avoid this, I took the more frequent meaning of *kṛad*, to appear, and translated, ‘you have appeared formerly, appear to me now.’

To translate *ānedyāḥ srāvaḥ ā śhaḥ dādhanāḥ*, by ‘in Raschheit und in Frische unvergleichlich,’ is poetical, but how does it benefit the scholar? I take *ā dhā* in the sense of bringing or giving, as it is often used; cf. II, 38, 5. This is more compatible with *śhaḥ*, food, vigour. I am not certain that *ānēdyāḥ* can mean blameless. Roth s. v. derives *ānedyā* from *a-nedya*, and *nedya* from *nid*. But how we get from *nid* to *nedya*, he does not say. He suggests *anedyāḥ* or *anedyasravaḥ* as emendations. I suggested *anedyam*. But I suspect there is something else behind all this. *Anedīyaḥ* may have been intended for ‘having nothing coming nearer,’ and like *an-uttama*, might express excellence. Or *anedyāḥ* may have been an adverb, not nearly.

These are mere guesses, and they are rather contradicted by *anedyāḥ*, used in the plural, with *anavadyāḥ*. Still it is better to point out difficulties than to slur them over by translating 'in Raschheit und in Frische unvergleichlich.' It is possible that both Roth and *Sāyana* thought that *anedyāḥ* was connected with *nediyāḥ*; but what scholars want to know is the exact construction of a sentence.

Von Roth: Verse 13.

'Ist irgendwo ein Fest für euch bereitet,
So fahrt doch her zu unsrer Schaar, ihr Schaaren!
Der Andacht Regungen in uns belebend,
Und werdet Zeugen unserer frommen Werke.'

In this verse there is no difficulty, except the exact meaning of *apivātáyantaḥ*, on which I have spoken in note 1.

Verse 14.

Von Roth:

'Wo dankbar huldigend der Dichter lobsingt,
Hier wo uns *Mānya's* Kunst zusammenführte,
Da kehret ein, ihr Marut, bei den Frommen,
Euch gelten ja des Beters heil'ge Sprüche.'

Prof. von Roth admits that this is a difficult verse. He translates it, but again he does not help us to construe it. Grassmann also gives us a metrical translation, but it differs widely from von Roth's:

'Wenn wie zur Spende euch der Dichter herlockt,
Und der Gesang des Weisen uns herbeizog,' &c.;
and so does Geldner's version, unless we are to consider this as an improved rendering from von Roth's own pen:

'Wenn uns des *Mānya* Kunst zur Feier herzieht,
Wie Dichter ja zu Festen gerne rufen,' &c.

Here Geldner conjectures *duvasyā* for *duvasyāt*, and takes *duváse* as an infinitive.

Von Roth: Verse 15.

'Geweih't ist euch der Preis, Marut, die Lieder,
Des *Mānya*, des *Mandārasohns*, des Dichters,
Mit Labung kommt herbei, mir selbst zur Stärkung
[Gebt Labung uns und wasserreiche Fluren].'

How *tanvê vayām* is to mean 'mir selbst zur Stärkung' has not been explained by von Roth. No doubt *tanvê* may mean *mir selbst*, and *vayām* zur Stärkung; but though this may satisfy a poet, scholars want to know how to construe. It seems to me that Roth and Lanman (Noun-inflection, p. 552) have made the same mistake which I made in taking *ishām* for an accusative of *ish*, which ought to be *ísham*, and in admitting the masculine gender for *vrigána* in the sense of *Flur*.

I still take *yásishṭa* for the 3 p. sing. of the precative *Ātmanepada*, like *ganishishṭa* and *vanishishṭa*. With the preposition *áva*, *yásishṭhāh* in IV, 1, 4, means to turn away. With the preposition *á* therefore *yásishṭa* may well mean to turn towards, to bring. If we took *yásishṭa* as a 2 p. plur. in the sense of come, we could not account for the long *î*, nor for the accusative *vayām*. We thus get the meaning, 'May this your hymn of praise bring *vayām*,' i. e. a branch, an offshoot or offspring, *tanvê*, for ourselves, *ishá*, together with food. We then begin a new sentence: 'May we find an invigorating autumn with quickening rain.' It is true that *ishá*, as a name of an autumn month, does not occur again in the Rig-veda, but it is found in the *Satapatha-bráhmaṇa*. *Vrigána*, possibly in the sense of people or enemies, we have in VII, 32, 27, *ágñâtāh vrigánāh*, where Roth reads wrongly *ágñâtā vrigánā*; V, 44, 1 (?); VI, 35, 5. *Gírádānu* also would be an appropriate epithet to *ishá*.

Professor Oldenberg has sent me the following notes on this difficult hymn. He thinks it is what he calls an *Ākhyāna*-hymn, consisting of verses which originally formed part of a story in prose. He has treated of this class of hymns in the *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* XXXIX, 60 seq. He would prefer to ascribe verses 1 and 2 to Indra, who addresses the Maruts when he meets them as they return from a sacrifice. In this case, however, we should have to accept *rīramāma* as a pluralis majestaticus, and I doubt whether Indra ever speaks of himself in the plural, except it may be in using the pronoun *naḥ*.

In verse 4 Professor Oldenberg prefers to take *prá-*

bhr̥ito me ádrih̥ in the sense of 'the stone for pressing the Soma has been brought forth,' and he adds that *me* need not mean 'my stone,' but 'brought forward for me.' He would prefer to read *śúshma m iyarti*, as in IV, 17, 12; X, 75, 3, though he does not consider this alteration of the text necessary.

Professor Oldenberg would ascribe vv. 13 and 14 to Indra. The 14th verse would then mean, 'After Mānya has brought us (the gods) hither, turn, O Maruts, towards the sage.' Of this interpretation I should like to adopt at all events the last sentence, taking *varta* for *vart-ta*, the 2 p. plur. imperat. of *vr̥it*, after the Ad class.

The text of the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, lately published by Dr. L. von Schröder, yields a few interesting various readings: v. 5, *ekam* instead of *etāñ*; v. 12, *śravā* instead of *śrava*; and v. 15, *vayāmsi* as a variant for *vayām*, which looks like a conjectural emendation.

A comparison like the one we have here instituted between two translations of the same hymn, will serve to show how useless any rendering, whether in prose or poetry, would be without notes to justify the meanings of every doubtful word and sentence. It will, no doubt, disclose at the same time the unsettled state of Vedic scholarship, but the more fully this fact is acknowledged, the better, I believe, it will be for the progress of our studies. They have suffered more than from anything else from that baneful positivism which has done so much harm in hieroglyphic and cuneiform researches. That the same words and names should be interpreted differently from year to year, is perfectly intelligible to every one who is familiar with the nature of these decipherments. What has seriously injured the credit of these studies is that the latest decipherments have always been represented as final and unchangeable. Vedic hymns may seem more easy to decipher than Babylonian and Egyptian inscriptions, and in one sense they are. But when we come to really difficult passages, the Vedic hymns often require a far greater effort of divination than the hymns addressed to Egyptian or Babylonian deities. And there is this additional difficulty that when we deal with

inscriptions, we have at all events the text as it was engraved from the first, and we are safe against later modifications and interpolations, while in the case of the Veda, even though the text as presupposed by the Prâtisākhya may be considered as authoritative for the fifth century B.C., how do we know what changes it may have undergone before that time? Nor can I help giving expression once more to misgivings I have so often expressed, whether the date of the Prâtisākhya is really beyond the reach of doubt, and whether, if it is, there is no other way of escaping from the conclusion that the whole collection of the hymns of the Rig-veda, including even the Vāḷakhilya hymns, existed at that early time^a. The more I study the hymns, the more I feel staggered at the conclusion at which all Sanskrit scholars seem to have arrived, touching their age. That many of them are old, older than anything else in Sanskrit, their grammar, if nothing else, proclaims in the clearest way. But that some of them are modern imitations is a conviction that forces itself even on the least sceptical minds. Here too we must guard against positivism, and suspend our judgment, and accept correction with a teachable spirit. No one would be more grateful for a way out of the maze of Vedic chronology than I should be, if a more modern date could be assigned to some of the Vedic hymns than the period of the rise of Buddhism. But how can we account for Buddhism without Vedic hymns? In the oldest Buddhist Suttas the hymns of three Vedas are constantly referred to, and warnings are uttered even against the fourth Veda, the Āṭhabbana^b. The Upanishads also, the latest productions of the Brāhmaṇa period, must have been known to the founders of Buddhism. From all this there seems to be no escape, and yet I must confess that my conscience quivers in assigning such compositions as the Vāḷakhilya hymns to a period preceding the rise of Buddhism in India.

^a See Preface to the first edition, p. xxxii.

^b Tuvaśakasutta, ver. 927; Sacred Books of the East, vol. x, p. 176; Introduction, p. xiii.

I have often been asked why I began my translation of the Rig-veda with the hymns addressed to the Maruts or the Storm-gods, which are certainly not the most attractive of Vedic hymns. I had several reasons, though, as often happens, I could hardly say which of them determined my choice.

First of all, they are the most difficult hymns, and therefore they had a peculiar attraction in my eyes.

Secondly, as even when translated they required a considerable effort before they could be fully understood, I hoped they would prove attractive to serious students only, and frighten away the casual reader who has done so much harm by meddling with Vedic antiquities. Our grapes, I am glad to say, are still sour, and ought to remain so for some time longer.

Thirdly, there are few hymns which place the original character of the so-called deities to whom they are addressed in so clear a light as the hymns addressed to the Maruts or Storm-gods. There can be no doubt about the meaning of the name, whatever difference of opinion there may be about its etymology. Marut and maruta in ordinary Sanskrit mean wind, and more particularly a strong wind, differing by its violent character from *vāyu* or *vāta* ^a. Nor do the hymns themselves leave us in any doubt as to the natural phenomena with which the Maruts are identified. Storms which root up the trees of the forest, lightning, thunder, and showers of rain, are the background from which the Maruts in their personal and dramatic character rise before our eyes. In one verse the Maruts are the very phenomena of nature as convulsed by a thunderstorm; in the next, with the slightest change of expression, they are young men, driving on chariots, hurling the thunderbolt, and crushing the clouds in order to win the rain. Now they are the sons of Rudra and *Prisni*, the friends and brothers of Indra, now they quarrel with Indra and claim their own rightful share of praise and sacrifice. Nay, after a time the storm-gods in India, like the storm-gods in other countries,

^a The *Vāyus* are mentioned by the side of the Maruts, Rv. II, 11, 14.

obtain a kind of supremacy, and are invoked by themselves, as if there were no other gods beside them. In most of the later native dictionaries, in the *Medinî*, *Viśva*, *Hemaṅdra*, *Amara*, and *Anekārthadhvanimaṅgari*, Marut is given as a synonym of *deva*, or god in general^a, and so is Maru in Pāli.

But while the hymns addressed to the Maruts enable us to watch the successive stages in the development of so-called deities more clearly than any other hymns, there is no doubt one drawback, namely, the uncertainty of the etymology of Marut. The etymology of the name is and always must be the best key to the original intention of a deity. Whatever Zeus became afterwards, he was originally conceived as Dyaus, the bright sky. Whatever changes came over Ceres in later times, her first name and her first conception was Sarad, harvest. With regard to Marut I have myself no doubt whatever that Mar-ut comes from the root *MĀ*, in the sense of grinding, crushing, pounding (Sk. *mṛināti*, *himsâyām*, part. *mūrṇa*, crushed, like *mṛidita*; *āmúr* and *āmúri*, destroyer). There is no objection to this etymology, either on the ground of phonetic rules, or on account of the meaning of Marut^b. Professor Kuhn's idea that the name of the Maruts was derived from the root *MĀ*, to die, and that the Maruts were originally conceived as the souls of the departed, and afterwards as ghosts, spirits, winds, and lastly as storms, derives no support from the Veda. Another etymology, proposed in Böhtlingk's Dictionary, which derives Marut from a root *MĀ*, to shine, labours under two disadvantages; first, that there is no such root in Sanskrit^c; secondly, that the lurid splendour of the lighting is but a subordinate feature in the character of the Maruts. No better etymology having been proposed, I still maintain that the derivation of Marut from *MĀ*, to pound, to smash, is free from any objection, and that the original conception of the Maruts was that of the crushing, smashing, striking, tearing, destroying storms.

^a Anundoram Borooah, *Sanskrit Grammar*, vol. iii, p. 323.

^b See *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. ii, p. 357 seq.

^c *Marúti* is a word of very doubtful origin.

It is true that we have only two words in Sanskrit formed by the suffix *ut*, *marút* and *garút* in *garút-mat*, but there are other suffixes which are equally restricted to one or two nouns only. This *ut* represents an old suffix *vat*, just as *us* presupposes *vas*, in *vidus* (*vidushî*, *vidush-tara*) for *vid-vas*, nom. *vid-vân*, acc. *vidvâmsam*. In a similar way we find side by side *párus*, knot, *párvan*, knot, and *párvata*, stone, cloud, presupposing such forms as **parvat* and *parut*. If then by the side of **parut*, we find Latin *pars*, *partis*, why should we object to Mars, *Martis* as a parallel form of *Marut*? I do not say the two words are identical, I only maintain that the root is the same, and the two suffixes are mere variants. No doubt *Marut* might have appeared in Latin as *Marut*, like the neuter *cap-ut*, *capitis* (cf. *prae-ceps*, *prae-cipis*, and *prae-cipitis*); but Mars, *Martis* is as good a derivation from *MĀ* as *Fors*, *Fortis* is from *GHĀ*^a. Dr. von Bradke (*Zeitschrift der D.M.G.*, vol. xl, p. 349), though identifying *Marut* with Mars, proposes a new derivation of *Marut*, as being originally **Mavrit*, which would correspond well with *Mavors*. But **Mavrit* has no meaning in Sanskrit, and seems grammatically an impossible formation.

If there could be any doubt as to the original identity of *Marut* and Mars, it is dispelled by the Umbrian name *çerfo Martio*, which, as Grassmann^b has shown, corresponds exactly to the expression *sárdha-s māruta-s*, the host of the *Maruts*. Such minute coincidences can hardly be accidental, though, as I have myself often remarked, the chapter of accidents in language is certainly larger than we suppose. Thus, in our case, I pointed out that we can observe the transition of the gods of storms into the gods of destruction and war, not only in the Veda, but likewise in the mythology of the Polynesians; and yet the similarity in the Polynesian name of *Maru* can only be accidental^c.

^a Biographies of Words, p. 12.

^b Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xvi, p. 190; and note to *Rv.* I, 37, 1, p. 70.

^c *M. M.*, Science of Religion, p. 255.

And I may add that in Estonian also we find storm-gods called Marutu uled or maro, plural marud^a.

Fourthly, the hymns addressed to the Maruts seemed to me to possess an interest of their own, because, as it is difficult to doubt the identity of the two names, Marut and Mars, they offered an excellent opportunity for watching the peculiar changes which the same deity would undergo when transferred to India on one side and to Europe on the other. Whether the Greek Ares also was an offshoot of the same root must seem more doubtful, and I contented myself with giving the principal reasons for and against this theory^b.

Though these inducements which led me to select the hymns to the Maruts as the first instalment of a translation of the Rig-veda could hardly prevail with me now, yet I was obliged to place them once more in the foreground, because the volume containing the translation of these hymns with very full notes has been used for many years as a text book by those who were beginning the study of the Rig-veda, and was out of print. In order to meet the demand for a book which could serve as an easy introduction to Vedic studies, I decided to reprint the translation of the hymns to the Maruts, and most of the notes, though here and there somewhat abbreviated, and then to continue the same hymns, followed by others addressed to Rudra, Vāyu, and Vāta. My task would, of course, have been much easier, if I had been satisfied with making a selection, and translating those hymns, or those verses only, which afford no very great difficulties. As it is, I have grappled with every hymn and every verse addressed to the Maruts, so that my readers will find in this volume all that the Vedic poets had to say about the Storm-gods.

In order to show, however, that Vedic hymns, though they begin with a description of the most striking phenomena of nature, are by no means confined to that

^a Bertram, *Ilmatar*, Dorpat, 1871, p. 98.

^b *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. ii, p. 357.

narrow sphere, but rise in the end to the most sublime conception of a supreme Deity, I have placed one hymn, that addressed to the Unknown God, at the head of my collection. This will clear me, I hope, of the very unfair suspicion that, by beginning my translation of the Rig-veda with hymns celebrating the wild forces of nature only, I had wished to represent the Vedic religion as nature-worship and nothing else. It will give the thoughtful reader a foretaste of what he may expect in the end, and show how vast a sphere of religious thought is filled by what we call by a very promiscuous name, the Veda.

The MS. of this volume was ready, and the printing of it was actually begun in 1885. A succession of new calls on my time, which admitted of no refusal, have delayed the actual publication till now. This delay, however, has been compensated by one very great advantage. Beginning with hymn 167 of the first *Mandala*, Professor Oldenberg has, in the most generous spirit, lent me his help in the final revision of my translation and notes. It is chiefly due to him that the results of the latest attempts at the interpretation of the Veda, which are scattered about in learned articles and monographs, have been utilised for this volume. His suggestions, I need hardly say, have proved most valuable; and though he should not be held responsible for any mistakes that may be discovered, whether in the translation or in the notes, my readers may at all events take it for granted that, where my translation seems unsatisfactory, Professor Oldenberg also had nothing better to suggest.

Considering my advancing years, I thought I should act in the true interest of Vedic scholarship, if for the future also I divided my work with him. While for this volume the chief responsibility rests with me, the second volume will contain the hymns to Agni, as translated and annotated by him, and revised by me. In places where we really differ, we shall say so. For the rest, we are willing to share both blame and praise. Our chief object is to help forward a critical study of the Veda, and we are well

aware that much of what has been done and can be done in the present state of Vedic scholarship, is only a kind of reconnaissance, if not a forlorn hope, to be followed hereafter by a patient siege of the hitherto impregnable fortress of ancient Vedic literature.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

WHEN some twenty years ago I decided on undertaking the first edition of the two texts and the commentary of the Rig-veda, I little expected that it would fall to my lot

What a translation of the Rig-veda ought to be.

to publish also what may, without presumption, be called the first translation of the ancient sacred hymns of the Brahmans. Such is the charm of deciphering step by step the dark and helpless utterances of the early poets of India, and discovering from time to time behind words that for years seemed unintelligible, the simple though strange expressions of primitive thought and primitive faith, that it required no small amount of self-denial to decide in favour of devoting a life to the publishing of the materials rather than to the drawing of the results which those materials supply to the student of ancient language and ancient religion. Even five and twenty years ago, and without waiting for the publication of Sâyaṇa's commentary, much might have been achieved in the interpretation of the hymns of the Rig-veda. With the MSS. then accessible in the principal libraries of Europe, a tolerably correct text of the *Samhitâ* might have been published, and these ancient relics of a primitive religion might have been at least partially deciphered and translated in the same way in which ancient inscriptions are deciphered and translated, viz. by a careful collection of all grammatical forms, and by a complete intercomparison of all passages in which the same words and the same phrases occur. When I resolved to devote my leisure to a critical edition of the text and commentary of the Rig-veda rather than to an independent study of that text, it was chiefly from a conviction that the traditional interpretation of the Rig-veda, as embodied in the commentary of Sâyaṇa and other works of a similar

character, could not be neglected with impunity, and that sooner or later a complete edition of these works would be recognised as a necessity. It was better therefore to begin with the beginning, though it seemed hard sometimes to spend forty years in the wilderness instead of rushing straight into the promised land.

It is well known to those who have followed my literary publications that I never entertained any exaggerated opinion as to the value of the traditional interpretation of the Veda, handed down in the theological schools of India, and preserved to us in the great commentary of Sâyaṇa. More than twenty years ago, when it required more courage to speak out than now, I expressed my opinion on that subject in no ambiguous language, and was blamed for it by some of those who now speak of Sâyaṇa as a mere drag in the progress of Vedic scholarship. Even a drag, however, is sometimes more conducive to the safe advancement of learning than a whip; and those who recollect the history of Vedic scholarship during the last five and twenty years, know best that, with all its faults and weaknesses, Sâyaṇa's commentary was a *sine quâ non* for a scholarlike study of the Rig-veda. I do not wonder that others who have more recently entered on that study are inclined to speak disparagingly of the scholastic interpretations of Sâyaṇa. They hardly know how much we all owe to his guidance in effecting our first entrance into this fortress of Vedic language and Vedic religion, and how much even they, without being aware of it, are indebted to that Indian Eustathius. I do not withdraw an opinion which I expressed many years ago, and for which I was much blamed at the time, that Sâyaṇa in many cases teaches us how the Veda ought not to be, rather than how it ought to be understood. But for all that, who does not know how much assistance may be derived from a first translation, even though it is imperfect, nay, how often the very mistakes of our predecessors help us in finding the right track? If now we can walk without Sâyaṇa, we ought to bear in mind that five and twenty years ago we could not have made even our first steps, we could never, at least, have gained a firm

footing without his leading strings. If therefore we can now see further than he could, let us not forget that we are standing on his shoulders.

I do not regret in the least the time which I have devoted to the somewhat tedious work of editing the commentary of Sāyana, and editing it according to the strictest rules of critical scholarship. The Veda, I feel convinced, will occupy scholars for centuries to come, and will take and maintain for ever its position as the most ancient of books in the library of mankind. Such a book, and the commentary of such a book, should be edited once for all; and unless some unexpected discovery is made of more ancient MSS., I do not anticipate that any future Bekker or Dindorf will find much to glean for a new edition of Sāyana, or that the text, as restored by me from a collation of the best MSS. accessible in Europe, will ever be materially shaken *. It has taken a long time, I know; but those who find fault with me for the delay, should remember that few

* Since the publication of the first volume of the Rig-veda, many new MSS. have come before me, partly copied for me, partly lent to me for a time by scholars in India, but every one of them belonged clearly to one of the three families which I have described in my introduction to the first volume of the Rig-veda. In the beginning of the first Ashṭaka, and occasionally at the beginning of other Ashṭakas, likewise in the commentary on hymns which were studied by native scholars with particular interest, various readings occur in some MSS., which seem at first to betoken an independent source, but which are in reality mere marginal notes, due to more or less learned students of these MSS. Thus after verse 3 of the introduction one MS. reads: *sa prāha nṛpatiṃ, rājan, sāyanāryo mamānugaḥ, sarvaṃ vetty esha vedānāṃ vyākhyātrītena, yugyatām*. The same MS., after verse 4, adds: *ityukto mādhavāryeṇa vīrabukkamahāpatiḥ, anvarāt sāyanātārāyaṃ vedārthasya prakāśane*.

I had for a time some hope that MSS. written in Grantha or other South-Indian alphabets might have preserved an independent text of Sāyana, but from some specimens of a Grantha MS. collated for me by Mr. Eggeling, I do not think that even this hope is meant to be realised. The MS. in question contains a few independent various readings, such as are found in all MSS., and owe their origin clearly to the jottings of individual students. When at the end of verse 6, I found the independent reading, *vyutpannas tāvatā sarvā riko vyākhyātum arhati*, I expected that other various readings of the same character might follow. But after a few additions in the beginning, and those clearly taken from other parts of Sāyana's commentary, nothing of real importance could be gleaned from that MS. I may mention as more important specimens of marginal notes that, before the first *punaḥ kīdrīsam*, on page 44, line 24 (1st ed.), this MS. reads: *athavā yagñasya devam iti sambandhaḥ, yagñasya prakāśakam ityārthaḥ, purohitam iti prithagvīśhanam*. And again, page 44, line 26,

scholars, if any, have worked for others more than I have done in copying and editing Sanskrit texts, and that after all one cannot give up the whole of one's life to the collation of Oriental MSS. and the correction of proof-sheets. The two concluding volumes have long been ready for Press, and as soon as I can find leisure, they too shall be printed and published *.

In now venturing to publish the first volume of my translation of the Rig-veda, I am fully aware that the fate which awaits it will be very different from that of my edition of the text and commentary. It is a mere contribution towards a better understanding of the Vedic hymns, and though I hope it may give in the main a right rendering of the sense of the Vedic poets, I feel convinced that on many points my translation is liable to correction, and will sooner or later be replaced by a more satisfactory one. It is difficult to explain to those who have not themselves worked at the Veda, how it is that, though we may understand almost every word, yet we find it so difficult to lay hold of a whole chain of connected thought, and to discover expressions that will not throw a wrong shade on the original features of the ancient words of the Veda. We have, on the one hand, to avoid giving to our translations too modern a character, or paraphrasing instead of translating; while, on the other, we cannot retain expressions which, if literally rendered in English or any modern tongue, would have an air of quaintness or absurdity totally foreign to the intention of the ancient poets. There are, as all Vedic scholars know, whole verses which, as yet, yield no sense whatever. There are words the meaning of

before *punaḥ kīdrīṣam*, this MS. adds: *athavā rītvigam rītvigvid (vad) yagñā-nirvāhakam hotāram devānām āhvātāram*; *tathā ratnadhātāmam*. In the same line, after *ratnānām*, we read *ramanīyadhanānām vā*, taken from page 46, line 2. Various readings like these, however, occur on the first sheets only, soon after the MS. follows the usual and recognised text. [This opinion has been considerably modified after a complete collation of this MS., made for me by Dr. Winternitz.] For the later Ash/akas, where all the MSS. are very deficient, and where an independent authority would be of real use, no Grantha MS. has as yet been discovered.

* They have since been printed, but the translation has in consequence been delayed.

which we can only guess. Here, no doubt, a continued study will remove some of our difficulties, and many a passage that is now dark, will receive light hereafter from a happy combination. Much has already been achieved by the efforts of European scholars, but much more remains to be done; and our only chance of seeing any rapid progress made lies, I believe, in communicating freely what every one has found out by himself, and not minding if others point out to us that we have overlooked the very passage that would at once have solved our difficulties, that our conjectures were unnecessary, and our emendations wrong. True and honest scholars whose conscience tells them that they have done their best, and who care for the subject on which they are engaged far more than for the praise of benevolent or the blame of malignant critics, ought not to take any notice of merely frivolous censure. There are mistakes, no doubt, of which we ought to be ashamed, and for which the only *amende honorable* we can make is to openly confess and retract them. But there are others, particularly in a subject like Vedic interpretation, which we should forgive, as we wish to be forgiven. This can be done without lowering the standard of true scholarship or vitiating the healthy tone of scientific morality. Kindness and gentleness are not incompatible with earnestness,—far from it!—and where these elements are wanting, not only is the joy embittered which is the inherent reward of all *bonâ fide* work, but selfishness, malignity, aye, even untruthfulness, gain the upper hand, and the healthy growth of science is stunted. While in my translation of the Veda and in the remarks that I have to make in the course of my commentary, I shall frequently differ from other scholars, I hope I shall never say an unkind word of men who have done their best, and who have done what they have done in a truly scholarlike, that is, in a humble spirit. It would be unpleasant, even were it possible within the limits assigned, to criticise every opinion that has been put forward on the meaning of certain words or on the construction of certain verses of the Veda. I prefer, as much as possible, to vindicate my own translation, instead of

examining the translations of other scholars, whether Indian or European. Sâyana's translation, as rendered into English by Professor Wilson, is before the world. Let those who take an interest in these matters compare it with the translation here proposed. In order to give readers who do not possess that translation, an opportunity of comparing it with my own, I have for a few hymns printed that as well as the translations of Langlois and Benfey* on the same page with my own. Everybody will thus be enabled to judge of the peculiar character of each of these translations. That of Sâyana represents the tradition of India; that of Langlois is the ingenious, but thoroughly uncritical, guess-work of a man of taste; that of Benfey is the rendering of a scholar, who has carefully worked out the history of some words, but who assigns to other words either the traditional meaning recorded by Sâyana, or a conjectural meaning which, however, would not always stand the test of an inter-comparison of all passages in which these words occur. I may say, in general, that Sâyana's translation was of great use to me in the beginning, though it seldom afforded help for the really difficult passages. Langlois' translation has hardly ever yielded real assistance, while I sincerely regret that Benfey's rendering does not extend beyond the first *Mandala*.

It may sound self-contradictory, if, after confessing the help which I derived from these translations, I venture to call my own the first translation of the Rig-veda. The word translation, however, has many meanings. I mean by translation, not a mere rendering of the hymns of the Rig-veda into English, French, or German, but a full account of the reasons which justify the translator in assigning such a power to such a word, and such a meaning to such a sentence. I mean by translation a real deciphering, a work like that which Burnouf performed in his first attempts at a translation of the Avesta,—a *traduction raisonnée*, if such an expression may be used. Without such a process,

* In the new edition, Langlois' translation has been omitted, and those of Ludwig and Grassmann have been inserted occasionally only.

without a running commentary, a mere translation of the ancient hymns of the Brahmans will never lead to any solid results. Even if the translator has discovered the right meaning of a word or of a whole sentence, his mere translation does not help us much, unless he shows us the process by which he has arrived at it, unless he places before us the *pièces justificatives* of his final judgment. The Veda teems with words that require a justification ; not so much the words which occur but once or twice, though many of these are difficult enough, but rather the common words and particles, which occur again and again, which we understand to a certain point, and can render in a vague way, but which must be defined before they can be translated, and before they can convey to us any real and tangible meaning. It was out of the question in a translation of this character to attempt either an imitation of the original rhythm or metre, or to introduce the totally foreign element of rhyming. Such translations may follow by and by : at present a metrical translation would only be an excuse for an inaccurate translation.

While engaged in collecting the evidence on which the meaning of every word and every sentence must be founded, I have derived the most important assistance from the Sanskrit Dictionary of Professors Böhtlingk and Roth, which has been in course of publication during the last sixteen years. The Vedic portion of that Dictionary may, I believe, be taken as the almost exclusive work of Professor Roth, and as such, for the sake of brevity, I shall treat it in my notes. It would be ungrateful were I not to acknowledge most fully the real benefit which this publication has conferred on every student of Sanskrit, and my only regret is that its publication has not proceeded more rapidly, so that even now years will elapse before we can hope to see it finished. But my sincere admiration for the work performed by the compilers of that Dictionary does not prevent me from differing, in many cases, from the explanations of Vedic words given by Professor Roth. If I do not always criticise Professor Roth's explanations when I differ from him, the reason is obvious. A dictionary without a full

translation of each passage, or without a justification of the meanings assigned to each word, is only a preliminary step to a translation. It represents a first classification of the meanings of the same word in different passages, but it gives us no means of judging how, according to the opinion of the compiler, the meaning of each single word should be made to fit the general sense of a whole sentence. I do not say this in disparagement, for, in a dictionary, it can hardly be otherwise ; I only refer to it in order to explain the difficulty I felt whenever I differed from Professor Roth, and was yet unable to tell how the meaning assigned by him to certain words would be justified by the author of the Dictionary himself. On this ground I have throughout preferred to explain every step by which I arrived at my own renderings, rather than to write a running criticism of Professor Roth's Dictionary. My obligations to him I like to express thus once for all, by stating that whenever I found that I agreed with him, I felt greatly assured as to the soundness of my own rendering, while whenever I differed from him, I never did so without careful consideration.

The works, however, which I have hitherto mentioned, though the most important, are by no means the only ones that have been of use to me in preparing my translation of the Rig-veda. The numerous articles on certain hymns, verses, or single words occurring in the Rig-veda, published by Vedic scholars in Europe and India during the last thirty years, were read by me at the time of their publication, and have helped me to overcome difficulties, the very existence of which is now forgotten. If I go back still further, I feel that in grappling with the first and the greatest of difficulties in the study of the Veda, I and many others are more deeply indebted than it is possible to say, to one whose early loss has been one of the greatest misfortunes to Sanskrit scholarship. It was in Burnouf's lectures that we first learnt what the Veda was, and how it should form the foundation of all our studies. Not only did he most liberally communicate to his pupils his valuable MSS., and teach us how to use these tools, but the results

of his own experience were freely placed at our service, we were warned against researches which he knew to be useless, we were encouraged in undertakings which he knew to be full of promise. His minute analysis of long passages of Sāyana, his independent interpretations of the text of the hymns, his comparisons between the words and grammatical forms, the thoughts and legends of the Veda and Avesta, his brilliant divination checked by an inexorable sense of truth, and his dry logical method enlivened by sallies of humour and sparks of imaginative genius, though not easily forgotten, and always remembered with gratitude, are now beyond the reach of praise or blame. Were I to criticise what he or other scholars have said and written many years ago, they might justly complain of such criticism. It is no longer necessary to prove that Nābhānedishṭha cannot mean 'new relatives,' or that there never was a race of Etendhras, or that the angels of the Bible are in no way connected with the Aṅgiras of the Vedic hymns; and it would, on the other hand, be a mere waste of time, were I to attempt to find out who first discovered that in the Veda deva does not always mean divine, but sometimes means brilliant. In fact, it could not be done.

In a new subject like that of the interpretation of the Veda, there are certain things which everybody discovers who has eyes to see. Their discovery requires so little research that it seems almost an insult to say that they were discovered by this or that scholar. Take, for instance, the peculiar pronunciation of certain words, rendered necessary by the requirements of Vedic metres. I believe that my learned friend Professor Kuhn was one of the first to call general attention to the fact that semivowels must frequently be changed into their corresponding vowels, and that long vowels must sometimes be pronounced as two syllables. It is clear, however, from Rosen's notes to the first Ashṭaka (I, 1, 8), that he, too, was perfectly aware of this fact, and that he recognised the prevalence of this rule, not only with regard to semivowels (see his note to RV. I, 2, 9) and long vowels which are the result of Sandhi, but likewise with regard to others that occur in the body of a

word. 'Animadvertē,' he writes, 'tres syllabas postremas vocis adhvārānām dipodiae iambicae munus sustinentes, penultima syllaba praeter iambi prioris arsin, thesin quoque sequentis pedis ferente. Satis frequentia sunt, in hac praesertim dipodiae iambicae sede, exempla syllabae naturae longae in tres moras productae. De qua re nihil quidem memoratum invenio apud Pingalam aliosque qui de arte metrica scripserunt: sed numeros ita, ut modo dictum est, computandos esse, taciti agnoscere videntur, quum versus una syllaba mancus non eos offendat.'

Now this is exactly the case. The ancient grammarians, as we shall see, teach distinctly that where two vowels have coalesced into one according to the rules of Sandhi, they may be pronounced as two syllables; and though they do not teach the same with regard to semivowels and long vowels occurring in the body of the word, yet they tacitly recognise that rule, by frequently taking its effects for granted. Thus in Sûtra 950 of the Prâtisākhya, verse IX, 111, 1, is called an Atyashī, and the first pāda is said to consist of twelve syllables. In order to get this number, the author must have read,

āyā rūkā hāṛīnyā puñānāh.

Immediately after, verse IV, 1, 3, is called a Dhr̥iti, and the first pāda must again have twelve syllables. Here therefore the author takes it for granted that we should read,

śākhē śākhāyām ābh̥y ā vāvṛt̥svā*.

No one, in fact, with any ear for rhythm, whether Saunaka and Pingala, or Rosen and Kuhn, could have helped observing these rules when reading the Veda. But it is quite a different case when we come to the question as to which words admit of such protracted pronunciation, and which do not. Here one scholar may differ from another according to the view he takes of the character of Vedic metres, and here one has to take careful account of the minute and

* See also Sûtra 937 seq. I cannot find any authority for the statement of Professor Kuhn (Beiträge, vol. iii, p. 114) that, according to the Rik-prâtisākhya, it is the first semivowel that must be dissolved, unless he referred to the remarks of the commentator to Sûtra 973.

ingenious observations contained in numerous articles by Professors Kuhn, Bollensen, Grassmann, and others.

With regard to the interpretation of certain words and sentences too, it may happen that explanations which have taxed the ingenuity of some scholars to the utmost, seem to others so self-evident that they would hardly think of quoting anybody's name in support of them, to say nothing of the endless and useless work it would entail, were we obliged always to find out who was the first to propose this or that interpretation. It is impossible here to lay down general rules:—each scholar must be guided by his own sense of justice to others and by self-respect. Let us take one instance. From the first time that I read the fourth hymn of the Rig-veda, I translated the fifth and sixth verses :

utá bruvantu naḥ nīdaḥ nīḥ anyātaḥ kīti ārata,
 dādhanāḥ indre it dūvaḥ,
 utá naḥ su-bhāgān arīḥ vokēyuh dasma kṛishṭāyaḥ,
 syāma it indrasya sārmani.

1. Whether our enemies say, 'Move away elsewhere, you who offer worship to Indra only,'—

2. Or whether, O mighty one, all people call us blessed : may we always remain in the keeping of Indra.

About the general sense of this passage I imagined there could be no doubt, although one word in it, viz. *arīḥ*, required an explanation. Yet the variety of interpretations proposed by different scholars is extraordinary. First, if we look to Sāyana, he translates :

1. May our priests praise Indra ! O enemies, go away from this place, and also from another place ! Our priests (may praise Indra), they who are always performing worship for Indra.

2. O destroyer of enemies ! may the enemy call us possessed of wealth ; how much more, friendly people ! May we be in the happiness of Indra !

Professor Wilson did not follow Sāyana closely, but translated :

1. Let our ministers, earnestly performing his worship,

exclaim: Depart, ye revilers, from hence and every other place (where he is adored).

2. Destroyer of foes, let our enemies say we are prosperous: let men (congratulate us). May we ever abide in the felicity (derived from the favour) of Indra.

Langlois translated:

1. Que (ces amis), en fêtant Indra, puissent dire: Vous, qui êtes nos adversaires, retirez-vous loin d'ici.

2. Que nos ennemis nous appellent des hommes fortunés, placés que nous sommes sous la protection d'Indra.

Stevenson translated:

1. Let all men again join in praising Indra. Avaunt ye profane scoffers, remove from hence, and from every other place, while we perform the rites of Indra.

2. O foe-destroyer, (through thy favour) even our enemies speak peaceably to us, the possessors of wealth; what wonder then if other men do so. Let us ever enjoy the happiness which springs from Indra's blessing.

Professor Benfey translated:

1. And let the scoffers say, They are rejected by every one else, therefore they celebrate Indra alone.

2. And may the enemy and the country proclaim us as happy, O destroyer, if we are only in Indra's keeping*.

Professor Roth, s.v. anyāta^h, took this word rightly in the sense of 'to a different place,' and must therefore have taken that sentence 'move away elsewhere' in the same sense in which I take it. Later, however, s.v. ar, he corrected himself, and proposed to translate the same words by 'you neglect something else.'

Professor Bollensen (Orient und Occident, vol. ii, p. 462),

* I add Grassmann's and Ludwig's renderings:

Grassmann: Mag spottend sagen unser Feind:

'Kein Andrer kümmert sich um sie;

Drum feiern Indra sie allein.'

Und glücklich mögen, Mächtiger!

Die Freundesstämme nennen uns,

Nur wenn wir sind in Indra's Schutz.

Ludwig: Mögen unsere tadler sagen: sogar noch anderes entgeht euch (dabei), wenn ihr dienst dem Indra tut.

Oder möge uns glückselige nennen der fromme, so nennen, o wundertäter, die (fünf) völker, in Indra's schutze mögen wir sein.

adopting to a certain extent the second rendering of Professor Roth in preference to that of Professor Benfey, endeavoured to show that the 'something else which is neglected,' is not something indefinite, but the worship of all the other gods, except Indra.

It might, no doubt, be said that every one of these translations contains something that is right, though mixed up with a great deal that is wrong; but to attempt for every verse of the Veda to quote and to criticise every previous translation, would be an invidious and useless task. In the case just quoted, it might seem right to state that Professor Bollensen was the first to see that *arīh* should be joined with *krishṭāyāh*, and that he therefore proposed to alter it to *arīh*, as a nom. plur. But on referring to Rosen, I find that, to a certain extent, he had anticipated Professor Bollensen's remark, for though, in his cautious way, he abstained from altering the text, yet he remarked: *Possitne arih pluralis esse, contracta terminatione, pro arayaḥ?*

After these preliminary remarks I have to say a few

Plan of the words on the general plan of my translation.
work.

I do not attempt as yet a translation of the whole of the Rig-veda, and I therefore considered myself at liberty to group the hymns according to the deities to which they are addressed. By this process, I believe, a great advantage is gained. We see at one glance all that has been said of a certain god, and we gain a more complete insight into his nature and character. Something of the same kind had been attempted by the original collectors of the ten books, for it can hardly be by accident that each of them begins with hymns addressed to Agni, and that these are followed by hymns addressed to Indra. The only exception to this rule is the eighth *Mandala*, for the ninth being devoted to one deity, to Soma, can hardly be accounted an exception. But if we take the Rig-veda as a whole, we find hymns, addressed to the same deities, not only scattered about in different books, but not even grouped together when they occur in one and the same book. Here, as we lose nothing by giving up the old arrangement, we

are surely at liberty, for our own purposes, to put together such hymns as have a common object, and to place before the reader as much material as possible for an exhaustive study of each individual deity.

I give for each hymn the Sanskrit original * in what is known as the Pada text, i.e. the text in which all words (pada) stand by themselves, as they do in Greek or Latin, without being joined together according to the rules of Sandhi. The text in which the words are thus joined, as they are in all other Sanskrit texts, is called the Samhitâ text. Whether the Pada or the Samhitâ text be the more ancient, may seem difficult to settle. As far as I can judge, they seem to me, in their present form, the product of the same period of Vedic scholarship. The Prâtisâkhyas, it is true, start from the Pada text, take it, as it were, for granted, and devote their rules to the explanation of those changes which that text undergoes in being changed into the Samhitâ text. But, on the other hand, the Pada text in some cases clearly presupposes the Samhitâ text. It leaves out passages which are repeated more than once, while the Samhitâ text always repeats these passages; it abstains from dividing the termination of the locative plural su, whenever in the Samhitâ text, i.e. according to the rules of Sandhi, it becomes shu; hence nadishu, agishu, but ap-su; and it gives short vowels instead of the long ones of the Samhitâ, even in cases where the long vowels are justified by the rules of the Vedic language. It is certain, in fact, that neither the Pada nor the Samhitâ text, as we now possess them, represents the original text of the Veda. Both show clear traces of scholastic influences. But if we try to restore the original form of the Vedic hymns, we shall certainly arrive at some kind of Pada text rather than at a Samhitâ text; nay, even in their present form, the original metre and rhythm of the ancient hymns of the Rîshis are far more perceptible when the words are divided, than when we join them together throughout according to the rules of Sandhi. Lastly, for practical purposes, the Pada text is far superior to the Samhitâ text in which the final

* This is left out in the second edition.

and initial letters, that is, the most important letters of words, are constantly disguised, and liable therefore to different interpretations. Although in some passages we may differ from the interpretation adopted by the Pada text, and although certain Vedic words have, no doubt, been wrongly analysed and divided by Sākalya, yet such cases are comparatively few, and where they occur, they are interesting as carrying us back to the earliest attempts of Vedic scholarship. In the vast majority of cases the divided text, with a few such rules as we have to observe in reading Latin, nay, even in reading Pāli verses, brings us certainly much nearer to the original utterance of the ancient *Rishis* than the amalgamated text.

The critical principles by which I have been guided in editing for the first time the text of the Rig-veda, require a few words of explanation, as they have lately been challenged on grounds which, I think, rest on a complete misapprehension of my previous statements on this subject.

As far as we are able to judge at present, we can hardly speak of various readings in the Vedic hymns, in the usual sense of that word. Various readings to be gathered from a collation of different MSS., now accessible to us, there are none. After collating a considerable number of MSS., I have succeeded, I believe, in fixing on three representative MSS., as described in the preface to the first volume of my edition of the Rig-veda. Even these MSS. are not free from blunders,—for what MS. is?—but these blunders have no claim to the title of various readings. They are lapsus calami, and no more; and, what is important, they have not become traditional *.

* Thus X, 101, 2, one of the Pada MSS. (P 2) reads distinctly *yagñām prā kriṇuta sakhāyaś*, but all the other MSS. have *nayata*, and there can be little doubt that it was the frequent repetition of the verb *kri* in this verse which led the writer to substitute *kriṇuta* for *nayata*. No other MS., as far as I am aware, repeats this blunder. In IX, 86, 34, the writer of the same MS. puts *ragasi* instead of *dhāvasi*, because his eye was caught by *rāgā* in the preceding line. X, 16, 5, the same MS. reads *sām gakkhasva* instead of *gakkhatām*, which is supported by S 1, S 2, P 1, while S 3 has a peculiar and more important reading, *gakkhatāt*. X, 67, 6, the same MS. P 2 has *vī ākartha* instead of *vī ākarta*.

A number of various readings which have been gleaned from Pandit Tārā-

The text, as deduced from the best MSS. of the *Samhitâ* text, can be controlled by four independent checks. The first is, of course, a collation of the best MSS. of the *Samhitâ* text.

The second check to be applied to the *Samhitâ* text is a comparison with the Pada text, of which, again, I possessed at least one excellent MS., and several more modern copies.

The third check was a comparison of this text with *Sâyana's* commentary, or rather with the text which is presupposed by that commentary. In the few cases where the Pada text seemed to differ from the *Samhitâ* text, a note was added to that effect, in the various readings of my edition; and the same was done, at least in all important cases, where *Sâyana* clearly followed a text at variance with our own.

The fourth check was a comparison of any doubtful passage with the numerous passages quoted in the *Prâtisâkhya*.

These were the principles by which I was guided in the critical restoration of the text of the *Rig-veda*, and I believe I may say that the text as printed by me is more correct than any MS. now accessible, more trustworthy than the text followed by *Sâyana*, and in all important points identically the same with that text which the authors of the

nâtha's Tûlâdânâdipaddhati (see Trübner's *American and Oriental Literary Record*, July 31, 1868) belong to the same class. They may be due either to the copyists of the MSS. which Pandit *Târânâtha* used while compiling his work, or they may by accident have crept into his own MS. Anyhow, not one of them is supported either by the best MSS. accessible in Europe, or by any passage in the *Prâtisâkhya*.

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|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| RV. IX, 11, 2, read devayu | instead of devayuh ^b . |
| IX, 11, 4, „ arkata | „ arâte ^b . |
| IX, 14, 2, „ yadî sabandhavaḥ | „ yaddiptabandhavaḥ ^b . |
| IX, 16, 3, „ anaptam | „ anuplam ^b . |
| IX, 17, 2, „ suvânâsa | „ stuvânâsa ^b . |
| IX, 21, 2, „ pravrinvento | „ pravrinvato ^b . |
| IX, 48, 2, „ samvrikta | „ samyukta ^b . |
| IX, 49, 1, „ no *pâm | „ no yâm ^b . |
| IX, 54, 3, „ sûryaḥ | „ sûryam ^b . |
| IX, 59, 3, „ sîda ni | „ sîdati ^b . |

^b As printed by Pandit *Târânâtha*.

Prâtisâkhya followed in their critical researches in the fifth or sixth century before our era. I believe that starting from that date our text of the Veda is better authenticated, and supported by a more perfect apparatus criticus, than the text of any Greek or Latin author, and I do not think that diplomatic criticism can ever go beyond what has been achieved in the constitution of the text of the Vedic hymns.

Far be it from me to say that the editio princeps of the text thus constituted was printed without mistakes.

But most of these mistakes are mistakes which no attentive reader could fail to detect. Cases like II, 35, 1, where *gôgishat* instead of *gôshishat* was printed three times, so as

to perplex even Professor Roth, or II, 12, 14, where *sasamânâm* occurs three times instead of *sasamânâm*, are, I believe, of rare occurrence. Nor do I think that, unless some quite unexpected discoveries are made, there ever will be a new critical edition, or, as we call it in Germany, a new recension of the hymns of the Rig-veda. If by collating new MSS., or by a careful study of the Prâtisâkhya, or by conjectural emendations, a more correct text could have been produced, we may be certain that a critical scholar like Professor Aufrecht would have given us such a text. But after carefully collating several MSS. of Professor Wilson's collection, and after enjoying the advantage of Professor Weber's assistance in collating the MSS. of the Royal Library at Berlin, and after a minute study of the Prâtisâkhya, he frankly states that in the text of the Rig-veda, transcribed in Roman letters, which he printed at Berlin, he followed my edition, and that he had to correct but a small number of misprints. For the two *Mandalas* which I had not yet published, I lent him the very MSS. on which my edition is founded; and there will be accordingly but few passages in these two concluding *Mandalas*, which I have still to publish, where the text will materially differ from that of his Romanised transcript.

No one, I should think, who is at all acquainted with the rules of diplomatic criticism, would easily bring himself to

touch a text resting on such authorities as the text of the Rig-veda. What would a Greek scholar give, if he could say of Homer that his text was in every word, in every syllable, in every vowel, in every accent, the same as the text used by Peisistratos in the sixth century B.C. ! A text thus preserved in its integrity for so many centuries, must remain for ever the authoritative text of the Veda.

To remove, for instance, the eleven hymns 49-59 in the eighth *Māṇḍala* from their proper place, or count them by themselves as *Vāḷakhilya* * hymns, seems to me, though no doubt perfectly harmless, little short of a critical sacrilege. Why *Sāyana* does not explain these hymns, I confess I do not know^b ; but whatever the reason was, it was not because they did not exist at his time, or because he thought them spurious. They are regularly counted in *Kātyāyana's* *Sarvānukrama*, though here the same accident has happened. One commentator, *Shadgurusishya*, the one most commonly used, does not explain them ; but another commentator, *Gagannātha*, does explain them, exactly as they occur in the *Sarvānukrama*, only leaving out hymn 58. That these hymns had something peculiar in the eyes of native scholars, is clear enough. They may for a time have formed a separate collection, they

* The earliest interpretation of the name *Vāḷakhilya* is found in the *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, I, 23. We are told that *Pragāpati* created the world, and in the process of creation the following interlude occurs :

sa tapo=tapyata. sa tapas taptvā sarīram adhūnuta. tasya yan māṁsam āsīt tato=runāḥ ketavo vātarasānā rīshaya udatish/haṇ. ye nakhāḥ, te vaikhānasāḥ. ye bālāḥ, te bālakhilyāḥ.

He burned with emotion. Having burnt with emotion, he shook his body. From what was his flesh, the *Rīshis*, called *Arunas*, *Ketus*, and *Vātarasanas*, sprang forth. His nails became the *Vaikhānasas*, his hairs the *Bālakhilyas*.

The author of this allegory therefore took *bāla* or *vāla* in *vāḷakhilya*, not in the sense of child, but identified it with *bāla*, hair.

The commentator remarks with regard to *tapas* : *nātra tapa upavāsādirūpam, kimtu srashāvyaṁ vastu kīdrīram iti paryālokanārūpam.*

^b A similar omission was pointed out by Professor Roth. Verses 21-24 of the 53rd hymn of the third *Māṇḍala*, which contain imprecations against *Vasishtha*, are left out by the writer of a *Pada MS.*, and by a copyist of *Sāyana's* commentary, probably because they both belonged to the family of *Vasishtha*. See my first edition of the *Rig-veda*, vol. ii, p. lvi, Notes.

may have been considered of more modern origin *. I shall go even further than those who remove these hymns from the place which they have occupied for more than two thousand years. I admit they disturb the regularity both of the *Mandala* and the *Ashṭaka* divisions, and I have pointed out myself that they are not counted in the ancient *Anukramanīs* ascribed to Saunaka ; (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 220.) But, on the other hand, verses taken from these hymns occur in all the other Vedas^b; they are mentioned by name in the *Brāhmanas* (Ait. Br. V, 15 ; VI, 24), the *Āraṇyakas* (Ait. Ār. V, 10, p. 445), and the *Sūtras* (*Āsv. Srauta Sūtras*, VIII, 2, 3), while they are never included in the manuscripts of *Parisishṭas* or *Khilas* or apocryphal hymns, nor mentioned by *Kātyāyana* as mere *Khilas* in his *Sarvānukrama*. Eight^c of them are mentioned in the *Bṛihaddevatā*, without any allusion to their apocryphal character :

Parāṇy aṣṭau tu sūktāny *riṣhīnām* tigmategasām,
Aindrāṇy atra tu *shadvimsaḥ* pragātho bahudaivataḥ.
Rig antyāgner *akety* agniḥ sūryam antyapado gagau.
Praskanvas *ka* *prishadhras* *ka* *prādād* yad vastu *kimkāna*
Bhūrīd iti tu sūktābhyām akhilam parikīrtitam.
Aindrāṇy ubhayam ity atra *sha* āgneyāt parāṇi tu.

‘The next eight hymns belong to *Riṣhis* of keen intellect^d; they are addressed to *Indra*, but the 26th *Pragātha*

* *Sāyana* (RV. X, 88, 18) quotes these hymns as *Vālakhilya-saṃhitā*. In the *Mahābhārata* XII, 59 ; 110 seq. the *Vālakhilyas* are called the ministers of King *Vainya*, whose astrologer was *Garga*, and his domestic priest *Sukra* ; see Kern, *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, transl. p. 11.

^b This is a criterion of some importance, and it might have been mentioned, for instance, by Professor *Bollensen* in his interesting article on the *Dvīpadā Virāg* hymns ascribed to *Parāśara* (I, 65-70) that not a single verse of them occurs in any of the other Vedas.

^c *Sāyana* in his commentary (RV. X, 27, 15) speaks of eight, while in the Ait. Ār. V, 10, the first six are quoted (containing fifty-six verses, comm.), as being used together for certain sacrificial purposes.

^d Lest *Saunaka* be suspected of having applied this epithet, *tigmategas*, to the *Vālakhilyas* in order to fill the verse (*pādapūranārtham*), I may point out that the same epithet is applied to the *Vālakhilyas* in the *Maitry-upanishad* 2, 3. The nom. plur. which occurs there is *tigmategasāḥ*, and the commentator remarks: *tigmategasas tīvrategaso=tyūrgitaprabhāvāḥ* ; *tegasā ityevamvidha etakāḥkākāḥsāṅketapāḥ* *kāṇḍasaḥ* *sarvatra*. See also *Maitr. Up.* VI, 29.

(VIII, 54, 3-4, which verses form the 26th couplet, if counting from VIII, 49, 1) is addressed to many gods. The last verse (of these eight hymns), VIII, 56, 5, beginning with the words *akety agniḥ*, is addressed to Agni, and the last foot celebrates Sūrya. Whatsoever Praskanva and Prishadhra gave (or, if we read *prishadhrāya*, whatever Praskanva gave to Prishadhra), all that is celebrated in the two hymns beginning with *bhūrīt*. After the hymn addressed to Agni (VIII, 60), there follow six hymns addressed to Indra, beginning with *ubhayam*.'

But the most important point of all is this, that these hymns, which exist both in the Pada and Samhitā texts, are quoted by the Prātisākhya, not only for general purposes, but for special passages occurring in them, and nowhere else. Thus in Sūtra 154, *hetāyaḥ* is quoted as one of the few words which do not require the elision of a following short a. In order to appreciate what is implied by this special quotation, it is necessary to have a clear insight into the mechanism of the Prātisākhya. Its chief object is to bring under general categories the changes which the separate words of the Pada text undergo when joined together in the Ārshī Samhitā, and to do this with the utmost brevity possible. Now the Sandhi rules, as observed in the Samhitā of the Rig-veda, are by no means so uniform and regular as they are in later Sanskrit, and hence it is sometimes extremely difficult to bring all the exceptional cases under more or less general rules. In our passage the author of the Prātisākhya endeavours to comprehend all the passages where an initial a in the Veda is not elided after a final e or o. In ordinary Sanskrit it would be always elided, in the Samhitā it is sometimes elided, and sometimes not. Thus the Prātisākhya begins in Sūtra 138 by stating that if the short a stands at the beginning of a pāda or foot, it is always elided. Why it should be always elided in the very place where the metre most strongly requires that it should be pronounced, does not concern the author of the Prātisākhya. He is a statistician, not a grammarian, and he therefore simply adds in Sūtra 153 the only three exceptional passages where the a, under these very circumstances,

happens to be not elided. He then proceeds in Sûtra 139 to state that a is elided even in the middle of a pāda, provided it be light, followed by y or v, and these, y or v, again followed by a light vowel. Hence the Samhitā writes te •vādan, so •yām, but not śikshanto •vratam, for here the a of avratam is heavy; nor mitramaho •vadyât, for here the a following the v is heavy

Then follows again an extension of this rule, viz. in the case of words ending in āvo. After these, a short a, even if followed by other consonants besides y or v, may be elided, but the other conditions must be fulfilled, i. e. the short a must be light, and the vowel of the next syllable must again be light. Thus the Samhitā writes indeed gāvo •bhītaḥ, but not gāvo •gman, because here the a is heavy, being followed by two consonants.

After this, a more general rule is given, or, more correctly, a more comprehensive observation is made, viz. that under all circumstances initial a is elided, if the preceding word ends in aye, ayaḥ, ave, or avaḥ. As might be expected, however, so large a class must have numerous exceptions, and these can only be collected by quoting every word ending in these syllables, or every passage in which the exceptions occur. Before these exceptions are enumerated, some other more or less general observations are made, providing for the elision of initial a. Initial a, according to Sûtra 142, is to be elided if the preceding word is vaḥ, and if this vaḥ is preceded by â, na, pra, kva, kitraḥ, savitâ, eva, or kaḥ. There is, of course, no intelligible reason why, if these words precede vaḥ, the next a should be elided. It is a mere statement of facts, and, generally speaking, these statements are minutely accurate. There is probably no verse in the whole of the Rig-veda where an initial a after vaḥ is elided, unless these very words precede, or unless some other observation has been made to provide for the elision of the a. For instance, in V, 25, 1, we find vaḥ preceded by akkḥia, which is not among the words just mentioned, and here the Samhitā does not elide the a of agnim, which follows after vaḥ. After all these more or less general observations as to the elision of

an initial a are thus exhausted, the author of the *Prātisākhya* descends into particulars, and gives lists, first, of words the initial a of which is always elided; secondly, of words which, if preceding, require under all circumstances the elision of the initial a of the next word, whatever may have been said to the contrary in the preceding *Sūtras*. Afterwards, he gives a number of passages which defy all rules, and must be given on their own merits, and as they stand in the *Samhitā*. Lastly, follow special exceptions to the more or less general rules given before. And here, among these special exceptions, we see that the author of the *Prātisākhya* finds it necessary to quote a passage from a *Vāḷakhilya* hymn in which *hetáyaḥ* occurs, i.e. a word ending in *ayaḥ*, and where, in defiance of *Sūtra* 141, which required the elision of a following initial a under all circumstances (*sarvathā*), the initial a of *asya* is not elided; VIII, 50, 2, *Samhitā*, *satánikā hetáyo asya*. It might be objected that the *Prātisākhya* only quotes *hetáyaḥ* as an exceptional word, and does not refer directly to the verse in the *Vāḷakhilya* hymn. But fortunately *hetáyaḥ* occurs but twice in the whole of the *Rig-veda*; and in the other passage where it occurs, I, 190, 4, neither the rule nor the exception as to the elision of an initial a, could apply. The author of the *Prātisākhya* therefore makes no distinction between the *Vāḷakhilya* and any other hymns of the *Rig-veda*, and he would have considered his phonetic statistics equally at fault, if it had been possible to quote one single passage from the hymns VIII, 49 to 59, as contravening his observations, as if such passages had been alleged from the hymns of *Vasishtha* or *Viśvāmitra*.

It would lead me too far, were I to enter here into similar cases in support of the fact that the *Prātisākhya* makes no distinction between the *Vāḷakhilya* and any other hymns of the *Rig-veda-samhitā* *. But I doubt whether the bearing of this fact has ever been fully realised. Here we see that the absence of the elision of a short a which follows after a word ending in *ayaḥ*, was considered of sufficient importance

* The *Prātisākhya* takes into account both the *Sākala* and *Bāṣkala* *sākhās*, as may be seen from *Sūtra* 1057.

to be recorded in a special rule, because in most cases the *Samhitā* elides an initial *a*, if preceded by a word ending in *ayaḥ*. What does this prove? It proves, unless all our views on the chronology of Vedic literature are wrong, that in the fifth century B.C. at least, or previously rather to the time when the *Prātisākhya* was composed, both the *Pada* and the *Samhitā* texts were so firmly settled that it was impossible, for the sake of uniformity or regularity, to omit one single short *a*; and it proves *à fortiori*, that the hymn in which that irregular short *a* occurs, formed at that time part of the Vedic canon. I confess I feel sometimes frightened by the stringency of this argument, and I should like to see a possibility by which we could explain the addition, not of the *Vālakhilya* hymns only, but of other much more modern sounding hymns, at a later time than the period of the *Prātisākhyas*. But until that possibility is shown, we must abide by our own conclusions; and then I ask, who is the critic who would dare to tamper with a canon of scripture of which every iota was settled before the time of Cyrus, and which we possess in exactly that form in which it is described to us by the authors of the *Prātisākhyas*? I say again, that I am not free from misgivings on the subject, and my critical conscience would be far better satisfied if we could ascribe the *Prātisākhya* and all it presupposes to a much later date. But until that is done, the fact remains that the two divergent texts, the *Pada* and *Samhitā*, which we now possess, existed, as we now possess them, previous to the time of the *Prātisākhya*. They have not diverged nor varied since, and the vertex to which they point, starting from the distance of the two texts as measured by the *Prātisākhya*, carries us back far beyond the time of Saunaka, if we wish to determine the date of the first authorised collection of the hymns, both in their *Pada* and in their *Samhitā* form.

Instances abound, if we compare the *Pada* and *Samhitā* texts, where, if uniformity between the two texts had been the object of the scholars of the ancient *Parishads*, the lengthening or shortening of a vowel would at once have removed the apparent discordance between the two tradi-

tional texts. Nor should it be supposed that such minute discordances between the two, as the length or shortness of a vowel, were always rendered necessary by the requirements of the metre, and that for that reason the ancient students or the later copyists of the Veda abstained from altering the peculiar spelling of words, which seemed required by the exigencies of the metre in the *Samhitā* text, but not in the *Pada* text. Though this may be true in some cases, it is not so in all. There are short vowels in the *Samhitā* where, according to grammar, we expect long vowels, and where, according to metre, there was no necessity for shortening them. Yet in these very places all the MSS. of the *Samhitā* text give the irregular short, and all the MSS. of the *Pada* text the regular long vowel, and the authors of the *Prātisākhya*s bear witness that the same minute difference existed at their own time, nay, previous to their own time. In VII, 60, 12, the *Samhitā* text gives :

iyām deva purōhitir yuvābhyām yagnēshu mitrāvarunāv akāri.

This primacy, O (two) gods, was made for you two, O Mitra and Varuna, at the sacrifices !

Here it is quite clear that *deva* is meant for a dual, and ought to have been *devā* or *devau*. The metre does not require a short syllable, and yet all the *Samhitā* MSS. read *devā*, and all the *Pada* MSS. read *devā* ; and what is more important, the authors of the *Prātisākhyā* had to register this small divergence of the two texts, which existed in their time as it exists in our own *.

Nor let it be supposed, that the writers of our MSS. were so careful and so conscientious that they would, when copying MSS., regulate every consonant or vowel according to the rules of the *Prātisākhyā*. This is by no means the case. The writers of Vedic MSS. are on the whole more accurate than the writers of other MSS., but their learning does not seem to extend to a knowledge of the minute rules of the *Prātisākhyā*, and they will commit

* See *Prātisākhyā*, *Sūtra* 309 seqq., where several more instances of the same kind are given. I should prefer to take *devapurohiti* as one word, but that was not the intention of the authors of the *Samhitā* and *Pada* texts.

occasionally the very mistakes against which they are warned by the *Prātisākhya*. Thus the *Prātisākhya* (Sūtra 799) warns the students against a common mistake of changing *vaiyasva* into *vayyasva*, i. e. by changing *ai* to *a*, and doubling the semivowel *y*. But this very mistake occurs in S 2, and another MS. gives *vaiyyasva*. See p. lvi.

If these arguments are sound, and if nothing can be said against the critical principles by which I have been guided in editing the text of the *Rig-veda*, if the Aufrecht's mistakes. fourfold check, described above, fulfils every requirement that could be made for restoring that text which was known to *Sāyana*, and which was known, probably 2000 years earlier, to the authors of the *Prātisākhyas*, what can be the motives, it may fairly be asked, of those who clamour for a new and more critical edition, and who imagine that the *editio princeps* of the *Rig-veda* will share the fate of most of the *editiones principes* of the Greek and Roman classics, and be supplanted by new editions founded on the collation of other MSS.? No one could have rejoiced more sincerely than I did at the publication of the Romanised transliteration of the *Rig-veda*, carried out with so much patience and accuracy by Professor Aufrecht. It showed that there was a growing interest in this, the only true Veda; it showed that even those who could not read Sanskrit in the original *Devanāgarī*, wished to have access to the original text of these ancient hymns; it showed that the study of the Veda had a future before it like no other book of Sanskrit literature. My learned friend Professor Aufrecht has been most unfairly charged with having printed this Romanised text *me insciente vel invito*. My edition is *publici juris*, like any edition of Homer or Plato, and anybody might, with proper acknowledgment, have reprinted it, either in Roman or *Devanāgarī* letters. But far from keeping me in ignorance of his plan, Professor Aufrecht applied to me for the loan of the MSS. of the two *Mandalas* which I had not yet published, and I lent them to him most gladly, because, by seeing them printed at once, I felt far less

guilty in delaying the publication of the last volumes of my edition of the text and commentary. Nor could anything have been more honourable than the way in which Professor Aufrecht speaks of the true relation of his Romanised text to my edition. That there are misprints, and I, speaking for myself, ought to say mistakes also, in my edition of the Rig-veda, I know but too well; and if Professor Aufrecht, after carefully transcribing every word, could honestly say that their number is small, I doubt whether other scholars will be able to prove that their number is large. I believe I may with the same honesty return Professor Aufrecht's compliment, and considering the great difficulty of avoiding misprints in Romanised transcripts, I have always thought and I have always said that his reprint of the hymns of the Veda is remarkably correct and accurate. What, however, I must protest against, and what, I feel sure, Professor Aufrecht himself would equally protest against, is the supposition, and more than supposition of certain scholars, that wherever this later Latin transcript differs from my own Devanâgarî text, Professor Aufrecht is right, and I am wrong; that his various readings rest on the authority of new MSS., and constitute in fact a new recension of the Vedic hymns. Against this supposition I must protest most strongly, not for my own sake, but for the sake of the old book, and, still more, for the sake of the truth. No doubt it is natural to suppose that where a later edition differs from a former edition, it does so intentionally; and I do not complain of those who, without being able to have recourse to MSS. in order to test the authority of various readings, concluded that wherever the new text differed from the old, it was because the old text was at fault. In order to satisfy my own conscience on this point, I have collated a number of passages where Professor Aufrecht's text differs from my own, and I feel satisfied that in the vast majority of cases, I am right and he is wrong, and that his variations do not rest on the authority of MSS. I must not shrink from the duty of making good this assertion, and I therefore proceed to an examination of such passages as have occurred to me on

occasionally referring to his text, pointing out the readings both where he is right, and where he is wrong. The differences between the two texts may appear trifling, but I shall not avail myself of that plea. On the contrary, I quite agree with those scholars who hold that in truly critical scholarship there is nothing trifling. Besides, it is in the nature of the case that what may, by a stretch of the word, be called various readings in the Veda, must be confined to single letters or accents, and can but seldom extend to whole words, and never to whole sentences. I must therefore beg my readers to have patience while I endeavour to show that the text of the Rig-veda, as first published by me, though by no means faultless, was nevertheless not edited in so perfunctory a manner as some learned critics seem to suppose, and that it will not be easy to supplant it either by a collation of new MSS., such as are accessible at present, or by occasional references to the *Prâtisākhya*.

I begin with some mistakes of my own, mistakes which I might have avoided, if I had always consulted the *Prâtisākhya*, where single words or whole passages of the Veda are quoted. Some of these mistakes have been removed by Professor Aufrecht, others, however, appear in his transcript as they appear in my own edition.

I need hardly point out passages where palpable misprints in my edition have been repeated in Professor Aufrecht's text. I mean by palpable misprints, cases where a glance at the Pada text or at the *Samhitā* text or a reference to *Sāyana*'s commentary would show at once what was intended. Thus, for instance, in VI, 15, 3, *vṛidhé*, as I had printed in the *Samhitā*, was clearly a misprint for *vṛidhó*, as may be seen from the Pada, which gives *vṛidhák*, and from *Sāyana*. Here, though Professor Aufrecht repeats *vṛidhé*, I think it hardly necessary to show that the authority of the best MSS. (*S* 2 alone contains a correction of *vṛidhó* to *vṛidhé*) is in favour of *vṛidhák*, whatever we may think of the relative value of these two readings. One must be careful, however, in a text like that of the Vedic hymns, where the presence or absence of a single letter or accent begins to become

the object of the most learned and painstaking discussions, not to claim too large an indulgence for misprints. A misprint in the *Samhitā*, if repeated in the *Pada*, or if admitted even in the commentary of *Sāyana*, though it need not be put down to the editor's deplorable ignorance, becomes yet a serious matter, and I willingly take all the blame which is justly due for occasional accidents of this character. Such are, for instance, II, 12, 14, *sasamānām* instead of *sasamānām*; I, 124, 4, *sudhyúvaḥ*, in the *Pada*, instead of *sundhyúvaḥ*; and the substitution in several places of a short u instead of a long ū in such forms as *sūśāvāma*, when occurring in the *Pada*; cf. I, 166, 14; 167, 9.

It is clear from the *Prātisākhya*, *Sūtra* 819 and 163, 5, that the words *ūtī́ndra* in IV, 29, 1, should not be joined together, but that the hiatus should remain. Hence *ūtī́ndra*, as printed in my edition and repeated in Professor Aufrecht's, should be corrected, and the hiatus be preserved, as it is in the fourth verse of the same hymn, *ūtī́ itthá*. MSS. S 1, S 3 are right; in S 2 the words are joined.

It follows from *Sūtra* 799 that to double the y in *vaiyasva* is a mistake, but a mistake which had to be pointed out and guarded against as early as the time of the *Prātisākhya*. In VIII, 26, 11, therefore, *vaiyyasváya*, as printed in my edition and repeated in Professor Aufrecht's, should be changed to *vaiyasváya*. MSS. S 1, S 3 are right, likewise P 1, P 2; but S 2 has the double mistake *vaiyyasváya*, as described in the *Prātisākhya*; another MS. of Wilson's has *vaiyy*. The same applies to VIII, 23, 24, and VIII, 24, 23. P 1 admits the mistaken spelling *vaiyasva*.

Some corrections that ought to be made in the *Pada-pāṭha* only, as printed in my edition, are pointed out in a note to *Sūtra* 738 of the *Prātisākhya*. Thus, according to *Sūtra* 583, 6, *srūyáḥ* in the *Pada* text of II, 10, 2, should be changed to *sruyáḥ*. MSS. P 1, P 2 have the short u.

In V, 7, 8, I had printed *súkiḥ* *shma*, leaving the a of

shma short in accordance with the *Prâtisākhya*, *Sûtra* 514, where a string of words is given before which sma must not be lengthened, and where under No. 11 we find yāsmāi. Professor Aufrecht has altered this, and gives the ā as long, which is wrong. The MSS. S 1, S 2, S 3 have the short a.

Another word before which sma ought not to be lengthened is māvate. Hence, according to *Sûtra* 514, 14, I ought not to have printed in VI, 65, 4, shmā māvate, but shma māvate. Here Professor Aufrecht has retained the long ā, which is wrong. MSS. S 1, S 2, S 3 have the short a.

It follows from *Sûtra* 499 that in I, 138, 4, we should not lengthen the vowel of sú. Hence, instead of asyā ū shū na úpa sātāye, as printed in my edition and repeated by Professor Aufrecht, we should read asyā ū shú na úpa sātāye. S 1, S 2, S 3 have short u*.

In VII, 31, 4, I had by mistake printed viddhī instead of viddhī. The same reading is adopted by Professor Aufrecht (II, p. 24), but the authority of the *Prâtisākhya*, *Sûtra* 445, can hardly be overruled. S 1, S 2, S 3 have viddhī.

While in cases like these, the *Prâtisākhya* is an authority which, as far as I can judge, ought to overrule the authority of every MS., however ancient, we must in other cases depend either on the testimony of the best MSS. or be guided, in fixing on the right reading, by *Sāyana* and the rules of grammar. I shall therefore, in cases where I cannot consider Professor Aufrecht's readings as authoritative improvements, have to give my reasons why I adhere to the readings which I had originally adopted.

In V, 9, 4, I had printed by mistake purú yó instead of purī yó. I had, however, corrected this misprint in my edition of the *Prâtisākhya*, 393, 532. Professor Aufrecht decides in favour of purú with a short u, but against the authority of the MSS., S 1, S 2, S 3, which have purī.

* In the same verse, I, 138, 4, the shu in ó shú tvā should not be lengthened, for there is no rule, as far as I can see, in the *Prâtisākhya* that would require the lengthening of sú before tvā. See *Prâtisākhya*, 491.

It was certainly a great mistake of mine, though it may seem more excusable in a Romanised transcript, that I did not follow the writers of the best MSS. in their use of the Avagraha, or, I should rather say, of that sign which, as far as the Veda is concerned, is very wrongly designated by the name of Avagraha. Avagraha, according to the Prâtisâkhya, never occurs in the Samhitâ text, but is the name given to that halt, stoppage, or pause which in the Pada text separates the component parts of compound words. That pause has the length of one short vowel, i.e. one mâtrâ. Of course, nothing is said by the Prâtisâkhya as to how the pause should be represented graphically, but it is several times alluded to as of importance in the recitation and accentuation of the Veda. What we have been in the habit of calling Avagraha is by the writers of certain MSS. of the Samhitâ text used as the sign of the Vivṛtti or hiatus. This hiatus, however, is very different from the Avagraha, for while the Avagraha has the length of one mâtrâ, the Vivṛtti or hiatus has the length of $\frac{1}{4}$ mâtrâ, if the two vowels are short; of $\frac{1}{2}$ mâtrâ, if either vowel is long; of $\frac{3}{4}$ mâtrâ, if both vowels are long. Now I have several times called attention to the fact that though this hiatus is marked in certain MSS. by the sign \ast , I have in my edition omitted it, because I thought that the hiatus spoke for itself and did not require a sign to attract the attention of European readers; while, on the contrary, I have inserted that sign where MSS. hardly ever use it, viz. when a short initial a is elided after a final e or o; (see my remarks on pp. 36, 39, of my edition of the Prâtisâkhya.) Although I thought, and still think, that this use of the sign \ast is more useful for practical purposes, yet I regret that, in this one particular, I should have deviated from the authority of the best MSS., and caused some misunderstandings on the part of those who have made use of my edition. If, for instance, I had placed the sign of the Vivṛtti, the \ast , in its proper place, or if, at least, I had not inserted it where, as we say, the initial a has been elided after e or o, Professor Bollensen would have seen at once that the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas fully agree with him in looking on this change, not as an

elision, but as a contraction. If, as sometimes happens, final o or e remain unchanged before initial short a, this is called the *Pañkāla* and *Prākya padavṛtti* (Sūtra 137). If, on the contrary, final o or e become one (*ekibhavati*) with the initial short a, this is called the *Abhinihita sandhi* (Sūtra 138). While the former, the hiatus of the *Pañkāla* and Eastern schools, is marked by the writers of several MSS. by the sign *, the *Abhinihita sandhi*, being a sandhi, is not marked by any sign *.

I, 3, 12. *rāgati* (Aufr. p. 2) instead of *rāgati* (M. M. vol. i, p. 75) is wrong.

I, 7, 9. *ya ékaḥ* (Aufr. p. 5) should be *yá ékaḥ* (M. M. vol. i, p. 110), because the relative pronoun is never without an accent. The relative particle *yathā* may be without an accent, if it stands at the end of a *pāda*; and though there are exceptions to this rule, yet in VIII, 21, 5, where Professor Aufrecht gives *yáthā*, the MSS. are unanimous in favour of *yathā* (M. M. vol. iv, p. 480). See *Phit-sūtra*, ed. Kielhorn, p. 54.

I, 10, 11. *ā tū* (Aufr. p. 7) should be *á tū* (M. M. vol. i, p. 139), because *ā* is never without the accent.

I, 10, 12. *gúshṭhāḥ*, which Professor Aufrecht specially mentions as having no final Visarga in the *Pada*, has the Visarga in all the MSS., (Aufr. p. 7, M. M. vol. i, p. 140.)

I, 11, 4. *kávīr* (Aufr. p. 7) should be *kavír* (M. M. vol. i, p. 143).

I, 22, 8, read *rādhāmsi*.

I, 40, 1 and 6. There is no excuse for the accent either on *tvémahe* or on *vókema*, while *sákāñ* in I, 51, 11, ought to have the accent on the first syllable.

I, 49, 3. Rosen was right in not eliding the *a* in *divó ántebhyaḥ*. S 1, S 2, S 3 preserve the initial *a*, nor does the *Prātisākhya* anywhere provide for its suppression.

I, 54, 8. *kshátram* (Aufr. p. 46) is a mere misprint for *kshatrám*.

* As to the system or want of system, according to which the *Abhinihita sandhi* takes place in the *Saṃhitā*, see p. xlviii seq.

I, 55, 7. vandanasrúd (Aufr. p. 47) instead of vandanasrud (M. M. vol. i, p. 514) is wrong.

I, 57, 2. samásita instead of samásita had been corrected in my reprint of the first *Mandala*, published at Leipzig. See Bollensen, *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. xxii, p. 626.

I, 61, 7, read *vishnuh* ; I, 64, 2, read *súkayah* ; I, 64, 5, read *dhūtayah*.

I, 61, 16. Rosen had rightly printed *hāriyoganā* with a long *ā* both in the *Samhitā* and *Pada* texts, and I ought not to have given the short *a* instead. All the MSS., S 1, S 2, S 3, P 1, and P 2, give the long *ā*. Professor Aufrecht gives the short *a* in the *Pada*, which is wrong.

I, 67, 2 (4). *vidántim* (M. M. vol. i, p. 595) is perfectly right, as far as the authority of the MSS. and of *Sāyana* is concerned, and should not have been altered to *vindántim* (Aufr. p. 57).

I, 72, 2, read *vatsám* ; I, 72, 6, read *parśñ* ; I, 76, 3, read *dhákshy* ; I, 82, 1, read *yadá*.

I, 83, 3. Rosen was right in giving *ásamyattah*. I gave *ásamyatah* on the authority of P 1, but all the other MSS. have *tt*.

I, 84, 1. *indra* (Aufr. p. 68) cannot have the accent on the first syllable, because it does not stand at the beginning of a *pāda* (M. M. vol. i, p. 677). The same applies to *indra*, VI, 41, 4, (Aufr. p. 429) instead of *indra* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 734) ; to *ágne*, I, 140, 12, (Aufr. p. 130) instead of *agne* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 133). In III, 36, 3, on the contrary, *indra*, being at the head of a *pāda*, ought to have the accent on the first syllable, *indra* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 855), not *indra* (Aufr. p. 249). The same mistake occurs again, III, 36, 10 (Aufr. p. 250) ; IV, 32, 7, (Aufr. p. 305) ; IV, 32, 12, (Aufr. p. 305) ; VIII, 3, 12, (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 86). In V, 61, 1, *narah* should have no accent ; whereas in VII, 91, 3, it should have the accent on the first syllable. In VIII, 8, 19, *vipanyû* should have no accent, and Professor Aufrecht gives it correctly in the notes, where he has likewise very properly removed the *Avagraha* which I had inserted.

I, 88, 1, read *yâta* (M. M. vol. i, p. 708), not *yâtha* (Aufr. p. 72).

I, 90, 1, read *rigunítĩ*; I, 94, 11, read *yavasádo* (M. M. vol. i, p. 766), not *yayasádo* (Aufr. p. 80).

I, 118, 9. *abhibhūtim* (Aufr. p. 105) instead of *abhíbhūtim* (M. M. vol. i, p. 957) cannot be right, considering that in all other passages *abhíbhūti* has the accent on the second syllable. S 1, S 2, S 3 have the accent on the i.

I, 128, 4. *ghrītasrīr* (Aufr. p. 117) instead of *ghrītasrīr* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 52) is wrong.

I, 144, 2, read *pārivritāh* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 155) instead of *parīvritāh* (Aufr. p. 133).

I, 145, 5. Professor Aufrecht (p. 134) gives *upamasyām*, both in the *Saṃhitā* and *Pada* texts, as having the accent on the last syllable. I had placed the accent on the penultimate, (*Pada*, *upa-māsyām*, vol. ii, p. 161,) and whatever may be the reading of other MSS., this is the only possible accentuation. S 1, S 2, S 3 have the right accent.

I, 148, 4. *pūrūni* (Aufr. p. 136) instead of *purūni* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 170) does not rest, as far as I know, on the authority of any MSS. S 1, S 2, S 3 have *purūni*.

I, 151, 7. *gakkhatho* (Aufr. p. 137) should be *gákkhatho* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 181).

I, 161, 12. All the *Pada* MSS. read *prá ábravīt*, separating the two words and accentuating each. Though the accent is irregular, yet, considering the peculiar construction of the verse, in which *prá* and *pró* are used as adverbs rather than as prepositions, I should not venture with Professor Aufrecht (p. 144) to write *prá abravīt*. The MSS. likewise have *á ágagan*, I, 161, 4; and *prá ágāh*, VIII, 48, 2, not *prá agāh*, as Aufrecht gives in his second edition.

I, 163, 11. *dhrágīman* (Aufr. p. 147) instead of *dhrágīmān* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 245) is wrong.

I, 163, 13. *gamyā* (Aufr. p. 148) instead of *gamyā* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 246) is wrong.

I, 164, 17, read *párena* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 259) instead of *paréna* (Aufr. p. 149).

I, 164, 38. The first *kikyúh* ought to have the accent, and has it in all the MSS., (Aufr. p. 151, M. M. vol. ii, p. 278.)

I, 165, 5. A mere change of accent may seem a small

matter, yet it is frequently of the highest importance in the interpretation of the Veda. Thus in I, 165, 5, I had, in accordance with the MSS. S 1, S 2, S 3, printed *étân* (vol. ii, p. 293) with the accent on the first syllable. Professor Aufrecht alters this into *etân* (p. 153), which, no doubt, would be the right form, if it were intended for the accusative plural of the pronoun, but not if it is meant, as it is here, for the accusative plural of *éta*, the speckled deer of the Maruts.

I, 165, 15. *yâsishṭa* (Aufr. p. 154) instead of *yâsishṭa* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 298) is not supported by any MS.

I, 169, 7, instead of *patayânta* (Aufr. p. 158), read *patáyanta* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 322).

I, 174, 7. *kúyâvâkam* (Aufr. p. 162) should be *kúyavâkam* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 340).

I, 177, 1. *yuktá*, which I had adopted from MS. S 3 (*prima manu*), is not supported by other MSS., though P 2 reads *yuttká*. Professor Aufrecht, who had retained *yuktá* in the text, has afterwards corrected it to *yuktvá*, and in this he was right. In I, 177, 2, *gâhi* for *yâhi* is wrong.

I, 188, 4. *astrinan* (Aufr. p. 171) instead of *astrinan* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 395) can only be a misprint.

II, 29, 6. *kártâd* (Aufr. p. 203) instead of *kartâd* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 560) is wrong.

II, 40, 4. *ḥakra* (Aufr. p. 214) instead of *ḥakrá* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 614) is wrong.

III, 7, 7. *guh* (Aufr. p. 226) instead of *gúh* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 666) is wrong; likewise III, 30, 10, *gáh* (Aufr. p. 241) instead of *gáh* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 792).

III, 17, 1. *igyte* (Aufr. p. 232) instead of *agyate* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 722) is impossible.

III, 47, 1. Professor Aufrecht (p. 256) puts the nominative *índro* instead of the vocative *indra*, which I had given (vol. ii, p. 902). I doubt whether any MSS. support that change (S 1, S 2, S 3 have *indra*), but it is clear that *Sâyana* takes *indra* as a vocative, and likewise the *Nirukta*.

III, 50, 2. Professor Aufrecht (p. 258) gives *asya*, both in the *Samhitâ* and *Pada*, without the accent on the last syllable. But all the MSS. that I know (S 1, S 2, S 3, P 1,

P 2) give it with the accent on the last syllable (M. M. vol. ii, p. 912), and this no doubt is right. The same mistake occurs again in III, 51, 10, (Aufr. p. 259); IV, 5, 11, (Aufr. p. 281); IV, 36, 2, (Aufr. p. 309); V, 12, 3, (Aufr. p. 337); while in VIII, 103, 9, (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 195) the MSS. consistently give *asya* as unaccented, whereas Professor Aufrecht, in this very passage, places the accent on the last syllable. On the same page (p. 259) *amandan*, in the Pada, is a misprint for *ámandan*.

III, 53, 18. *asi* (Aufr. p. 262) instead of *ási* (M. M. vol. ii, p. 934) is wrong, because *hí* requires that the accent should remain on *ási*. S 1, S 2, S 3, P 1, P 2 have *ási*.

IV, 4, 7. *svá áyushe* (Aufr. p. 279) instead of *svá áyushi* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 37) is not supported by any good MSS., nor required by the sense of the passage. S 1, S 2, S 3, P 1, P 2 have *áyushi*.

IV, 5, 7. *árupitam*, in the Pada, (Aufr. p. 280) instead of *árupitam* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 45) is right, as had been shown in the *Prātisākhya Sūtra* 179, though by a misprint the long *ā* of the *Samhitā* had been put in the place of the short *a* of the Pada.

IV, 5, 9. read *gaúh* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 46) instead of *góh* (Aufr. p. 281).

IV, 15, 2. *yāti*, with the accent on the first syllable, is supported by all MSS. against *yāti* (Aufr. p. 287). The same applies to *yāti* in IV, 29, 2, and to *várante* in IV, 31, 9.

IV, 18, 11. *amī*, without any accent (Aufr. p. 293), instead of *amī* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 105) is wrong, because *amī* is never unaccented.

IV, 21, 9. *no*, without an accent (Aufr. p. 296), instead of *nó* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 120) is wrong.

IV, 26, 3. *átithigvam* (Aufr. p. 300) instead of *atithigvam* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 140) and VI, 47, 22, *átithigvasya* (Aufr. p. 437) instead of *atithigváśya* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 776) are wrong, for *atithigvá* never occurs again except with the accent on the last syllable. The MSS. do not vary. Nor do they vary in the accentuation of *kútsa*: hence *kútsam* (Aufr. p. 300) should be *kútsam* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 139).

IV, 36, 6. Professor Aufrecht (p. 309) has altered the accent of *āvishuḥ* into *āvishúḥ*, but the MSS. are unanimous in favour of *āvishuḥ* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 181).

Again in IV, 41, 9, the MSS. support the accentuation of *ágman* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 200), while Professor Aufrecht (p. 313) has altered it to *agman*.

IV, 42, 9. *ádâsat*, being preceded by *hí*, ought to have the accent; (Aufrecht, p. 314, has *adâsat* without the accent.) For the same reason, V, 29, 3, *ávindat* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 342) ought not to have been altered to *avindat* (Aufr. p. 344).

IV, 50, 4. *vyóman* is a misprint for *vyòman*.

V, 15, 5. Professor Aufrecht (p. 338) writes *dirghám* instead of *dógham* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 314). This, no doubt, was done intentionally, and not by accident, as we see from the change of accent. But *dógham*, though it occurs but once, is supported in this place by all the best MSS., and has been accepted by Professor Roth in his Dictionary.

V, 34, 4. *práyato* (Aufr. p. 351) instead of *práyatâ* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 371) is wrong.

V, 42, 9. *visármānam* (Aufr. p. 358) instead of *visarmānam* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 402) is wrong.

V, 44, 4. *parvané* (Aufr. p. 360) instead of *pravané* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 415) is wrong.

V, 83, 4. *vānti* (Aufr. p. 389) instead of *vānti* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 554) is supported by no MSS.

V, 85, 6. *āsiñkántih* (Aufr. p. 391) instead of *āsiñkántih* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 560) is not supported either by MSS. or by grammar, as *siñk* belongs to the *Tud*-class. On the same grounds *isháyantaḥ*, VI, 16, 27 (M. M. vol. iii, p. 638), ought not to have been changed to *ishayántaḥ* (Aufr. p. 408), nor VI, 24, 7, *avakarsáyanti* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 687) into *avakársayanti* (Aufr. p. 418).

VI, 46, 10, read *girvanas* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 763) instead of *gírvanas* (Aufr. p. 435).

VI, 60, 10. *krinoti* (Aufr. p. 450) instead of *krinóti* (M. M. vol. iii, p. 839) is wrong.

VII, 40, 4. *aryamá āpah* (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 35), in the Pada, instead of *aryamá āpaḥ* (M. M. vol. iv, p. 81) is wrong.

VII, 51, 1. âdityânām (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 40) instead of adityânām (M. M. vol. iv, p. 103) is wrong.

VII, 64, 2. iām (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 50) instead of iām (M. M. vol. iv, p. 146) is wrong. In the same verse gopāk in the Pada should be changed in my edition to gopā.

VII, 66, 5. yó (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 51) instead of yé (M. M. vol. iv, p. 151) is indeed supported by S 3, but evidently untenable on account of atipíprati.

VII, 72, 3. In abudhran Professor Aufrecht has properly altered the wrong spelling abudhnan; and, as far as the authority of the best MSS. is concerned (S 1, S 2, S 3), he is also right in putting a final ñ, although Professor Bollensen prefers the dental n; (Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii, p. 599.) The fact is that Vedic MSS. use the Anusvâra dot for final nasals before all class-letters, and leave it to us to interpret that dot according to the letter which follows. Before I felt quite certain on this point, I have in several cases retained the dot, as given by the MSS., instead of changing it, as I ought to have done according to my system of writing Devanâgarî, into the corresponding nasal, provided it represents an original n. In I, 71, 1, S 2, S 3 have the dot in agushran, but S 1 has dental n. In IX, 87, 5, asrigran has the dot; i.e. S 1 has the dot, and nkḥ, dental n joined to kḥ; S 2 has nkḥ without the dot before the n; S 3 has the dot, and then kḥ. In IV, 24, 6, the spelling of the Samhitâ âvivenam tám would leave it doubtful whether we ought to read âvivenan tám or âvivenam tám; S 1 and S 3 read âvivenam tám, but S 2 has âvivenan tám; P 2 has âvi-venan tám, and P 1 had the same originally, though a later hand changed it to âvi-venam tám. In IV, 25, 3, on the contrary, S 1 and S 3 write âvivenam; S 2, âvivenam; P 1 and P 2, âvi-venam. What is intended is clear enough, viz. âvi-venan in IV, 24, 6; âvi-venam in IV, 25, 3. [In the new edition âvivenam has been left in both passages.]

VII, 73, 1. arvinâ (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 56) instead of arvínâ (M. M. vol. iv, p. 176) is wrong. On the same page, dhîshnye, VII, 72, 3, should have the accent on the first syllable.

VII, 77, 1. In this verse, which has been so often dis-

cussed (see Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii, p. 472 ; Böhlingk and Roth, Dictionary, vol. ii, p. 968 ; Bollensen, Orient und Occident, vol. ii, p. 463), all the MSS. which I know, read *karāyai*, and not either *karāthai* nor *garāyai*.

VIII, 2, 29. *kirīnam* (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 84) instead of *kārīnam* (M. M. vol. iv, p. 308) does not rest on the authority of any MSS., nor is it supported by *Sāyana*.

VIII, 9, 9. Professor Aufrecht has altered the very important form *ākukyuvimāhi* (M. M. vol. iv, p. 389) to *ākukyavimāhi* (vol. ii, p. 98). The question is whether this was done intentionally and on the authority of any MSS. My own MSS. support the form *ākukyuvimāhi*, and I see that Professor Roth accepts this form.

VIII, 32, 14. *āyāntāram* (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 129) instead of *āyantāram* (M. M. vol. iv, p. 567) is wrong.

VIII, 47, 15. *dushvāpnyam* (Aufr. vol. ii, p. 151) is not so correct as *duśshvāpnyam* (M. M. vol. iv, p. 660), or, better, *dushshvāpnyam* (Prātisākhya, Sūtras 255 and 364), though it is perfectly true that the MSS. write *dushvāpnyam*.

[I ought to state that all these errata have been corrected by Professor Aufrecht in his second edition.]

In the ninth and tenth *Mandalas* I have not to defend myself, and I need not therefore give a list of the passages where I think that Professor Aufrecht's text is not supported by the best MSS. My own edition of these *Mandalas* will soon be published, and I need hardly say that where it differs from Professor Aufrecht's text, I am prepared to show that I had the best authorities on my side.

Professor Aufrecht writes in the second edition of his Romanised text of the *Rig-veda* (p. iv): 'Um den Herren, die diese Druckfehler in majorem gloriam suam mit so grosser Schonung hervor gehoben haben, einen Gegendienst zu erweisen, bemerke ich einige derselben.' Dieser Gegendienst, so gut er gemeint war, ist leider nicht sehr bedeutend ausgefallen, auch nicht immer in majorem gloriam Catonis.

In I, 161, 2, Professor Aufrecht objects to *katuras krinotana*. I felt doubtful about it, and in the commentary I printed *katurah krinotana*. In IV, 33, 5, the reading

ātus kara is sanctioned by the authority of the *Prātisākhya*, Sūtra 281, 4.

In I, 181, 5, Aufrecht prefers *mathrā*; *Sāyana*, Böhtlingk and Roth, and I prefer *mathnā*.

In II, 11, 10, he has discovered that *gûrvît* was meant for *gûrvât*. Whitney still quotes *gûrvît*.

In III, 9, 4, he has discovered that *apsu* should be *-psu*; but this had been already corrected.

In III, 25, 2, the final *a* of *vaha* ought to be long in the *Samhitā*.

In IV, 19, 4, instead of *drilhā* ni read *drilhāni*.

In VII, 33, 2, instead of *avrinītā* read *-vrinītā*.

In VII, 35, 13, the Visarga in *devagopāh* should be deleted.

In VII, 42, 2, the *Anusvāra* in *yumkshvā* should be deleted.

In VIII, 2, 30, the *anudāttatara* should be shifted from the ultimate to the penultimate, *dadhīré*, not *dadhīre*.

In VIII, 51, 3, *avishyanta* was meant for *arishyantam*.

In VIII, 55, 5, for *na* read *ā*. The MSS. vary in both cases.

In IX, 108, 7, in *vanakraksha*, the *kra* was printed as *ri*. Professor Aufrecht might have seen it correctly printed in the index. *Sāyana* read *vanarīksha*.

In X, 28, 11, Professor Aufrecht thinks that the Pada should have *godhāh* instead of *godhā*. I think *godhā* is right, in spite of Professor Aufrecht's appeal to the silence of the *Prātisākhya*. The fact is that *godhāh* never occurs, while *godhā* occurs in the preceding verse, and again VIII, 69, 9.

After such a flourish of trumpets, we expected more from Professor Aufrecht; still we must learn to be grateful even for small mercies.

Having said so much in vindication of the text of the *Rig-veda* as published by me, and in defence of my principles of criticism which seem to me so self-evident as hardly to deserve the name of *canones critici*, I feel bound at the same time both to acknowledge some inaccuracies that have occurred in the index at the end of each volume, and to defend some entries in that index which have been challenged without sufficient cause.

It has been supposed that in the index at the end of my fourth volume, the seventeenth verse of the 34th hymn in the seventh *Mandala* has been wrongly assigned to Ahi Budhnya, and that one half only of that verse should have been reserved for that deity. I do not deny that we should be justified in deriving that sense from the words of the *Anukramanikâ*, but I cannot admit that my own interpretation is untenable. As *Sâyana* does not speak authoritatively on the subject, I followed the authority of *Shadgurusishya*. This commentator of the *Anukramanikâ* says: atra *ka* abgâm ukthair ahim *grinisha* ity ardharko • bganâmno * devasya stutiḥ; mâ no • hir budhnya ity ardharko • hribudhnyanâmno devasya ^b. Another commentator says: abgâm ukthair ardharko • hiḥ; uttaro mâ no • hir ity ahir budhnyaḥ. From this we learn that both commentators looked upon the *Dvipadâs* as *ardharkas* or half-verses, and ascribed the whole of verse 16 to Ahir abgâḥ, the whole of verse 17 to Ahir budhnyaḥ. It will be seen from an accurate examination of *Sâyana*'s commentary on verse 17, that in the second interpretation of the second half of verse 17, he labours to show that in this portion, too, Ahir budhnyaḥ may be considered as the deity.

It is perfectly right to say that the words of the *Anukramanikâ*, abgâm aheḥ, signify that the verse beginning with abgâm, belongs to Ahi. But there was no misprint in my index. It will be seen that *Shadgurusishya* goes even beyond me, and calls that deity simply Abga, leaving out Ahi altogether, as understood. I was anxious to show the distinction between Abgâ Ahiḥ and Ahir Budhnyaḥ, as the deities of the two successive verses, and I did not expect that any reader could possibly misinterpret my entry ^c.

With regard to hymns 91 and 92 of the seventh *Mandala*, it is true, that in the index I did not mention that certain verses in which two deities are mentioned (91, 2;

* I find that Mr. Macdonell in his edition of the *Sarvânukramanî* reads ardharko • hinâmno. If this is right, part of my argument would fall.

^b MS. Wilson 379 has, ardharko nâmano daivatasya, and in the margin • hi. Ahirbudhnya seems to have been taken as one word.

^c The editor of the Bombay edition of the text of the *Rig-veda* assigns verse 16 to Ahi, verse 17 to Ahirbudhnya.

4-7; 92, 2), must be considered as addressed not to Vāyu alone, but to Vāyu and Indra. It will be seen from Sāyana's introduction to hymn 90, that he, too, wrongly limits the sentence of the Anukramanikā, *aindryas ka yā dvivaduktāḥ*, to the fifth and following verses of hymn 90, and that he never alludes to this proviso again in his introductory remarks to hymn 91 and 92, though, of course, he explains the verses, in which a dual occurs, as addressed to two deities, viz. Indra and Vāyu. The same omission, whether intentional or unintentional, occurs in Shadgurusishya's commentary. The other commentary, however, assigns the verses of the three hymns rightly. The subject has evidently been one that excited attention in very early days, for in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, V, 20, we actually find that the word *vām* which occurs in hymn 90, 1, and which might be taken as a dual, though Sāyana explains it as a singular, is changed into *te* *.

In hymn VII, 104, *rakshohavau* might certainly be added as an epithet of Indrā-Somau, and Shadgurusishya clearly takes it in that sense. The Anukramanikā says: *indrāsomā paññādhikaindrāsomam rākshoghnām śāpābhisāpaprāyam*.

In hymn VIII, 67, it has been supposed that the readings *Samada* and *Sāmada* instead of *Sammada* and *Sāmmada* were due to a misprint. This is not the case. That I was aware of the other spelling of this name, viz. *Sammada* and *Sāmmada*, I had shown in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (2nd ed.), p. 39, where I had translated the passage of the Sāṅkhāyana-sūtras in which Matsya Sāmmada occurs, and had also called attention to the Āsvalāyana-sūtras X, 7, and the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa XIII, 3, 1, 1,

* The interpunction of Dr. Haug's edition (p. 128) should be after *te*. Shadgurusishya says: *ata eva brāhmaṇasūtrayoḥ praūge vāyavyatvāya prāvīraya sukāyo dadrire^b vām iti dvivātanasthāne ta ity ekavātanapāḥ/kaḥ kṛitah, vām ity uktam^b ked aindratvam ka syād iti*. Possibly the same change should be made in Āsvalāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, VIII, 11, and it has been made by Rāma Nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna. The remark of the commentator, however, *dadrire ta iti prayogapāḥ/kaḥ*, looks as if *vām* might have been retained in the text. The MSS. I have collated are in favour of *te*.

^b Mr. Macdonell (Sarvānukramanī, p. 133) inserts *ta iti* after *dadrire*.

where the same passage is found. I there spelt the name Sâmmada, because the majority of the MSS. were in favour of that spelling. In the edition of the *Āsvalāyana-sûtras*, which has since been published by Râma Nârâyana Vidyâranya, the name is spelt Sâmada. My own opinion is that Sâmmada is the right spelling, but that does not prove that Sâyana thought so; and unless I deviated from the principles which I had adopted for a critical restoration of Sâyana's text, I could not but write Sâmada in our passage. B 1 and B 4 omit sâmada, but both give samadâkhyasya; Ca. gives likewise samadâkhyasya, and A. semadâkhyasya. This, I believe, was meant by the writer for sammadâkhyasya, for in the passage from the *Anukramanî* both A. and Ca. give sâmmado. I then consulted the commentary of Shadgurusishya, and there again the same MS. gave twice sâmmada, once sâmada, which is explained by samadâkhyamahâmînarâgaputra. A better MS. of Shadgurusishya, MS. Wilson 379, gives the readings sâmmado, sâmmada, and sammadâkhyasya. The other commentary gives distinctly sâmanda. [I have adopted sammada in the new edition.]

In IX, 68, Professor Aufrecht adopts what he considers the bold reading Vatsapri; I prefer to be timid and allow Sâyana his own reading Vatsapri; see *Sarvânukramanî*, ed. Macdonell, pp. 34, 146.

It will be seen from these remarks that many things have to be considered before one can form an independent judgment as to the exact view adopted by Sâyana in places where he differs from other authorities, or as to the exact words in which he clothed his meaning. Such cases occur again and again. Thus in IX, 86, I find that Professor Aufrecht ascribes the first ten verses to the *Akrishṭas*, whereas Sâyana calls them *Ākrishṭas*. It is perfectly true that the best MSS. of the *Anukramanikâ* have *Akrishṭa*, it is equally true that the name of these *Akrishṭas* is spelt with a short a in the *Harivamsa*, 11,533, but an editor of Sâyana's work is not to alter the occasional mistakes of that learned commentator, and Sâyana certainly called these poets *Ākrishṭas*.

Verses 21-30 of the same hymn are ascribed by Professor Aufrecht to the *Prisniyah*. Here, again, several MSS. support that reading; and in Shadgurusishya's commentary, the correction of *prisniyah* into *prisnayah* is made by a later hand. But Sâyana clearly took *prisnayah* for a nominative plural of *prisni*, and in this case he certainly was right. The Dictionary of Böhtlingk and Roth quotes the Mahâbhârata, VII, 8728, in support of the peculiar reading of *prisniyah*, but the published text gives *prisnayah*. Professor Benfey, in his list of poets (Ind. Stud. vol. iii, p. 223), gives *prisniyoga* as one word, not *prisniyogâ*, as stated in the Dictionary of Böhtlingk and Roth, but this is evidently meant for two words, viz. *prisnayo-gâh*. However, whether *prisniyah* or *prisnayah* be the real name of these poets, an editor of Sâyana is bound to give that reading of the name which Sâyana believed to be the right one, i. e. *prisnayah*.*

Again, in the same hymn, Professor Aufrecht ascribes verses 31-40 to the Atris. We should then have to read *tritiye-trayah*. But Sâyana read *tritiye trayah*, and ascribes verses 31-40 to the three companies together of the *Rishis* mentioned before. On this point the MSS. admit of no doubt, for we read: *katurthasya ka dasarkasya âkrishâtâ mâshâ ityâdinvinâmânas trayo ganâ drashâtârah*. I do not say that the other explanation is wrong; I only say that, whether right or wrong, Sâyana certainly read *trayah*, not *atrayah*; and an editor of Sâyana has no more right to correct the text, supported by the best MSS., in the first and second, than in the third of these passages, all taken from one and the same hymn.

But though I insist so strongly on a strict observance of the rules of diplomatic criticism with regard to the text of the Rig-veda, nay, even of Sâyana, I insist equally strongly on the right of independent criticism, which ought to begin where diplo-

* Professor Aufrecht in his new edition of the text (1877) adopts the more timid reading *prisnayah*. See also *Bṛhat-Samhitâ*, transl. by Kern, p. 2: *Sikâtââ prisnayo gargâ vâ lakhilyâ marîtipââ bhrîgavo-âgirasaḥ kaiva sūksmâs kânye maharshayah*.

matic criticism ends. Considering the startling antiquity which we can claim for every letter and accent of our MSS., so far as they are authenticated by the *Prâtisākhya*, to say nothing of the passages of many hymns which are quoted verbatim in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Kalpa-sūtras*, the *Nirukta*, the *Bṛihaddevatā*, and the *Anukramanīs*, I should deem it reckless to alter one single letter or one single accent in an edition of the hymns of the *Rig-veda*. As the text has been handed down to us, so it should remain; and whatever alterations and corrections we, the critical *Mlekkhas* of the nineteenth century, have to propose, should be kept distinct from that time-hallowed inheritance. Unlikely as it may sound, it is true nevertheless that we, the scholars of the nineteenth century, are able to point out mistakes in the text of the *Rig-veda* which escaped the attention of the most learned among the native scholars of the sixth century B.C. No doubt, these scholars, even if they had perceived such mistakes, would hardly have ventured to correct the text of their sacred writings. The authors of the *Prâtisākhya* had before their eyes or ears a text ready made, of which they registered every peculiarity, nay, in which they would note and preserve every single irregularity, even though it stood alone amidst hundreds of analogous cases. With us the case is different. Where we see a rule observed in 99 cases, we feel strongly tempted and sometimes justified in altering the 100th case in accordance with what we consider to be a general rule. Yet even then I feel convinced we ought not to do more than place our conjectural readings below the *textus receptus* of the *Veda*,—a text so ancient and venerable that no scholar of any historical tact or critical taste would venture to foist into it a conjectural reading, however plausible, nay, however undeniable.

There can be no clearer case of corruption in the traditional text of the *Rig-veda* than, for instance, in I, 70, 4, where the *Pada* text reads:

vārdhān yām pūrvīḥ kshapāḥ ví-rûpāḥ sthātúḥ ka rátham rítā-pravitam.

All scholars who have touched on this verse, Professors Benfey, Bollensen, Roth, and others, have pointed out that

instead of *ka rátham*, the original poet must have said *karátham*. The phrase *sthátúh karátham*, what stands and moves, occurs several times. It is evidently an ancient phrase, and hence we can account for the preservation in it of the old termination of the nom. sing. of neuters in *ri*, which here, as in the Greek *μάρ-τυρ* or *μάρ-τυς*, masc., appears as *ur* or *us*, while in the ordinary Sanskrit we find *ri* only. This nom. sing. neut. in *us*, explains also the common genitives and ablatives, *pituh*, *mātuḥ*, &c., which stand for *pitur-s*, *mátur-s*. This phrase *sthátúh karátham* occurs :

I, 58, 5. *sthátúh karátham bhayate patatrínah*.

What stands and what moves is afraid of Agni.

I, 68, 1. *sthátúh karátham aktún ví ūrnot*.

He lighted up what stands and what moves during every night.

I, 72, 6. *pasún ka sthâtrñ karátham ka páhi*.

Protect the cattle, and what stands and moves !

Here it has been proposed to read *sthátúh* instead of *sthâtrñ*, and I confess that this emendation is very plausible. One does not see how *pasú*, cattle, could be called immobilia or fixtures, unless the poet wished to make a distinction between cattle that are kept fastened in stables, and cattle that are allowed to roam about freely in the homestead. This distinction is alluded to, for instance, in the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*, XI, 8, 3, 2. *saurya evaisha pasuḥ syâd iti, tasmâd etasminn astamite paravo badhyante ; badhnanty ekân yathâgoshtam, eka upasamâyanti*.

I, 70, 2. *gârbhaḥ ka sthâtām gârbhaḥ karátham*, (read *sthâtrām*, and see Bollensen, *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 462.)

He who is within all that stands and all that moves.

The word *karátha*, if it occurs by itself, means flock, movable property :

III, 31, 15. *ât ít sâkhi-bhyaḥ karátham sám airat*.

He brought together, for his friends, the flocks.

VIII, 33, 8. *puru-trâ karátham dadhe*.

He bestowed flocks on many people.

X, 92, 13. *prâ naḥ pûshâ karátham—avatu*.

May Pûshan protect our flock !

Another idiomatic phrase in which *sthâtúh* occurs is *sthâtúh gágatah*, and here *sthâtúh* is really a genitive :

IV, 53, 6. *gágatah sthâtúh ubháyasya yáh vaś*.

He who is lord of both, of what is movable and what is immovable.

VI, 50, 7. *vísvasya sthâtúh gágatah gánitríh*.

They who created all that stands and moves.

VII, 60, 2. *vísvasya sthâtúh gágatah ka gopáh*.

The guardians of all that stands and moves. Cf. X, 63, 8.

I, 159, 3. *sthâtúh ka satyám gágatah ka dhármani pu-trásya páthah padám ádvayávinah*.

Truly while you uphold all that stands and moves, you protect the home of the guileless son. Cf. II, 31, 5.

But although I have no doubt that in I, 70, 4, the original poet said *sthâtúh karátham*, I should be loath to suppress the evidence of the mistake and alter the Pada text from *ka rátham* to *karátham*. The very mistake is instructive, as showing us the kind of misapprehension to which the collectors of the Vedic text were liable, and enabling us to judge how far the limits of conjectural criticism may safely be extended.

A still more extraordinary case of misunderstanding on the part of the original compilers of the Vedic texts, and likewise of the authors of the *Prātisākhya*s, the *Niruktas*, and other Vedic treatises, has been pointed out by Professor Kuhn. In an article of his, 'Zur ältesten Geschichte der Indogermanischen Völker' (*Indische Studien*, vol. i, p. 351), he made the following observation: 'The Lithuanian *laukas*, Lett. *lauks*, Pruss. *laukas*, all meaning field, agree exactly with the Sk. *lokas*, world, Lat. *locus*, Low Germ. (in East-Frisia and Oldenburg) *louch*, *lôch*, village. All these words are to be traced back to the Sk. *uru*, Gr. *εὐρύς*, broad, wide. The initial *u* is lost, as in Goth. *rûms*, O. H. G. *rûmi*, *rûmin* (Low Germ. *rûme*, an open uncultivated field in a forest), and the *r* changed into *l*. In support of this derivation it should be observed that in the *Veda loka* is frequently preceded by the particle *u*, which probably was only separated from it by the *Diaskeuastæ*, and that the meaning is

that of open space.' Although this derivation has met with little favour, I confess that I look upon this remark, excepting only the Latin *locus**, i. e. *stlocus*, as one of the most ingenious of this eminent scholar. The fact is that this particle *u* before *loka* is one of the most puzzling occurrences in the Veda. Professor Bollensen says that *loka* never occurs without a preceding *u* in the first eight *Mandalas*, and this is perfectly true with the exception of one passage which he has overlooked, VIII, 100, 12, *dyaúh dehí lokám vágrāya vi-skábhe*, *Dyu!* give room for the lightning to step forth! Professor Bollensen (l. c. p. 603) reads *vritráya* instead of *vágrāya*, without authority. He objects to *dyaúh* as a vocative, which should be *dyaŭh*; but *dyaúh* may be *dyóh*, a genitive belonging to *vágrāya*, in which case we should translate, Make room for the lightning of *Dyu* to step forth!

But what is even more important is the fact that the occurrence of this unaccented *u* at the beginning of a *pāda* is against the very rules, or, at least, runs counter to the very observations which the authors of the *Prātisākhya* have made on the inadmissibility of an unaccented word in such a place, so that they had to insert a special provision, *Prāt.* 978, exempting the unaccented *u* from this observation: *anudāttam tu pādādaṁ novargam vidyate padam*, 'no unaccented word is found at the beginning of a *pāda* except *u*!' Although I have frequently insisted on the fact that such statements of the *Prātisākhya* are not to be considered as rules, but simply as more or less general statistical accumulations of facts actually occurring in the Veda, I have also pointed out that we are at liberty to found on these collected facts inductive observations which may assume the character of real rules. Thus, in our case, we can well understand why there should be none, or, at least, very few instances, where an unaccented word begins a *pāda*. We should not begin a verse with an enclitic particle in any other language either; and as in Sanskrit a verb at the

* On *locus*, see Corssen, *Krit. Beitr.* p. 463, and *Aussprache*, 2nd ed., p. 810. Corssen does not derive it from a root *stā* or *sthā*, but identifies it with Goth. *striks*, Engl. *stroke*, *strecke*.

beginning of a pāda receives ipso facto the accent, and as the same applies to vocatives, no chance is left for an unaccented word in that place, except it be a particle. But the one particle that offends against this general observation is *u*, and the very word before which this *u* causes this metrical offence, is *loka*. Can any argument be more tempting in favour of admitting an old form *uloka* instead of *u loka*? *Lokám* is preceded by *u* in I, 93, 6; II, 30, 6; (*asmín bhayá-sthe kṛinutam u lokám*, make room for us, grant an escape to us, in this danger!) IV, 17, 17; VI, 23, 3; 7 (with *urúm*); 47, 8 (*urúm naḥ lokám*, or *ulokám* ?); 73, 2; VII, 20, 2; 33, 5 (with *urúm*); 60, 9 (with *urúm*); 84, 2 (with *urúm*); 99, 4 (with *urúm*); IX, 92, 5; X, 13, 2; 16, 4 (*sukṛtām u lokám*); 30, 7; 104, 10; 180, 3 (with *urúm*). *Loké* is preceded by *u* in III, 29, 8; V, 1, 6; *loka-kṛt*, IX, 86, 21; X, 133, 1. In all remaining passages *u loká* is found at the beginning of a pāda: *lokáḥ*, III, 37, 11; *lokám*, III, 2, 9 (*u lokám u dvé (īti) úpa gāmīm iyatuḥ*); V, 4, 11; *loka-kṛtnúm*, VIII, 15, 4; IX, 2, 8. The only passages in which *loka* occurs without being preceded by *u*, are *lokám*, VI, 47, 8 (see above); VIII, 100, 12; X, 14, 9; 85, 20 (*amṛtasya*); *lokáḥ*, IX, 113, 9; *lokán*, X, 90, 14; *loké*, IX, 113, 7²; X, 85, 24.

It should be remembered that in the Gāthās the *u* of words beginning with *urv*^o does not count metrically (Hübschmann, Ein Zoroastrisches Lied, p. 37), and that in Pāli also *uru* must be treated as monosyllabic, in such passages as *Mahāv*, p. 2, line 5. The same applies to passages in the Rīg-veda, such as I, 138, 3; VII, 39, 3, where the metre requires *uru* to be treated as one syllable. In IX, 96, 15, the original reading may have been *urur iva*, instead of *uru-iva*.

Considering all this, I feel as convinced as it is possible to be in such matters, that in all the passages where *u loká* occurs and where it means space, *carrière ouverte*, freedom, we ought to read *uloká*; but in spite of this I could never bring myself to insert this word, of which neither the authors of the Brāhmaṇas nor the writers of the Prātisākhya or even later grammarians had any idea, into the text. On

the contrary, I should here, too, consider it most useful to leave the traditional reading, and to add the corrections in the margin, in order that, if these conjectural emendations are in time considered as beyond the reach of doubt, they may be used as evidence in support of conjectures which, without such evidence, might seem intolerable in the eyes of timid critics.

There remains one difficulty about this hypothetical word uloká, which it is but fair to mention. If it is derived from uru, or, as Professor Bollensen suggests, from urvaḥ or urvak, the change of va into o would require further support. Neither maghon for maghavan, nor durona for dura-vaṇa are strictly analogous cases, because in each we have an a preceding the va or u. Strictly speaking, uroka presupposes uravaka, as ślóka presupposes sravaka, or óka, house, avaka (from av, not from uḥ). It should also be mentioned that a compound such as RV. X, 128, 2, urúlokam (scil. antáriksham) is strange, and shows how completely the origin of loka was forgotten at the time when the hymns of the tenth *Mandala* were composed. But all this does not persuade us to accept Ascoli's conjecture (*Lezioni di Fonologia Comparata*, p. 235), that as uloga (but not uloka) is a regular Tamil form of loka, uloka in the Veda might be due to a reaction of the aboriginal dialects on the Vedic Sanskrit. We want far more evidence before admitting such a reaction during the Vedic period.

The most powerful instrument that has hitherto been applied to the emendation of Vedic texts, is the metre.

Metrical criticism. Metre means measure, and uniform measure, and hence its importance for critical purposes, as second only to that of grammar. If our knowledge of the metrical system of the Vedic poets rests on a sound basis, any deviations from the general rule are rightly objected to; and if by a slight alteration they can be removed, and the metre be restored, we naturally feel inclined to adopt such emendations. Two safeguards, however, are needed in this kind of conjectural criticism. We ought to be quite certain that the anomaly is impossible, and we ought to be able to explain to a certain extent

how the deviation from the original correct text could have occurred. As this subject has of late years received considerable attention, and as emendations of the Vedic texts, supported by metrical arguments, have been carried on on a very large scale, it becomes absolutely necessary to re-examine the grounds on which these emendations are supposed to rest. There are, in fact, but few hymns in which some verses or some words have not been challenged for metrical reasons, and I feel bound, therefore, at the very beginning of my translation of the Rig-veda, to express my own opinion on this subject, and to give my reasons why in so many cases I allow metrical anomalies to remain which by some of the most learned and ingenious among Vedic scholars would be pronounced intolerable.

Even if the theory of the ancient metres had not been so carefully worked out by the authors of the *Prâtisākhya*s and the *Anukramanī*s, an independent study of the Veda would have enabled us to discover the general rules by which the Vedic poets were guided in the composition of their works. Nor would it have been difficult to show how constantly these general principles are violated by the introduction of phonetic changes which in the later Sanskrit are called the euphonic changes of Sandhi, and according to which final vowels must be joined with initial vowels, and final consonants adapted to initial consonants, until at last each sentence becomes a continuous chain of closely linked syllables.

It is far easier, as I remarked before, to discover the original and natural rhythm of the Vedic hymns by reading them in the Pada than in the *Samhitā* text, and after some practice our ear becomes sufficiently schooled to tell us at once how each line ought to be pronounced. We find, on the one hand, that the rules of Sandhi, instead of being generally binding, were treated by the Vedic poets as poetical licences only; and, on the other, that a greater freedom of pronunciation was allowed even in the body of words than would be tolerated in the later Sanskrit. If a syllable was wanted to complete the metre, a semivowel might be pronounced as a vowel, many a long vowel might

be protracted so as to count for two syllables, and short vowels might be inserted between certain consonants, of which no trace exists in the ordinary Sanskrit. If, on the contrary, there were too many syllables, then the rules of Sandhi were observed, or two short syllables contracted by rapid pronunciation into one ; nay, in a few cases, a final m or s, it seems, was omitted. It would be a mistake to suppose that the authors of the *Prâtisākhya*s were not aware of this freedom allowed or required in the pronunciation of the Vedic hymns. Though they abstained from introducing into the text changes of pronunciation which even we ourselves would never tolerate, if inserted in the texts of Homer and Plautus, in the Pāli verses of Buddha, or even in modern English poetry, the authors of the *Prâtisākhyā* were clearly aware that in many places one syllable had to be pronounced as two, or two as one. They were clearly aware that certain vowels, generally considered as long, had to be pronounced as short, and that in order to satisfy the demands of the metre, certain changes of pronunciation were indispensable. They knew all this, but they did not change the text. And this shows that the text, as they describe it, enjoyed even in their time a high authority, that they did not make it, but that, such as it is, with all its incongruities, it had been made before their time. In many cases, no doubt, certain syllables in the hymns of the Veda had been actually lengthened or shortened in the *Samhitā* text in accordance with the metre in which they are composed. But this was done by the poets themselves, or, at all events, it was not done by the authors of the *Prâtisākhyā*. They simply register such changes, but they do not enjoin them, and in this we, too, should follow their example. It is, therefore, a point of some importance in the critical restoration and proper pronunciation of Vedic texts, that in the rules which we have to follow in order to satisfy the demands of the metre, we should carefully distinguish between what is sanctioned by ancient authority, and what is the result of our own observations. This I shall now proceed to do.

First, then, the authors of the *Prâtisākhyā* distinctly admit

that, in order to uphold the rules they have themselves laid down, certain syllables are to be pronounced as two syllables.

We read in Sûtra 527: 'In a deficient pāda the right number is to be provided for by protraction of semivowels (which were originally vowels), and of contracted vowels (which were originally two independent vowels).' It is only by this process that the short syllable which has been lengthened in the *Samhitā*, viz. the sixth, or the eighth, or the tenth, can be shown to have occupied and to occupy that place where alone, according to a former rule, a short syllable is liable to be lengthened. Thus we read :

I, 161, 11. *ūd̐vatsvasmā ākr̥iṇōtānā tr̥iṇam.*

This would seem to be a verse of eleven syllables, in which the ninth syllable *na* has been lengthened. This, however, is against the system of the *Prātisākhya*. But if we protract the semivowel *v* in *udvatsv*, and change it back into *u*, which it was originally, then we gain one syllable, the whole verse has twelve syllables, *na* occupies the tenth place, and it now belongs to that class of cases which is included in a former Sûtra, 523.

The same applies to X, 103, 13, where we read :

pretā g̃āyātā nārāḥ.

This is a verse of seven syllables, in which the fifth syllable is lengthened, without any authority. Let us protract *pretā* by bringing it back to its original component elements *pra itā*, and we get a verse of eight syllables, the sixth syllable now falls under the general observation, and is lengthened in the *Samhitā* accordingly.

The same rules are repeated in a later portion of the *Prātisākhya*. Here rules had been given as to the number of syllables of which certain metres consist, and it is added (Sûtras 972, 973) that where that number is deficient, it should be completed by protracting contracted vowels, and by separating consonantal groups in which semivowels (originally vowels) occur, by means of their corresponding vowel.

The rules in both places are given in almost identically

the same words, and the only difference between the two passages is this, that, according to the former, semivowels are simply changed back into their vowels, while, according to the latter, the semivowel remains, but is separated from the preceding consonant by its corresponding vowel.

These rules therefore show clearly that the authors of the *Prātisākhya*, though they would have shrunk from altering one single letter of the authorised *Samhitā*, recognised the fact that where two vowels had been contracted into one, they might yet be pronounced as two; and where a vowel before another vowel had been changed into a semivowel, it might either be pronounced as a vowel, or as a semivowel preceded by its corresponding vowel. More than these two modifications, however, the *Prātisākhya* does not allow, or, at least, does not distinctly sanction. The commentator indeed tries to show that by the wording of the *Sūtras* in both places, a third modification is sanctioned, viz. the vocalisation, in the body of a word, of semivowels which do not owe their origin to an original vowel. But in both places this interpretation is purely artificial. Some such rule ought to have been given, but it was not given by the authors of the *Prātisākhya*. It ought to have been given, for it is only by observing such a rule that in I, 61, 12, *gōr nā pārvā vī rādā tīrāskā*, we get a verse of eleven syllables, and thus secure for *dā* in *radā* the eighth place, where alone the short *a* could be lengthened. Yet we look in vain for a rule sanctioning the change of semivowels into vowels, except where the semivowels can rightly be called *kshaipra-varṇa* (*Sūtra* 974), i.e. semivowels that were originally vowels. The independent (*svābhāvika*) semivowels, as e.g. the *v* in *parva*, are not included; and to suppose that in *Sūtra* 527 these semivowels were indicated by *varṇa* is impossible, particularly if we compare the similar wording of *Sūtra* 974*.

* It will be seen from my edition of the *Prātisākhya*, particularly from the extracts from *Uvaṇa*, given after *Sūtra* 974, that the idea of making two syllables out of *goḥ*, never entered *Uvaṇa*'s mind. M. Regnier was right, Professor Kuhn (*Beiträge*, vol. iv, p. 187) was wrong. *Uvaṇa*, no doubt, wishes to show that original (*svābhāvika*) semivowels are liable to *vyūha*, or at least

We look in vain, too, in the *Prâtisâkhya* for another rule according to which long vowels, even if they do not owe their origin to the coalescence of two vowels, are liable to be protracted. However, this rule, too, though never distinctly sanctioned, is observed in the *Prâtisâkhya*, for unless its author observed it, he could not have obtained in the verses quoted by the *Prâtisâkhya* the number of syllables which he ascribes to them. According to *Sûtra* 937, the verse, RV. X, 134, 1, is a *Mahâpañkti*, and consists of six *pâdas*, of eight syllables each. In order to obtain that number, we must read :

sāmragāṃ kārshāṇām.

We may therefore say that, without allowing any actual change in the received text of the *Samhitā*, the *Prâtisâkhya* distinctly allows a lengthened pronunciation of certain syllables, which in the *Pada* text form two syllables; and we may add that, by implication, it allows the same even in cases where the *Pada* text also gives but one instead of two syllables. Having this authority in our favour, I do not think that we use too much liberty if we extend this modified pronunciation, recognised in so many cases by the ancient scholars of India themselves, to other cases where it seems to us required as well, in order to satisfy the metrical rules of the *Veda*.

Secondly, I believe it can be proved that, if not the authors of the *Prâtisâkhya*, those at least who constituted
 Shortening of the Vedic text which was current in the
 long vowels. ancient schools and which we now have before us, were fully aware that certain long vowels and diphthongs could be used as short. The authors of the *Prâtisâkhya* remark that certain changes which can take place before a short syllable only, take place likewise before the word *no*, although the vowel of this 'no' is by them supposed to be long. After having stated in *Sûtra* 523 that the eighth syllable of hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, if short, is lengthened, provided a short syllable

to *vyavâya*; but though this is true in fact, *Uvaṭa* does not succeed in his attempt to prove that the rules of the *Prâtisâkhya* sanction it.

follows, they remark that for this purpose *naḥ* or *no* is treated as a short syllable :

X, 59, 4. *dyū-bhīḥ hītaḥ gāṛimā sū naḥ āstū*, (*Samh.* *sū nō āstū*.)

Again, in stating that the tenth syllable of hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, if short, is lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, the same exception is understood to be made in favour of *naḥ* or *no*, as a short syllable :

VII, 48, 4. *nū devāsāḥ vāṛivāḥ kārtaṇā nāḥ*, (*Samh.* *kārtaṇā no, bhūta no, &c.*)

With regard to *e* being shortened before a short *a* where, according to rule, the *a* should be elided, we actually find that the *Samhitā* gives *a* instead of *e* in RV. VIII, 72, 5. *vēti stótave ambyām*, *Samh.* *vēti stótava ambyām*. (*Prātis.* 177, 5.)

I do not ascribe very much weight to the authority which we may derive from these observations with regard to our own treatment of the diphthongs *e* and *o* as either long or short in the Veda, yet in answer to those who are incredulous as to the fact that the vowels *e* and *o* could ever be short in Sanskrit, an appeal to the authority of those who constituted our text, and in constituting it clearly treated *o* as a short vowel, may not be without weight. We may also appeal to the fact that in Pāli and Prākṛit every final *o* and *e* can be treated as either long or short*. Starting from this we may certainly extend this observation, as it has been extended by Professor Kuhn, but we must not extend it too far. It is quite clear that in the same verse *e* and *o* can be used both as long and short. I give the *Samhitā* text :

I, 84, 17. *ka īshate | tugyate kō bibhāyā*
ko māmsate | santam indrām kō āntī,
kas tokāya | ka ibhāyotā rāyē
adhi bravat | tanve kō gānāyā.

* See Lassen, *Inst. Linguae Præcriticæ*, pp. 145, 147, 151; Cowell, *Vararuchi*, Introduction, p. xvii. Kedārabhaṭṭa says: Pāṇinir bhagavān prākṛitalakṣhaṇam api vakti samskrīṭād anyat, dīrghākṣhaṇam ka kutraṭid ekām mātrām upaitīti. Secundum d'Alwisium commentator docet sermonem esse de litteris Sanscriticis *e* et *o*. Cf. Pischel, *De Grammaticis prakriticis*, 1874.

But although there can be no doubt that e and o, when final, or at the end of the first member of a compound, may be treated in the Veda as anceps, there is no evidence, I believe, to show that the same licence applies to a medial or initial e or o. In IV, 45, 5, we must scan

usrāḥ garante prati vastōḥ āsvinā,

ending the verse with an epitritus tertius instead of the usual dijambus^a.

Thirdly, the fact that the initial short a, if following upon a word ending in o or e, is frequently not to be elided, is clearly recognised by the authors of the Prātisākhya (see p. xlviii). Nay, that they wished it to be pronounced even in passages where, in accordance with the requirements of the Prātisākhya, it had to disappear in the Saṃhitā text, we may conclude from Sūtra 978. It is there stated that no pāda should ever begin with a word that has no accent. The exceptions to this rule are few, and they are discussed in Sūtras 978-987. But if the initial a were not pronounced in I, 1, 9, sāḥ naḥ pitā-iva sūnāve āgne su-upāyanāḥ bhava, the second pāda would begin with āgne, a word which, after the elision of the initial a, would be a word without an accent^b.

Fourthly, the fact that other long vowels, besides e and o, may under certain circumstances be used as short in the Veda, is not merely a modern theory, but rests on no less an authority than Pāṇini himself.

^a See Professor Weber's pertinent remarks in Kuhn's Beiträge, vol. iii, p. 394. I do not think that in the verses adduced by Professor Kuhn, in which final o is considered by him as an iambus or trochee, this scanning is inevitable. Thus we may scan the Saṃhitā text:

I, 88, 2. rūkmō na śītraḥ svadhītīvān.

I, 141, 8. rāthō na yātaḥ śikvabhiḥ krīto.

I, 174, 3. sīmho na damē apāmsi vastōḥ.

VI, 24, 3. aksho na śakryoḥ sūra brīhan

X, 3, 1. inō rāgann aratiḥ samiddho.

This leaves but one of Professor Kuhn's examples (Beiträge, vol. iv, p. 192) unexplained: I, 191, 1. kaṅkato na kaṅkato, where iva for na would remove the difficulty.

^b This subject, the shortness of e and o in the Veda, has been admirably treated by Mr. Maurice Bloomfield, 'Final as before Sonants,' Baltimore, 1882. Reprinted from the American Journal of Philology, vol. iii, No. 1.

Pāṇini says, VI, 1, 127, that i, u, *ri* (see RV. Bh. IV, 1, 12) at the end of a pada (but not in a compound*) may remain unchanged, if a different vowel follows, and that, if long, they may be shortened. He ascribes this rule, or, more correctly, the first portion of it only, to Śākalya, Prāṭisākhya 155 seq.^b Thus *ḥakri atra* may become *ḥakri atra* or *ḥakry atra*. *Madhū atra* may become *madhū atra* or *madhv atra*. In VI, 1, 128, Pāṇini adds that a, i, u, *ri* may remain unchanged before *ri*, and, if long, may be shortened, and this again according to the teaching of Śākalya, i. e. Prāṭisākhya 136°. Hence *brahmā rishih* becomes *brahmā rishih* or *brahmarshih*; *kumārī risyah* becomes *kumārī risyah* or *kumāry risyah*. This rule enables us to explain a number of passages in which the Samhitā text either changes the final long vowel into a semivowel, or leaves it unchanged, when the vowel is a *pragrihya* vowel. To the first class belong such passages as I, 163, 12; IV, 38, 10, *vāgī árvā*, Samh. *vāgyárvā*; VI, 7, 3, *vāgī agne*, Samh. *vāgyāgne*; VI, 20, 13, *pakthī arkaḥ*, Samh. *pakthyārkaḥ*; IV, 22, 4, *sushmī ā góh*, Samh. *sushmyā góh*. In these passages *i* is the termination of a nom. masc. of a stem ending in *in*. Secondly, IV, 24, 8, *pātnī ákkha*, Samh. *pātnyákkha*; IV, 34, 1, *devī áhnām*, Samh. *devyáhnām*; V, 75, 4, *vānikī ā-hitā*, Samh. *vānikyāhitā*; VI, 61, 4, *avitrī avatu*, Samh. *avitryāvatu*. In these passages the *i* is the termination of feminines. In X, 15, 4, *ūtī arvāk*, Samh. *ūtyārvāk*, the final *i* of the instrumental *ūtī* ought not to have been changed into a semivowel, for, though not followed by *iti*, it is to be treated as *pragrihya*; (Prāṭis. 163, 5.) It is, however,

* There are certain compounds in which, according to Professor Kuhn, two vowels have been contracted into one short vowel. This is certainly the opinion of Hindu grammarians, also of the compiler of the Pada text. But most of them would admit of another explanation. Thus *dhānu-arnasaḥ*, which is divided into *dhānu-arnasaḥ*, may be *dhānu-arnasaḥ* (RV. V, 45, 2). *Dhānarṇam*, divided into *dhāna-arnam*, may have been *dhāna-riṇam* (RV. X, 46, 5). *Satārṇasam* (RV. VII, 100, 3) may be taken as *satā-riṇasam* instead of *satā-arnasam*.

^b In the Prāṭisākhya the rule which allows vowel before vowel to remain unchanged, is restricted to special passages, and in some of them the two vowels are *savarṇa*; cf. Sūtra 163.

^c Cf. Vāgasan. Prāṭisākhya, IV, 48; Indische Studien, vol. ix, 309; vol. x, 406.

mentioned as an exception in Sûtra 174, 9. The same applies to II, 3, 4, védî iti asyām, *Samh.* védyasyām. The *pragr̥hya* î ought not to have been changed into a semi-vowel, but the fact that it had been changed irregularly, was again duly registered in Sûtra 174, 5. These two *pragr̥hya* î therefore, which have really to be pronounced short, were irregularly changed in the *Samhitā* into the semivowel; and as this semivowel, like all semivowels, may take *vyavāya*, the same object was attained as if it had been written by a short vowel. With regard to *pragr̥hya* û, no such indication is given by the *Samhitā* text; but in such passages as I, 46, 13, sambhû iti sam-bhû ā gatam, *Samh.* sambhû ā gatam; V, 43, 4, bāhû iti ādrim, *Samh.* bāhû ādrim, the *pragr̥hya* û of the dual can be used as short, like the û of madhû atra, given as an example by the commentators of Pāṇini.

To Professor Kuhn, I believe, belongs the merit of having extended this rule to final ā. That the ā of the dual may become short, was mentioned in the *Prātisākhya*, Sûtra 309, though in none of the passages there mentioned is there any metrical necessity for this shortening (see p. lii). This being the case, it is impossible to deny that where this ā is followed by a vowel, and where Sandhi between the two vowels is impossible, the final ā may be treated as short. Whether it must be so treated, depends on the view which we take of the Vedic metres, and will have to be discussed hereafter. I agree with Professor Kuhn when he scans:

VI, 63, 1. kvā tyā vālgū pūru-hūtā ādyā, (*Samh.* puru-hūtādyā); and not kvā tyā vālgū pūruhūtādyā, although we might quote other verses as ending with an epitritus primus.

IV, 3, 13. mā vēsasyā prā-minātāh mā āpēh, (*Samh.* māpēh,) although the dispondeus is possible.

I, 77, 1. kāthā dāsemā āgnāyē kā āsmai, (*Samh.* kāsmai.)

VI, 24, 5. āryāh vāsasya pāri-ētā astī.

Even in a compound like tvā-ūta, I should shorten the first vowel, e. g.

X, 148, 1. tmanā tanā sānūyāmā tvā-ūtāh, although the passage is not mentioned by the *Prātisākhya*

among those where a short final vowel in the eighth place is not lengthened when a short syllable follows*.

But when we come to the second pāda of a Gāyatrī, and find there a long ā, and that long ā not followed by a vowel, I cannot agree with Professor Kuhn, that the long ā, even under such circumstances, ought to be shortened. We may scan :

V, 5, 7. vātāsyā patmān īlītā dāivyā hotārā mānushāh.

The same choriambic ending occurs even in the last pāda of a Gāyatrī, and is perfectly free from objection at the end of the other pādas.

So, again, we may admit the shortening of au to o in sāno avye and sāno avyaye, as quoted in the Prātisākhya, 174 and 177, but this would not justify the shortening of au to av in Anushūbh verses, such as

V, 86, 5. mārtaṃyā devāu ādabhā,
āmsā-ivā devāu ārvātē,

while, with regard to the Trishūbh and Gagatī verses, our views on these metres must naturally depend on the difficulties we meet with in carrying them out systematically.

There is no reason for shortening ā in

V, 5, 10. devānām guhyā nāmānī.

It is the second pāda of a Gāyatrī here; and we shall see that, even in the third pāda, four long syllables occur again and again.

For the same reason I cannot follow Dr. Kuhn in a number of other passages where, for the sake of the metre, he proposes to change a long ā into a short one. Such passages are in the Pada text :

VI, 46, 11. dīdyāvāh tigma-mūrdhānāh, not mūrdhānāh.

I, 15, 6. rītunā yagñām āsāthe, not āsāthe.

V, 66, 2. sāmyak āsūryam āsāte, not āsāte.

V, 67, 1. vārshishām kshatram āsāthe, not āsāthe. See Beitrage, vol. iii, p. 122.

I, 46, 6. tām āsmē rāsāthām īshām, not rāsāthām īshām.

* I see that Professor Kuhn, vol. iv, p. 186, has anticipated this observation in esh/au, to be read ā-ish/au.

IV, 32, 23. bābhrū yāmes̄hū s̄obhetē, not s̄obhetē.

IV, 45, 3. ūtā priyām mād̄hunē yūṅgāthām rāthām, not yūṅgāthām rāthām.

V, 74, 3. kām ākkhā yūṅgāthē rāthām, not yūṅgāthē rāthām.

IV, 55, 1. dyāvābhūmī (iti) āditē trāsīthām nāh, not trāsīthām nāh.

V, 41, 1. r̄tasyā vā sādasi trāsīthām nāh, not trāsīthām nāh.

I must enter the same protest against shortening other long vowels in the following verses which Professor Kuhn proposes to make metrically correct by this remedy :

I, 42, 6. hīranyāvāsīmāt-tāmā, not vāsīmāt-tāmā.

Here the short syllable of *ganasrī-bhih* in V, 60, 8, cannot be quoted as a precedent, for the *i* in *ganasrī*, walking in companies, was never long, and could therefore not be shortened. Still less can we quote *nāri-bhyaḥ* as an instance of a long *i* being shortened, for *nāri-bhyaḥ* is derived from *nārih*, not from *nāri*, and occurs with a short *i* even when the metre requires a long syllable; I, 43, 6. *nri-bhyaḥ* *nāri-bhyaḥ* gāvē. The fact is, that in the Rig-veda the forms *nārishu* and *nāri-bhyaḥ* never occur, but always *nārishu*, *nāri-bhyaḥ*; while from *vāsī* we never find any forms with short *i*, but always *vāsishu*, *vāsī-bhih*.

Nor is there any justification for change in I, 25, 16. *gāvāh* nā gāvīyūtiḥ ānū, the second pāda of a Gâyatrī. Nor in V, 56, 3. *rīkshāh* nā vāh mārūtāh śimī-vān āmāh. In most of the passages mentioned by Professor Kuhn on p. 122, this peculiarity may be observed, that the eighth syllable is short, or, at all events, may be short, when the ninth is long :

VI, 44, 21. *vrīshnē* tē īndūh *vrīshabhā* pīpāyā.

I, 73, 1. *syōnā-sīh* ātithīh nā prīnānāh.

VII, 13, 1. *bhārē* haviḥ nā bārhiṣhī prīnānāh.

II, 28, 7. *ēnāh* *krinvāntām* āsurā bhrīnāntī.

Before, however, we can settle the question whether in

these and other places certain vowels should be pronounced as either long or short, we must settle the more general

Metre and question, what authority we have for requiring a long or a short syllable in certain places of the Vedic metres.

If we declare ourselves free from all authority, either grammatical or metrical, we may either sacrifice all grammar to metre, or all metre to grammar. We may introduce the strictest rules of metre, determining the length or shortness of every syllable, and then ignore all rules of grammar and quantity, treat short syllables as long, or long ones as short, and thus secure the triumph of metre. Or, we may allow great latitude in Vedic metres, particularly in certain pādas, and thus retain all the rules of grammar which determine the quantity of syllables. It may be said even that the result would really be the same in either case, and that the policy of 'thorough' might perhaps prove most useful in the end. It may be so hereafter, but in the present state of Vedic scholarship it seems more expedient to be guided by native tradition, and to study the compromise which the ancient students of the Veda have tried to effect between grammar on one side and metre on the other.

Now it has generally been supposed that the Prātisākhya teaches that there must be a long syllable in the eighth or tenth place of Traishubha and Gāgata, and in the sixth place of Ānushubha pādas. This is not the case. The Prātisākhya, no doubt, says, that a short final vowel, but not any short syllable, occupying the eighth or tenth place in a Traishubha and Gāgata pāda, or the sixth place in a Gāyatra pāda, is lengthened, but it never says that it must be lengthened; on the contrary, it gives a number of cases where it is not so lengthened. But, what is even more important, the Prātisākhya distinctly adds a proviso which shows that the ancient critics of the Veda did not consider the trochee as the only possible foot for the sixth and seventh syllables of Gāyatra, or for the eighth and ninth, or tenth and eleventh syllables of Traishubha and Gāgata pādas. They distinctly admit that the seventh and the

ninth and the eleventh syllables in such pādas may be long, and that in that case the preceding short vowel is not lengthened. We thus get the iambus in the very place which is generally occupied by the trochee. According to the Prātisākhya, the general scheme for the Gāyatra would be, not only

$$+ + + + | + \overset{6}{-} \overset{7}{\cup} +,$$

but also

$$+ + + + | + \overset{6}{\cup} \overset{7}{-} +;$$

and for the Traishṭubha and Gāgata, not only

$$+ + + + | + + + \overset{8}{-} \overset{9}{\cup} + + (+),$$

but also

$$+ + + + | + + + \overset{8}{\cup} \overset{9}{-} + + (+).$$

And again, for the same pādas, not only

$$+ + + + | + + + + | \overset{10}{+} \overset{11}{-} \cup (+),$$

but also

$$+ + + + | + + + + | \overset{10}{+} \overset{11}{\cup} - (+).$$

Before appealing, however, to the Prātisākhya for the establishment of such a rule as that the sixth syllable of Ānushṭubha and the eighth or tenth syllable of Traishṭubha and Gāgata pādas must be lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, it is indispensable that we should have a clear appreciation of the real character of the Prātisākhya. If we carefully follow the thread which runs through these books, we shall soon perceive that, even with the proviso that a short syllable follows, the Prātisākhya never teaches that certain final vowels must be lengthened. The object of the Prātisākhya, as I pointed out on a former occasion, is to register all the facts which possess a phonetic interest. In doing this, all kinds of plans are adopted in order to bring as large a number of cases as possible under general categories. These categories are purely technical and external, and they never assume, with the authors of the Prātisākhya, the character of general rules. Let us now, after these preliminary remarks, return to the Sūtras 523 to 535, which we discussed before. The Prātisākhya simply says that certain syllables which are short in the

Pada, if occupying a certain place in a verse, are lengthened in the *Samhitā*, provided a short syllable follows. This looks, no doubt, like a general rule which should be carried out under all circumstances. But this idea never entered the minds of the authors of the *Prātisākhya*. They only give this rule as the most convenient way of registering the lengthening of certain syllables which have actually been lengthened in the text of the *Samhitā*, while they remain short in the *Pada*; and after having done this, they proceed to give a number of verses where the same rule might be supposed to apply, but where in the text of the *Samhitā* the short syllable has not been lengthened. After having given a long string of words which are short in the *Pada* and long in the *Samhitā*, and where no intelligible reason of their lengthening can be given, at least not by the authors of the *Prātisākhya*, the *Prātisākhya* adds in *Sūtra* 523, 'The final vowel of the eighth syllable is lengthened in *pādas* of eleven and twelve syllables, provided a syllable follows which is short in the *Samhitā*.' As instances the commentator gives (*Samhitā* text):

I, 32, 4. *tādītñā sātṛum nā kīlā vivītse.*

I, 94, 1. *āgnē sākhyē mā rishāmā vāyām tāvā.*

Then follows another rule (*Sūtra* 525) that 'The final vowel of the tenth syllable in *pādas* of eleven and twelve syllables is lengthened, provided a syllable follows which is short in the *Samhitā*.' As instances the commentator gives:

III, 54, 22. *āhā vīsvā sumānā dīdihī nāh.*

II, 34, 9. *āva rudrā asāsō hantānā vādhaḥ.*

Lastly, a rule is given (*Sūtra* 526) that 'The final vowel of the sixth syllable is lengthened in a *pāda* of eight syllables, provided a syllable follows which is short:'

I, 5, 10. *īśānō yāvāyā vādham.*

If the seventh syllable is long no change takes place:

IX, 67, 30. *ā pāvāsvā devā sōmā.*

While we ourselves should look upon these rules as

founded in the very nature of the metre, which, no doubt, to a certain extent they are, the authors of the *Prātisākhya* use them simply as convenient nets for catching as many cases as possible of lengthened syllables actually occurring in the text of the *Samhitā*. For this purpose, and in order to avoid giving a number of special rules, they add in this place an observation, very important to us as throwing light on the real pronunciation of the Vedic hymns at the time when our *Samhitā* text was finally settled, but with them again a mere expedient for enlarging the preceding rules, and thus catching more cases of lengthening at one haul. They say in *Sūtra* 527, that in order to get the right number of syllables in such verses, we must pronounce sometimes one syllable as two. Thus only can the lengthened syllable be got into one of the places required by the preceding *Sūtra*, viz. the sixth, the eighth, or the tenth place, and thus only can a large number of lengthened syllables be comprehended under the same general rule of the *Prātisākhya*. In all this we ourselves can easily recognise a principle which guided the compilers of the *Samhitā* text, or the very authors of the hymns, in lengthening syllables which in the *Pada* text are short, and which were liable to be lengthened because they occupied certain places on which the stress of the metre would naturally fall. We also see quite clearly that these compilers, or those whose pronunciation they tried to perpetuate, must have pronounced certain syllables as two syllables, and we naturally consider that we have a right to try the same expedient in other cases where to us, though not to them, the metre seems deficient, and where it could be rendered perfect by pronouncing one syllable as two. Such thoughts, however, never entered the minds of the authors of the *Prātisākhyas*, who are satisfied with explaining what is, according to the authority of the *Samhitā*, and who never attempt to say what ought to be, even against the authority of the *Samhitā*. While in some cases they have ears to hear and to appreciate the natural flow of the poetical language of the *Rishis*, they seem at other times as deaf as the adder to the voice of the charmer.

A general rule, therefore, in our sense of the word, that the eighth syllable in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, the tenth syllable in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, and the sixth syllable in octosyllabics should be lengthened, rests in no sense on the authority of ancient grammarians. Even as a mere observation, they restrict it by the condition that the next syllable must be short, in order to provoke the lengthening of the preceding syllable, thereby sanctioning, of course, many exceptions; and they then proceed to quote a number of cases where, in spite of all, the short syllable remains short*. In some of these quotations they are no doubt wrong, but in most of them their statement cannot be disputed.

As to the eighth syllable being short in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, they quote such verses as,

VI, 66, 4. āntār (īti) śāntāḥ āvādyāni pūnānāḥ.

Thus we see that in VI, 44, 9, vārshīyāḥ vāyāḥ krīṇūhī śakībhīḥ, hi remains short; while in VI, 25, 3, gāhī vrīṣṇyāni krīṇūhī pārākāḥ, it is lengthened in the Samhitā, the only difference being that in the second passage the accent is on hī.

As to the tenth syllable being short in a dodecasyllabic, they quote

II, 27, 14. āditē mītrā vāruṇā ūtā mrīḷā.

As to the tenth syllable being short in a hendecasyllabic, they quote

II, 20, 1. vāyām tē vāyāḥ īndrā viddhī sū nāḥ.

As to the sixth syllable being short in an octosyllabic, they quote

VIII, 23, 26. māhāḥ vīśvān ābhi sātāḥ.

A large number of similar exceptions are collected from

* 'Wo die achtsilbigen Reihen mit herbeigezogen sind, ist es in der Regel bei solchen Liedern geschehen, die im Ganzen von der regelmässigen Form weniger abweichen, und für solche Fälle, wo auch das Prātisākhya die Längung der sechsten Silbe in achtsilbigen Reihen vorschreibt, nämlich wo die siebente von Natur kurz ist. Die achtsilbigen Reihen bedürfen einer erneuten Durchforschung, da es mehrfach schwer fällt, den Samhitāttext mit der Vorschrift der Prātisākhya in Übereinstimmung zu bringen.' Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii, p. 450; and still more strongly, p. 458.

528, 3 to 534, 94, and this does not include any cases where the ninth, the eleventh, or the seventh syllable is long, instead of being short, while it does include cases where the eighth syllable is long, though the ninth is not short, or, at least, is not short according to the views of the collectors of these passages. See Sûtra 522, 6.

Besides the cases mentioned by the Prâtisâkhya itself, where a short syllable, though occupying a place which would seem to require lengthening, remains short, there are many others which the Prâtisâkhya does not mention, because, from its point of view, there was no necessity for doing so. The Prâtisâkhya has been blamed^a for omitting such cases as I, 93, 6, *urum yagñâya kakrathûr u lokam*; or I, 96, 1, *devâ agnim dhârayan drâvinodâm*. But though occupying the eighth place, and though followed by a short syllable, these syllables could never fall under the general observation of the Prâtisâkhya, because that general observation refers to final vowels only, but not to short syllables in general. Similar cases are I, 107, 1^a; 122, 9; 130, 10; 152, 6; 154, 1; 158, 5^a; 163, 2; 167, 10^a; 171, 4; 173, 6; 179, 1^a; 182, 8^a; 186, 6, &c.

If, therefore, we say that, happen what may, these metrical rules must be observed, and the text of the Veda altered in order to satisfy the requirements of these rules, we ought to know at all events that we do this on our own responsibility, and that we cannot shield ourselves behind the authority of Saunaka or Kâtyâyana. Now it is well known that Professor Kuhn^b has laid down the rule that the Traishṭubha pādas must end in a bacchius or amphibrachys ∪-∪, and the Gāgata pādas in a dijambus or pæon secundus ∪-∪∪. With regard to Ānushṭubha pādas, he requires the dijambus or pæon secundus ∪-∪∪ at the end of a whole verse only, allowing greater freedom in the formation of the preceding pādas. In a later article,

^a 'Dazu kommt, dass der uns vorliegende Samhitātēxt vielfältig gar nicht mit Saunaka's allgemeiner Regel übereinstimmt, indem die Verlängerung kurzer Silben nicht unter den Bedingungen eingetreten ist, die er vorschreibt.' Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii, p. 459.

^b Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. iii, p. 118.

however, the final pāda, too, in Ânushṭubha metre is allowed greater freedom, and the rule, as above given, is strictly maintained with regard to the Traishṭubha and Gāgata pādas only.

This subject is so important, and affects so large a number of passages in the Veda, that it requires the most careful examination. The Vedic metres, though at first sight very perplexing, are very simple, if reduced to their primary elements. The authors of the Prātisākhya have elaborated a most complicated system. Counting the syllables in the most mechanical manner, they have assigned nearly a hundred names to every variety which they discovered in the hymns of the Rig-veda^a. But they also observed that the constituent elements of all these metres were really but four, (Sûtras 988, 989):

1. The Gâyatra pāda, of eight syllables, ending in ॐ -.
2. The Vairāga pāda, of ten syllables, ending in --.
3. The Traishṭubha pāda, of eleven syllables, ending in --.
4. The Gāgata pāda, of twelve syllables, ending in ॐ -.

Then follows an important rule, Sûtra 990: 'The penultimate syllable,' he says, 'in a Gâyatra and Gāgata pāda is light (laghu), in a Vairāga and Traishṭubha pāda heavy (guru).' This is called their *vr̥tta*.

This word *vr̥tta*, which is generally translated by metre, had evidently originally a more special meaning. It meant the final rhythm, or if we take it literally, the turn of a line, for it is derived from *vr̥t*, to turn. Hence *vr̥tta* is the same word as the Latin *versus*, verse; but I do not wish to decide whether the connection between the two words is historical, or simply etymological. In Latin, *versus* is always supposed to have meant originally a furrow, then a line, then a verse. In Sanskrit the metaphor that led to the formation of *vr̥tta*, in the sense of final rhythm, has nothing to do with ploughing. If, as I have tried to prove (Chips from a German Workshop,

^a See Appendix to my edition of the Prātisākhya, p. cccxvi.

vol. i, p. 84), the names assigned to metres and metrical language were derived from words originally referring to choregic movements, *vr̥tta* must have meant the turn, i. e. the last step of any given movement; and this turn, as determining the general character of the whole movement, would naturally be regulated by more severe rules, while greater freedom would be allowed for the rest.

Having touched on this subject, I may add another fact in support of my view. The words *Trishṭubh* and *Anushṭubh*, names for the most common metres, are generally derived from a root *stubbh*, to praise. I believe they should be derived from a root *stubbh*, which is preserved in Greek, not only in *στυφελός*, hard, *στυφελίζω*, to strike hard, but in the root *στεμφ*, from which *στέμφυλον*, stamped or pressed olives or grapes, and *ἀστεμφής*, untrodden (grapes), then unshaken; and in *στέμβω*, to shake, to ram, *στοβέω*, to scold, &c. In Sanskrit this root is mentioned in the *Dhātupāṭha* X, 34, *shtubhu stambhe*, and it exists in a parallel form as *stambh*, lit. to stamp down, then to fix, to make firm, with which Bopp has compared the German *stampfen*, to stamp; (Glossarium, s. v. *stambh*.) I therefore look upon *Trishṭubh* as meaning originally tripudium, (supposing this word to be derived from *tri* and *pes*, according to the expression in Horace, *pepulisse ter pede terram*, Hor. Od. iii. 18,) and I explain its name ‘Three-step,’ by the fact that the three last syllables *ṭ – ṭ*, which form the characteristic feature of that metre, and may be called its real *vr̥tta* or turn, were audibly stamped at the end of each turn or strophe. I explain *Anushṭubh*, which consists of four equal *pādas*, each of eight syllables, as the ‘After-step,’ because each line was stamped regularly after the other, possibly by two choruses, each side taking its turn. There is one passage in the Veda where *Anushṭubh* seems to have preserved this meaning:

X, 124, 9. *anu-stúbham ánu karkûryámānam índram ní kikyuh kaváyah manishá.*

Poets by their wisdom discovered Indra dancing to an *Anushṭubh*.

In V, 52, 12, *khandah-stúbhah kubhanyávaḥ útsam á*

kīrīṇaḥ nṛītuḥ, in measured steps (i.e. stepping the metre) and wildly shouting the gleemen have danced toward the spring.

Other names of metres which point to a similar origin, i.e. to their original connection with dances, are Pada-paṅkti, 'Step-row;' Nyāṅku-sāriṇī, 'Roe-step;' Abhisāriṇī, 'Contre-danse,' &c.

If now we return to the statement of the *Prātisākhya* in reference to the *vṛttas*, we should observe how careful its author is in his language. He does not say that the penultimate is long or short, but he simply states, that, from a metrical point of view, it must be considered as light or heavy, which need not mean more than that it must be pronounced with or without stress. The fact that the author of the *Prātisākhya* uses these terms, *laghu* and *guru*, instead of *hrasva*, short, and *dīrgha*, long, shows in fact that he was aware that the penultimate in these *pādas* is not invariably long or short, though, from a metrical point of view, it is always heavy or light.

It is perfectly true that if we keep to these four *pādas*, (to which one more *pāda*, viz. the half *Vairāga*, consisting of five syllables, might be added,) we can reduce nearly all the hymns of the *Rig-veda* to their simple elements which the ancient poets combined together, in general in a very simple way, but occasionally with greater freedom. The most important strophes, formed out of these *pādas*, are,

1. Three *Gāyatra* *pādas*=the *Gāyatrī*, (24 syllables.)
2. Four *Gāyatra* *pādas*=the *Anuṣṭubh*, (32 syllables.)
3. Four *Vairāga* *pādas*=the *Virāg*, (40 syllables.)
4. Four *Traishṭubha* *pādas*=the *Trishṭubh*, (44 syllables.)
5. Four *Gāgata* *pādas*=the *Gagatī*, (48 syllables.)

Between the *Gāyatrī* and *Anuṣṭubh* strophes, another strophe may be formed, by mixture of *Gāyatra* and *Gāgata* *pādas*, consisting of 28 syllables, and commonly called *Uṣṇih*; likewise between the *Anuṣṭubh* and the *Virāg*, a strophe may be formed, consisting of 36 syllables, and commonly called *Bṛīhatī*.

In a collection of hymns, however, like that of the *Rig-veda*, where poems of different ages, different places, and

different families have been put together, we must be prepared for exceptions to many rules. Thus, although the final turn of the hendecasyllabic Traishṭubha is, as a rule, the bacchius, ◡ — —, yet if we take, for instance, the 77th hymn of the tenth *Maṇḍala*, we clearly perceive another hendecasyllabic pāda of a totally different structure, and worked up into one of the most beautiful strophes by an ancient poet. Each line is divided into two halves, the first consisting of seven syllables, being an exact counterpart of the first member of a Saturnian verse (fate Romae Metelli); the second a dijambus, answering boldly to the broken rhythm of the first member*. We have, in fact, a Trishṭubh where the turn or the three-step, ◡ — —, instead of being at the end, stands in the middle of the line.

X, 77, 1-5, in the Pada text :

1. ābhṛā-prūṣhāḥ nā vākā' prūṣhā vāsū,
hāvishmāntāḥ nā yāgñāḥ' vī-gānūṣhāḥ | &c.

Another strophe, the nature of which has been totally misapprehended by native metricians, occurs in IV, 10. It is there called Padapañkti and Mahāpadapañkti; nay, attempts have been made to treat it even as an Ushnih, or as a kind of Gāyatrī. The real character of that strophe is so palpable that it is difficult to understand how it could have been mistaken. It consists of two lines, the first embracing three or four feet of five syllables each, having the ictus on the first and the fourth syllables, and resembling the last line of a Sapphic verse. The second line is simply

* Professor Kuhn (vol. iii, p. 450) is inclined to admit the same metre as varying in certain hymns with ordinary Traishṭubha pādas, but the evidence he brings forward is hardly sufficient. Even if we object to the endings ◡ — ◡ — and — — ◡ —, V, 33, 4, may be a Gāgata, with vyūha of dāsa, the remark quoted from the Prātisākhya being of no consequence on such points; and the same remedy would apply to V, 41, 5, with vyūha of eshe. In VI, 47, 31, vyūha of arvaparnaiḥ; in I, 33, 9, vyūha of indra and rodasī; in II, 24, 5, vyūha of mād̥bhiḥ would produce the same effect; while in I, 121, 8, we must either admit the Traishṭubha vṛtta — ◡ — or scan dhukshān. In III, 58, 6, I should admit vyūha for narā; in IV, 26, 6, for māṇḍram; in I, 100, 8, for g̃yotīḥ, always supposing that we consider the ending — — ◡ — incompatible with a Trishṭubh verse.

a Trishūbh. It is what we should call an asynartete strophe, and the contrast of the rhythm in the first and second lines is very effective. I am not certain whether Professor Bollensen, who has touched on this metre in an article just published (*Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. xxii, p. 572), shares this opinion. He has clearly seen that the division of the lines, as given in the MSS. of the *Samhitā* text, is wrong; but he seems inclined to admit the same rhythm throughout, and to treat the strophe as consisting of four lines of five syllables each, and one of six syllables, which last line is to submit to the prevailing rhythm of the preceding lines. If we differ, however, as to the internal architecture of this strophe, we agree in condemning the interpretation proposed by the *Prātisākhya*; and I should, in connection with this, like to call attention to two important facts: first, that the *Samhitā* text, in not changing, for instance, the final t of *martāt*, betrays itself as clearly later than the elaboration of the ancient theory of metres, later than the invention of such a metre as the *Padapañkti*; and secondly, that the accentuation, too, of the *Samhitā* is thus proved to be posterior to the establishment of these fanciful metrical divisions, and hence cannot throughout claim so irrefragable an authority as certainly belongs to it in many cases. I give the *Samhitā* text:

1. Āgnē tam ādyā | āsvām nā stōmāiḥ | krātūm nā bhādrām,
hrīdisprīṣām rīdhīyāmā tā ōhaiḥ.
2. Ādhā hy āgnē | krātōr bhādrāsyā | dākshāsyā sādhoḥ,
rāthīr rītāsyā brīhātō bābhūtha, &c.

Now it is perfectly true that, as a general rule, the syllables composing the *vṛtta* or turn of the different metres, and described by the *Prātisākhya* as heavy or light, are in reality long or short. The question, however, is this, have we a right, or are we obliged, in cases where that syllable is not either long or short, as it ought to be, so to alter the text, or so to change the rules of pronunciation, that the penultimate may again be what we wish it to be?

If we begin with the *Gāyatra pāda*, we have not to read

long before we find that it would be hopeless to try to crush the Gāyatrī verses of the Vedic *R̥ṣhis* on this Procrustean bed. Even Professor Kuhn very soon perceived that this was impossible. He had to admit that in the Gāyatrī the two first pādas, at all events, were free from this rule, and though he tried to retain it for the third or final pāda, he was obliged after a time to give it up even there. Again, it is perfectly true, that in the third pāda of the Gāyatrī, and in the second and fourth pādas of the Anushūbh strophe, greater care is taken by the poets to secure a short syllable for the penultimate, but here, too, exceptions cannot be entirely removed. We have only to take such a single hymn as I, 27, and we shall see that it would be impossible to reduce it to the uniform standard of Gāyatrī pādas, all ending in a dijabus.

But what confirms me even more in my view that such strict uniformity must not be looked for in the ancient hymns of the *R̥ṣhis*, is the fact that in many cases it would be so very easy to replace the irregular by a regular dipodia. Supposing that the original poets had restricted themselves to the dijabus, who could have put in the place of that regular dijabus an irregular dipodia? Certainly not the authors of the *Prātisākhya*, for their ears had clearly discovered the general rhythm of the ancient metres; nor their predecessors, for they had in many instances preserved the tradition of syllables lengthened in accordance with the requirements of the metre. I do not mean to insist too strongly on this argument, or to represent those who handed down the tradition of the Veda as endowed with anything like *apaurusheyatva*. Strange accidents have happened in the text of the Veda, but they have generally happened when the sense of the hymns had ceased to be understood; and if anything helped to preserve the Veda from greater accidents, it was due, I believe, to the very fact that the metre continued to be understood, and that oral tradition, however much it might fail in other respects, had at all events to satisfy the ears of the hearers. I should

have been much less surprised if all irregularities in the metre had been smoothed down by the flux and reflux of oral tradition, a fact which is so apparent in the text of Homer, where the gaps occasioned by the loss of the digamma, were made good by the insertion of unmeaning particles; but I find it difficult to imagine by what class of men, who must have lived between the original poets and the age of the Prâtisâkhyas, the simple rhythm of the Vedic metres should have been disregarded, and the sense of rhythm, which ancient people possess in a far higher degree than we ourselves, been violated through crude and purposeless alterations. I shall give a few specimens only. What but a regard for real antiquity could have induced people in VIII, 2, 8, to preserve the defective foot of a Gâyatrî verse, *śāmānē ādhī bhārmān*? Any one acquainted with Sanskrit would naturally read *śāmānē ādhī bhārmānī*. But who would have changed *bhārmāni*, if that had been there originally, to *bhārmān*? I believe we must scan *śāmānē ādhī bhārmān*, or *śāmānē ādhī bhārmān*, the pæon tertius being a perfectly legitimate foot at the end of a Gâyatrî verse. In X, 158, 1, we can understand how an accident happened. The original poet may have said : *Śūryō nō dīvas pātu pātu vātō āntārikshāt, āgnīr nāḥ pārthivēbhyaḥ*. Here one of the two *pātu* was lost. But if in the same hymn we find in the second verse two feet of nine instead of eight syllables each, I should not venture to alter this except in pronunciation, because no reason can be imagined why any one should have put these irregular lines in the place of regular ones.

In V, 41, 10, *grīṇīte āgnīr ētarī nā sūshaiḥ, sōḥīshkēso nī rīnāti vanā*, every modern Pandit would naturally read *vanāni* instead of *vanā*, in order to get the regular Trishubh metre. But this being the case, how can we imagine that even the most ignorant member of an ancient Parishad should wilfully have altered *vanāni* into *vanā*? What surprises one is, that *vanā* should have been spared, in spite of every temptation to change it into *vanāni*, for I cannot doubt for one moment that *vanā* is the right reading, only

that the ancient poets pronounced it *vāṇā*. Wherever we alter the text of the Rig-veda by conjecture, we ought to be able, if possible, to give some explanation how the mistake which we wish to remove came to be committed. If a passage is obscure, difficult to construe, if it contains words which occur in no other place, then we can understand how, during a long process of oral tradition, accidents may have happened. But when everything is smooth and easy, when the intention of the poet is not to be mistaken, when the same phrase has occurred many times before, then to suppose that a simple and perspicuous sentence was changed into a complicated and obscure string of words, is more difficult to understand. I know there are passages where we cannot as yet account for the manner in which an evidently faulty reading found its way into both the Pada and Samhitā texts, but in those very passages we cannot be too circumspect. If we read VIII, 40, 9, *pūrvīṣh ṛā īndrō-pamātāyāh pūrvīr ūtā prāsastāyāh*, nothing seems more tempting than to omit *indra*, and to read *pūrvīṣh ṛā ūpamātāyāh*. Nor would it be difficult to account for the insertion of *indra*; for though one would hardly venture to call it a marginal gloss that crept into the text—a case which, as far as I can see, has never happened in the hymns of the Rig-veda—it might be taken for an explanation given by an Ātārya to his pupils, in order to inform them that the ninth verse, different from the eighth, was addressed to *Indra*. But however plausible this may sound, the question remains whether the traditional reading could not be maintained, by admitting synizesis of *opa*, and reading *pūrvīṣh ṛā īndropamātāyāh*. For a similar synizesis of — *u*, see III, 6, 10. *prākī adhvarēva tasthātūh*, unless we read *prāky adhvarēva*.

Another and more difficult case of synizesis occurs in

VII, 86, 4. *āvā tvānēnā nāmāsā tura(h) iyām*.

It would be easy to conjecture *tvareyām* instead of *tura iyām*, but *tvareyām*, in the sense of 'let me hasten,' is not Vedic. The choriambic ending, however, of a Trishubh

can be proved to be legitimate, and if that is the case, then even the synizesis of *tura*, though hard, ought not to be regarded as impossible.

In II, 18, 5, *ā vimsatyā trimsatā yāh̄y ārvān̄,*
ā k̄atvārim̄satā haribh̄ir yūgān̄aḥ,
ā pāṇk̄asatā sūrathebh̄ir īndrā,
ā shash̄tyā sap̄tatyā sōmap̄eyām,

Professor Kuhn proposes to omit the *ā* at the beginning of the second line, in order to have eleven instead of twelve syllables. By doing so he loses the uniformity of the four *pādas*, which all begin with *ā*, while by admitting synizesis of *haribhiḥ* all necessity for conjectural emendation disappears.

If the poets of the Veda had objected to a *pæon quartus* (○○○-) at the end of a *Gāyatrī*, what could have been easier than to change IV, 52, 1, *divo adarsī duh̄itā*, into *adarsi duh̄itā divāḥ*? or X, 118, 6, *ādābhyām gr̄ih̄apātīm*, into *gr̄ih̄apātīm ādābhyām*?

If an *epitritus secundus* (-○○-) had been objectionable in the same place, why not say VI, 61, 10, *stōmyā bhūt sārāsvatī*, instead of *sārāsvatī stōmyā bhūt*? Why not VIII, 2, 11, *rēvantām hī sr̄inōmī tvā*, instead of *rēvantām hī tvā sr̄inōmī*?

If an *ionicus a minore* (○○-) had been excluded from that place, why not say I, 30, 10, *gārītr̄ibhyaḥ sakh̄e vāso*, instead of *sakh̄e vāso gārītr̄ibhyaḥ*? or I, 41, 7, *vārun̄asya m̄ahī psārāḥ*, instead of *m̄ahī psārō vārun̄asyā*?

If a *dispondeus* (----) was to be avoided, then V, 68, 3, *m̄ahī vām kshātrām devēshū*, might easily have been replaced by *deveshu vām kshātrām m̄ahī*, and VIII, 2, 10, *sukrā āsirām yāḥantē*, by *sukrā yāḥantā āsirām*.

If no *epitritus primus* (○---) was allowed, why not say VI, 61, 11, *nīdās pātū sārāsvatī*, instead of *sārāsvatī nīdās pātū*, or VIII, 79, 4, *dvēshō yāvīr āghāsyā k̄it*, instead of *yāvīr āghāsyā k̄id dvēshāḥ*?

Even the epitritus tertius (— — —) might easily have been avoided by dropping the augment of apām in X, 119, 1-13, kuvit somasyāpām itī. It is, in fact, a variety of less frequent occurrence than the rest, and might possibly be eliminated with some chance of success.

Lastly, the choriambus (— — —) could have been removed in III, 24, 5, śīśīhī nāh sūñumātāh, by reading sūñumātāh śīśīhī nāh, and in VIII, 2, 31, śāñād āmrīktō dāyātē, by reading āmrīktō dāyātē śāñāt.

But I am afraid the idea that regularity is better than irregularity, and that in the Veda, where there is a possibility, the regular metre is to be restored by means of conjectural emendations, has been so ably advocated by some of the most eminent scholars, that a merely general argument would now be of no avail. I must therefore give as much evidence as I can bring together in support of the contrary opinion; and though the process is a tedious one, the importance of the consequences with regard to Vedic criticism leaves me no alternative. With regard, then, to

Seven the final dipodia of Gāyatrī verses, I still Gāyatra Vṛttas. hold and maintain, that, although the dijambus is by far the most general metre, the following seven varieties have to be recognised in the poetry of the Veda*:

1. — — —, 2. — — —, 3. — — —, 4. — — —, 5. — — —,
6. — — —, 7. — — —, 8. — — —.

I do not pretend to give every passage in which these varieties occur, but I hope I shall give a sufficient number in support of every one of them. I have confined myself almost entirely to the final dipodia of Gāyatrī verses, as the Ānushṭubha verses would have swelled the lists too much.

§ 2. — — — —.

I, 12, 9. tasmai pāvākā mṛīyā. (Instead of mṛīlaya, it has been proposed to read mardāya.)

I, 18, 9. divo na sadmāmākṣāṣām.

I, 42, 4; 46, 2; 97, 1-8; III, 11, 3; 27, 10; IV, 15, 7;

* See some important remarks on these varieties in Mr. J. Boxwell's article 'On the Triśṭubh Metre,' Journal Asiat. Soc. Beng., 1885, p. 79.

32, 4; 52, 1; V, 5, 9; 7, 4; 7, 5; 7, 7; 9, 4; 53, 12; 61, 3;
61, 11; 64, 5; 65, 4; 82, 9; VI, 16, 17; 16, 18; 16, 45;
45, 17; 61, 4; VII, 15, 14; 66, 2; VIII, 6, 35; 6, 42;
32, 10; 44, 28; 45, 31; 72, 6; 72, 13; 80, 1; 83, 3; 93,
27; IX, 61, 5; 64, 1; X, 118, 6.

§ 3. — ∪ — —.

I, 22, 11. *akkhinnapatrāḥ śakāntām.*

I, 30, 13. *kshumanto yābhīr mādēmā.*

I, 41, 8; 90, 1; 90, 4; 120, 1; V, 19, 1; 70, 3; VI, 61,
10; VIII, 2, 2; 2, 4; 2, 5; 2, 11; 2, 12; 2, 13; 2, 14;
2, 15; 2, 16; 2, 17; 2, 29; 2, 30; 2, 32; 2, 33; 2, 36;
2, 37; 7, 30; 7, 33; 11, 2; 11, 3; 11, 4; 16, 3; 16, 4;
16, 5; 16, 7; 46, 2; 71, 2; 81, 1; 81, 3; 81, 4; 81, 7;
81, 9; 94, 2; IX, 62, 5; X, 20, 4; 20, 7.

§ 4. ∪ ∪ — —.

I, 3, 8. *usrā iva svāsārāṇī.*

I, 27, 4. *agne deveshū prā vōkāḥ.*

I, 30, 10; 30, 15; 38, 7; 38, 8; 41, 7; 43, 7; II, 6, 2;
III, 27, 3; V, 82, 7; VI, 16, 25; 16, 26; 61, 12; VIII, 2,
1; 2, 3; 2, 8; 2, 18; 2, 19; 2, 21; 2, 22; 2, 23; 2, 26;
2, 35; 16, 2; 16, 6; 16, 8; 71, 9; 79, 3; IX, 21, 5; 62, 6;
66, 21; X, 20, 5; 185, 1; 185, 2; 185, 3.

§ 5. — — — —.

I, 2, 7. *dhiyam ghrītākīm sādhanā.*

I, 3, 4. *anvibhis tanā pūtāsāḥ.*

I, 27, 3; 90, 2; II, 6, 4; III, 41, 8; V, 68, 3; 68, 4;
VIII, 2, 10; 2, 24; 16, 1; 16, 12; 79, 2; IX, 66, 17; X,
20, 6; 20, 8.

§ 6. ∪ — — —.

I, 15, 6. *ritunā yagnām āsāthē.*

I, 38, 2. *kva vo gāvo nā rānyānti* (see note to I, 38, 2).

I, 38, 9; 86, 9; III, 27, 2; 41, 3; IV, 32, 23; V, 68, 5;
70, 2; VI, 61, 11; VIII, 2, 20; 2, 25; 7, 32; 26, 19; 79, 4;
79, 5; 81, 6; X, 158, 4.

§ 7. — — — —.

I, 10, 8. *sām gā āsmābhyām dhūnuhī*.

I, 12, 5. *āgnē tvām rakshasvināh*.

I, 37, 15; 43, 8; 46, 6; III, 62, 7; IV, 30, 21; V, 86, 5; VIII, 5, 32; 5, 35; X, 119, 1-13; 144, 4.

§ 8. — — — —.

I, 2, 9. *daksham dadhātē āpāsām* (or § 2).

I, 6, 10. *indram maho vā rāgasāh*.

I, 27, 6; 30, 21; 41, 9; 90, 5; III, 24, 5; V, 19, 2; 70, 1; 70, 4; 82, 8; VIII, 2, 27; 2, 31; 16, 9; 55, 4; 67, 19; 81, 5; 81, 8; IX, 47, 2.

But although with regard to the Gāyatra, and I may add, the Ānushūbha pādas, the evidence as to the variety Traishūbha and of their *vr̥ttas* is such that it can hardly be Gāyata Pādas.

resisted, a much more determined stand has been made in defence of the *vr̥tta* of the Traishūbha and Gāyata pādas. Here Professor Kuhn and those who follow him maintain that the rule is absolute, that the former must end in — —, the latter in — — —, and that the eighth syllable, immediately preceding these syllables, ought, if possible, to be long. Nor can I deny that Professor Kuhn has brought forward powerful arguments in support of his theory, and that his emendations of the Vedic text recommend themselves by their great ingenuity and simplicity. If his theory could be carried out, I should readily admit that we should gain something. We should have throughout the Veda a perfectly uniform metre, and wherever we found any violation of it, we should be justified in resorting to conjectural criticism.

The only question is at what price this strict uniformity can be obtained. If, for instance, in order to have the regular *vr̥ttas* at the end of Traishūbha and Gāyata lines, we were obliged to repeal all rules of prosody, to allow almost every short vowel to be used as long, and every long vowel to be used as short, whether long by nature or by position, we should have gained very little, we

should have robbed Peter to pay Paul, we should have removed no difficulty, but only ignored the causes which created it. Now, if we examine the process by which Professor Kuhn establishes the regularity of the *vr̥ittas* or final syllables of *Traishṭubha* and *Gāgata* pādas, we find, in addition to the rules laid down before, and in which he is supported, as we saw, to a great extent by the *Prātisākhya* and *Pāṇini*, viz. the anceps nature of *e* and *o*, and of a long final vowel before a vowel, the following exceptions or metrical licences, without which that metrical uniformity at which he aims, could not be obtained :

Prosodial
Licences. 1. The vowel *o* in the body of a word is to be treated as optionally short :

II, 39, 3. *prāṭi vāstor ūsrā* (see *Trishṭ.* § 5).

Here the *o* of *vasto* is supposed to be short, although it is the *Guṇa* of *u*, and therefore very different from the final *e* of *sarve* or *āste*, or the final *o* of *sarvo* for *sarvas* or *mano* for *manas* *. It should be remarked that in Greek, too, the final diphthongs corresponding to the *e* of *sarve* and *āste* are treated as short, as far as the accent is concerned. Hence *ἀποικοι*, *τύπτεται*, and even *γνώμαι*, nom. plur. In Latin, too, the old terminations of the nom. sing. *o* and *u*, instead of the later *us*, are short. (*Neue, Formenlehre*, § 23 seq.)

VI, 51, 15. *gopā āmā*.

Here the *o* of *gopā* is treated as short, in order to get *o—o—* instead of *—o—*, which is perfectly legitimate at the end of an *Ushnih*.

2. The long *ī* and *ū* are treated as short, not only before vowels, which is legitimate, but also before consonants.

VII, 62, 4. *dyāvābhūmī ādīte trāsīthām nāh* (see *Trishṭ.* § 5).

The forms *īsiyā* and *rāsiyā* in VII, 32, 18, occur at the end of octosyllabic or *Gāyatra* pādas, and are therefore

* A very strong divergence of opinion is expressed on this point by Professor Bollensen. He says: 'O und E erst später in die Schrifttafel aufgenommen, bewahren ihre Länge durch das ganze indische Schriftenthum bis ins Apabhramsa hinab. Selbstverständlich kann kurz o und e im Veda erst recht nicht zugelassen werden.' *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. xxii, p. 574.

perfectly legitimate, yet Professor Kuhn would change them too, into *īṣiṃyā* and *rāṣiṃyā*. In VII, 28, 4, even *māyī* is treated as *māyī* (see Trishṭ. § 5); and in VII, 68, 1, *vītām* as *vītām*. If, in explanation of this shortening of *vītām*, *vīhi* is quoted, which is identified with *vīhi*, this can hardly be considered as an argument, for *vīhi* occurs where no short syllable is required, IV, 48, 1; II, 26, 2; and where, therefore, the shortening of the vowel cannot be attributed to metrical reasons.

3. Final *m* followed by an initial consonant is allowed to make no position, and even in the middle of a word a nasal followed by a liquid is supposed to make *positio debilis*. Several of the instances, however, given in support, are from *Gāyatra pādas*, where Professor Kuhn, in some of his later articles, has himself allowed greater latitude; others admit of different scanning, as for instance,

I, 117, 8. *māhāh kshōṃāsyā āṣvīnā kāṇvāyā*.

Here, even if we considered the dispondeus as illegitimate, we might scan *kāṇvāyā*, for this scanning occurs in other places, while to treat the first *a* as short before *nv* seems tantamount to surrendering all rules of prosody.

4. Final *n* before semivowels, mutes, and double *n* before vowels make no position^a. Ex. III, 49, 1. *yāsmīn vīṣvā* (Trishṭ. § 5); I, 174, 5. *yāsmīñ kākān*; I, 186, 4. *sāsmīn(n) ūdhan*^b.

5. Final Visarga before sibilants makes no position^c. Ex. IV, 21, 10. *sātyāh sāmṛāt* (Trishṭ. § 5). Even in I, 63, 4.

^a Professor Kuhn has afterwards (Beiträge, vol. iv, p. 207) modified this view, and instead of allowing a final nasal vowel followed by a mute to make *positio debilis*, he thinks that the nasal should in most cases be omitted altogether.

^b Here a distinction should be made, I think, between an *n* before a consonant, and a final *n* following a short vowel, which, according to the rules of Sandhi, is doubled, if a vowel follows. In the latter case, the vowel before the *n* remains, no doubt, short in many cases, or, more correctly, the doubling of the *n* does not take place, e.g. I, 63, 4; 186, 4. In other places, the doubling seems preferable, e.g. I, 33, 11, though Professor Kuhn would remove it altogether. Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii, p. 125.

^c Here, too, according to later researches, Professor Kuhn would rather omit the final sibilant altogether, loc. cit. vol. iv, p. 207.

kōdīh sakhā (probably a *Gāgata*), and V, 82, 4. *sāvīh* sāubhāgam (a *Gāy.* § 7), the long *i* is treated as short, and the short *a* of *sakhā* is lengthened, because an aspirate follows.

6. *S* before mutes makes no position. Ex. VI, 66, 11. *ūgrā āspridhran* (*Trishṭ.* § 3).

7. *S* before *k* makes no position. Ex. *vīsvāskāndrāh*, &c.

8. Mutes before *s* make no position. Ex. *rākshās*, according to Professor Kuhn, in the seventh *Mandala* only, but see I, 12, 5; *kūtsa*, &c.

9. Mutes before *r* or *v* make no position. Ex. *sūṣiprā*, *dīrghāsrūt*.

10. Sibilants before *y* make no position. Ex. *dāsyūn*.

11. *R* followed by mutes or sibilants makes no position. Ex. *āyūr gīvase*, *kārdīh*, *vārshishthām*.

12. Words like *smāddishān*, &c. retain their vowel short before two following consonants.

We now proceed to consider a number of prosodial rules which Professor Kuhn proposes to repeal in order to have a long syllable where the MSS. supply a short :

1. The vowel *ri* is to be pronounced as long, or rather as *ar*. Ex. I, 12, 9. *tāsmāi pāvākā mrīḷyā* is to be read *mārdāyā*; V, 33, 10. *sāmvāranāsyā rishēh* is to be read *arsheh*. But why not *sāmvāranāsyā rishēh* (i. e. *siarsheh*)?

2. The *a* privativum may be lengthened. Ex. *āgārāh*, *āmritāh*.

3. Short vowels before liquids may be long. Ex. *nārāh*, *tārutā*, *tāratī*, *mārutām*, *hāriavāh*, *ārushi*, *dadhur iha*, *sūvitā* (p. 471).

4. Short vowels before nasals may be lengthened. Ex. *ganān*, *sanitar*, *tānūh*, *ūpā nāh*.

5. Short vowels before the *ma* of the superlative may be lengthened. Ex. *nrītama*.

6. The short *a* in the roots *sam* and *yam*, and in *am* (the termination of the accusative) may be lengthened.

7. The group $\check{a}v\check{a}$ is to be pronounced $\bar{a}u\bar{a}$. Ex. $\check{a}v\check{a}s\bar{e}$ becomes $\bar{a}u\bar{a}s\bar{e}$; $s\check{a}v\check{it}\bar{a}$ becomes $s\bar{a}u\bar{i}t\bar{a}$; $n\check{a}v\bar{a}$ becomes $n\bar{a}u\bar{a}$.

8. The group $\check{a}y\bar{a}$ is to be changed into $\bar{a}i\bar{a}$ or $\bar{e}\bar{a}$. Ex. $n\check{a}y\check{a}s\bar{i}$ becomes $n\bar{a}i\bar{a}s\bar{i}$.

9. The group $v\bar{a}$ is to be changed into ua , and this ua to be treated as a kind of diphthong and therefore long. Ex. $k\bar{a}n\check{v}\check{a}t\bar{a}m\bar{a}h$ becomes $k\bar{a}n\bar{u}\bar{a}t\bar{a}m\bar{a}h$; $v\bar{a}r\check{u}n\bar{a}h$ becomes $\bar{u}\bar{a}r\check{u}n\bar{a}h$.

10. The short vowel in the reduplicated syllable of perfects is to be lengthened. Ex. $t\check{a}t\check{a}n\bar{a}h$, $d\check{a}d\check{h}i\bar{r}\bar{e}$.

11. Short vowels before all aspirates may be lengthened. Ex. $r\check{a}th\bar{a}h$ becomes $\bar{r}\bar{a}th\bar{a}h$; $s\check{a}kh\bar{a}$ becomes $\bar{s}\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$.

12. Short vowels before h and all sibilants may be lengthened. Ex. $m\check{a}h\check{in}\bar{i}$ becomes $\bar{m}\bar{a}h\check{in}\bar{i}$; $\check{u}s\check{ig}\bar{a}m$ becomes $\bar{u}s\check{ig}\bar{a}m$; $r\check{ish}\check{a}t\bar{e}$ becomes $\bar{r}\bar{ish}\check{a}t\bar{e}$; $d\check{a}s\bar{a}t$ becomes $\bar{d}\bar{a}s\bar{a}t$.

13. The short vowel before t may be lengthened. Ex. $v\check{a}g\check{a}v\bar{a}t\bar{a}h$ becomes $\bar{v}\bar{a}g\check{a}v\bar{a}t\bar{a}h$; $\check{a}t\check{ith}\bar{i}h$ becomes $\bar{a}t\check{ith}\bar{i}h$.

14. The short vowel before d may be lengthened. Ex. $\check{u}d\bar{a}r\bar{a}m$ becomes $\bar{u}d\bar{a}r\bar{a}m$; $\check{u}d\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ becomes $\bar{u}d\bar{a}v\bar{a}$.

15. The short vowel before p may be lengthened. Ex. $\check{a}p\bar{a}m$ becomes $\bar{a}p\bar{a}m$; $\check{t}\bar{a}p\check{u}sh\bar{i}m$ becomes $\bar{t}\bar{a}p\check{u}sh\bar{i}m$; $gri\check{h}\bar{a}p\bar{a}t\bar{i}m$ becomes $\bar{g}ri\check{h}\bar{a}p\bar{a}t\bar{i}m$.

16. The short vowel before g and g may be lengthened. Ex. $s\check{a}n\check{u}sh\bar{a}g\bar{a}t$ becomes $\bar{s}\bar{a}n\check{u}sh\bar{a}g\bar{a}t$; $y\check{u}n\check{a}g\bar{a}n$ becomes $\bar{y}un\bar{a}g\bar{a}n$.

Let us now turn back for one moment to look at the slaughter which has been committed! Is there one single rule of prosody that has been spared? Is there one single short syllable that must always remain short, or a long syllable that must always remain long? If all restrictions of prosody are thus removed, our metres, no doubt, become perfectly regular. But it should be remembered that these metrical rules, for which all this carnage has been committed, are not founded upon any a priori principles, but deduced by ancient or modern metricians from those very hymns which seem so constantly to violate

them. Neither ancient nor modern metricians had, as far as we know, any evidence to go upon besides the hymns of the Rig-veda ; and the philosophical speculations as to the origin of metres in which some of them indulge, and from which they would fain derive some of their unbending rules, are, as need hardly be said, of no consequence whatever. I cannot understand what definite idea even modern writers connect with such statements as that, for instance, the Trishṭubh metre sprang from the Gagatī metre, that the eleven syllables of the former are an abbreviation of the twelve syllables of the latter. Surely, metres are not made artificially, and by addition or subtraction. Metres have a natural origin in the rhythmic sentiment of different people, and they become artificial and arithmetical in the same way as language with its innate principles of law and analogy becomes in course of time grammatical and artificial. To derive one metre from another is like deriving a genitive from a nominative, which we may do indeed for grammatical purposes, but which no one would venture to do who is at all acquainted with the natural and independent production of grammatical forms. Were we to arrange the Trishṭubh and Gagatī metres in chronological order, I should decidedly place the Trishṭubh first, for we see, as it were before our eyes, how sometimes one foot, sometimes two and three feet in a Trishṭubh verse admit an additional syllable at the end, particularly in set phrases which would not submit to a Trishṭubh ending. The phrase *sam no bhava dvipade sam katushpade* is evidently a solemn phrase, and we see it brought in without hesitation, even though every other line of the same strophe or hymn is Trishṭubh, i.e. hendecasyllabic, not dodecasyllabic. See, for instance, VI, 74, 1; VII, 54, 1; X, 85, 44; 165, 1. However, I maintain by no means that this was the actual origin of Gagatī metres; I only refer to it in order to show the groundlessness of metrical theories which represent the component elements, a foot of one or two or four syllables as given first, and as afterwards compounded into systems of two, three or four such feet, and who therefore would wish us to look upon the hendecasyllabic Trishṭubh as originally a dodecasyllabic Gagatī, only

deprived of its tail. If my explanation of the name of Trishṭubh, i. e. Three-step, is right, its origin must be ascribed to a far more natural process than that of artificial amputation. It was to accompany a choros, i. e. a dance, which after advancing freely for eight steps in one direction, turned back (*vṛtta*) with three steps, the second of which was strongly marked, and would therefore, whether in song or recitation, be naturally accompanied by a long syllable. It certainly is so in the vast majority of Trishṭubhs which have been handed down to us. But if among these verses we find a small number in which this simple and palpable rhythm is violated, and which nevertheless were preserved from the first in that imperfect form, although the temptation to set them right must have been as great to the ancient as it has proved to be to the modern students of the Veda, are we to say that nearly all, if not all, the rules that determine the length and shortness of syllables, and which alone give character to every verse, are to be suspended? Or, ought we not rather to consider, whether the ancient choregic poets may not have indulged occasionally in an irregular movement? We see that this was so with regard to Gâyatrî verses. We see the greater freedom of the first and second pādas occasionally extend to the third; and it will be impossible, without intolerable violence, to remove all the varieties of the last pāda of a Gâyatrî of which I have given examples above, pages civ seqq.

It is, of course, impossible to give here all the evidence that might be brought forward in support of similar freedom Traishṭubha
Vṛtta. in Trishṭubh verses, and I admit that the number of real varieties with them is smaller than with the Gâyatrîs. In order to make the evidence which I have to bring forward in support of these varieties as unassailable as possible, I have excluded nearly every pāda that occurs only in the first, second, or third line of a strophe, and have restricted myself, with few exceptions, and those chiefly referring to pādas that had been quoted by other scholars in support of their own theories, to the final pādas of Trishṭubh verses. Yet even with this limited evidence, I think I shall be able to establish at least three

varieties of Trishṭubh. Preserving the same classification which I adopted before for the Gāyatrī, so as to include the important eighth syllable of the Trishṭubh, which does not properly belong to the *vṛtta*, I maintain that class 4. $\cup\cup---$, class 5. $-----$, and class 8. $-\cup\cup-$ must be recognised as legitimate endings in the hymns of the Veda, and that by recognising them we are relieved from nearly all, if not all, the more violent prosodial licences which Professor Kuhn felt himself obliged to admit in his theory of Vedic metres.

§ 4. $\cup\cup---$.

The verses which fall under § 4 are so numerous that after those of the first *Mandala*, mentioned above, they need not be given here in full. They are simply cases where the eighth syllable is not lengthened, and they cannot be supposed to run counter to any rule of the *Prātisākhya*, for the simple reason that the *Prātisākhya* never gave such a rule as that the eighth syllable must be lengthened, if the ninth is short. Examples will be found in the final pāda of Trishṭubhs: II, 30, 6; III, 36, 4; 53, 15; 54, 12; IV, 1, 16; 2, 7; 9; 11; 4, 12; 6, 1; 2; 4; 7, 7; 11, 5; 17, 3; 23, 6; 24, 2; 27, 1; 28, 5; 55, 5; 57, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 17, 10; 21, 8; 23, 7; 25, 5; 29, 6; 33, 1; 62, 1; 63, 7; VII, 21, 5; 28, 3; 42, 4; 56, 15; 60, 10; 84, 2; 92, 4; VIII, 1, 33; 96, 9; IX, 92, 5; X, 61, 12; 13; 74, 3; 117, 7.

In support of § 5. $-----$, the number of cases is smaller, but it should be remembered that it might be considerably increased if I had not restricted myself to the final pāda of each Trishṭubh, while the first, second, and third pādas would have yielded a much larger harvest:

§ 5. $-----$.

I, 89, 9. mā no madhyā rīrīshatāyūr gāntōh.

I, 92, 6. supratikā saumanasāyāgīgāh.

I, 114, 5; 117, 2; 122, 1; 122, 8; 186, 3; II, 4, 2; III, 49, 2; IV, 3, 9; 26, 6; V, 41, 14; VI, 25, 2; 66, 11; VII, 8, 6; 28, 4; 68, 1; 71, 2; 78, 1; 93, 7^b; IX, 90, 4; X, 11, 8.

I do not wish to deny that in several of these lines it would be possible to remove the long syllable from the ninth place by conjectural emendation. Instead of áyur in I, 89, 9, we might read áyu; in I, 92, 6, we might drop the augment of agár; in II, 4, 2, we might admit synizesis in áratir, and then read gírā-āsvāh, as in I, 141, 12. In VI, 25, 2, after eliding the a of ava, we might read dāsīh. But even if, in addition to all this, we were to admit the possible suppression of final m in asmabhyam, mahyam, and in the accusative singular, or the suppression of s in the nominative singular, both of which would be extreme measures, we should still have a number of cases which could not be righted without even more violent remedies. Why then should we not rather admit the occasional appearance of a metrical variation which certainly has a powerful precedent in the dispondeus of Gāyatrī? I am not now acquainted with the last results of metrical criticism in Virgil, but, unless some new theories now prevail, I well recollect that spondaic hexameters, though small in number, much smaller than in the Veda, were recognised by the best scholars, and no emendations attempted to remove them. If then in Virgil we read,

‘Cum patribus populoque, penatibusque et magnis dis,’
why not follow the authority of the best MSS. and the tradition of the Prātisākhyas and admit a dispondeus at the end of a Trishūbh rather than suspend, in order to meet this single difficulty, some of the most fundamental rules of prosody?

I now proceed to give a more numerous list of Traishūbha pādas ending in a choriambus, — ∪ ∪ —, again confining myself, with few exceptions, to final pādas:

§ 8. — ∪ ∪ —.

I, 62, 3. sam usriyābhir vāvasāntā nārāh.

I, 103, 4. yad dha sūnuh sravase nāmā dādhe.

I, 121, 9; 122, 10^b; 173, 8; 186, 2; II, 4, 3; 19, 1; 33, 14; IV, 1, 19^a; 25, 4; 39, 2; V, 30, 12; 41, 4; 41, 15;

* ‘Nur eine Stelle habe ich mir angemerkt, wo das Metrum āam verlangt.’

VI, 4, 7; 10, 5; 11, 4; 13, 1^b; 13, 1^d; 20, 1^b; 20, 1^d; 29, 4; 33, 3; 33, 5; 44, 11; 49, 12; 68, 5; 68, 7; VII, 19, 10; 62, 4; IX, 97, 26; X, 55, 8; 99, 9; 108, 6; 169, 1.

It is perfectly true that this sudden change in the rhythm of Trishūbh verses, making their ending iambic instead of trochaic, grates on our ears. But, I believe, that if we admit a short stop after the seventh syllable, the intended rhythm of these verses will become intelligible. We remarked a similar break in the verses of hymn X, 77, where the sudden transition to an iambic metre was used with great effect, and the choriambic ending, though less effective, is by no means offensive. It should be remarked also, that in many, though not in all cases, a cæsura takes place after the seventh syllable, and this is, no doubt, a great help towards a better delivery of these choriambic Trishūbhs.

While, however, I contend for the recognition of these three varieties of the normal Trishūbh metre, I am quite willing to admit that other variations besides these, which occur from time to time in the Veda, form a legitimate subject of critical discussion.

§ 2. ∪ ∪ ∪ —.

Trishūbh verses, the final pāda of which ends in ∪ ∪ ∪ —, I should generally prefer to treat as ending in a Gāgata pāda, in which this ending is more legitimate. Thus I should propose to scan:

I, 122, 11. prāsastāyē māhinā[~] rāthāvātē.

III, 20, 5. vāsūn rūdrāñ ādityāñ[~] ihā hūvē.

V, 2, 1. pūrā[~] pāsyānti nīhītam[~] (tām) āratāu.

VI, 13, 5. vāyō vrīkāyārayē[~] gāsūrayē.

§ 1. ∪ — ∪ —.

I should propose the same medela for some final pādas of Trishūbhs apparently ending in ∪ — ∪ —. We might indeed, as has been suggested, treat these verses as single instances of that peculiar metre which we saw carried out in the whole of hymn X, 77, but at the end of a verse the ad-

Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iv, p. 180; Bollensen, Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii, p. 587.

mission of an occasional Gāgata pāda is more in accordance with the habit of the Vedic poets. Thus I should scan :

V, 33, 4. *vṛṣhā sāmatṣū dāsāsyā nāmā kīt**.

V, 41, 5^b. *rāyā ēshe vāse dādhitā dhīh*.

After what I have said before on the real character of the teaching of the Prātisākhya, I need not show again that the fact of Uvata's counting ta of dadhīta as the tenth syllable is of no importance in determining the real nature of these hymns, though it is of importance, as Professor Kuhn remarks (Beiträge, vol. iii, p. 451), in showing that Uvata considered himself at perfect liberty in counting or not counting, for his own purposes, the elided syllable of avase.

VII, 4, 6. *māpsavāh pari shādāmā mādūvāh*.

§ 6. ◡ — — —.

Final pādas of Trishṭubhs ending in ◡ — — — are very scarce. In VI, 1, 4,

bhadrāyām te ranayantā samdrīshṭau,

it would be very easy to read *bhadrāyām te samdrīshṭau rānāyāntā*; and in X, 74, 2,

dyaūr nā vārebhīh krīṇavāntā svāih,

we may either recognise a Gāgata pāda, or read

dyaūr nā vārebhīh krīṇavāntā svāih,

which would agree with the metre of hymn X, 77.

§ 7. — — ◡ —.

Pādas ending in — — ◡ — do not occur as final in any Traishṭubha hymn, but as many Gāgata pādas occur in the body of Traishṭubha hymns, we have to scan them as dodecasyllabic :

I, 63, 4^a. *tṛām hā tyād īndrā kōdīh sakhā.*

IV, 26, 6^b. *pārāvātāh sakunō māndram mādam.*

The adjective pāvaka which frequently occurs at the end of final and internal pādas of Trishṭubh hymns has always

* Professor Kuhn has finally adopted the same scanning, Beiträge, vol. iv, p. 184.

to be scanned *pāvākā*. Cf. IV, 51, 2; VI, 5, 2; 10, 4; 51, 3; VII, 3, 1; 9; 9, 1^b; 56, 12; X, 46, 7^b.

I must reserve what I have to say about other metres of the Veda for another opportunity, but I cannot leave this subject without referring once more to a Omission of final m and s. metrical licence which has been strongly advocated by Professor Kuhn and others, and by the admission of which there is no doubt that many difficulties might be removed, I mean the occasional omission of a final m and s, and the subsequent contraction of the final and initial vowels. The arguments that have been brought forward in support of this are very powerful. There is the general argument that final s and m are liable to be dropt in other Aryan languages, and particularly for metrical purposes. There is the stronger argument that in some cases final s and m in Sanskrit may or may not be omitted, even apart from any metrical stress. In Sanskrit we find that the demonstrative pronoun *sa* appears most frequently as *sa* (*sa dadāti*), and if followed by liquid vowels, it may coalesce with them even in later Sanskrit. Thus we see *saisha* for *sa esha*, *sendraḥ* for *sa indraḥ* sanctioned for metrical purposes even by Pāṇini, VI, 1, 134. We might refer also to feminines which have s in the nominative singular after bases in ū, but drop it after bases in ī. We find in the *Samhitā* text, V, 7, 8, *svādhitiṽ*, instead of *svādhitiḥ-iva* in the *Pada* text, sanctioned by the *Prātisākhya* 259; likewise IX, 61, 10, *Samhitā*, *bhūmy ā dade*, instead of *Pada*, *bhūmiḥ ā dade*. But before we draw any general conclusions from such instances, we should consider whether they do not admit of a grammatical instead of a metrical explanation. The nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun was *sa* before it was *sas*; by the side of *bhūmiḥ* we have a secondary form *bhūmī*; and we may conclude from *svādhiti-vān*, I, 88, 2, that the Vedic poets knew of a form *svādhitiḥ*, by the side of *svādhitiḥ*.

As to the suppression of final m, however, we see it admitted by the best authorities, or we see at least alternate forms with or without m, in *túbhya*, which occurs

frequently instead of *túbhyam*^a, and twice, at least, without apparently any metrical reason^b. We find *asmáka* instead of *asmákam* (I, 173, 10), *yushmáka* instead of *yushmákam* (VII, 59, 9-10), *yágadhva* instead of *yágadvam* (VIII, 2, 37) sanctioned both by the *Samhitâ* and *Pada* texts^c.

If then we have such precedents, it may well be asked why we should hesitate to adopt the same expedient, the omission of final *m* and *s*, whenever the Vedic metres seem to require it. Professor Bollensen's remark, that Vedic verses cannot be treated to all the licences of Latin scanning^d, is hardly a sufficient answer; and he himself, though under a slightly different form, would admit as much, if not more, than has been admitted on this point by Professors Kuhn and Roth. On *a priori* grounds I should by no means feel opposed to the admission of a possible elision of final *s* or *m*, or even *n*; and my only doubt is whether it is really necessary for the proper scanning of Vedic metres.

My own opinion has always been, that if we admit on a larger scale what in single words can hardly be doubted

by anybody, viz. the pronunciation of two syllables as one, we need not fall back on

the elision of final consonants in order to arrive at a proper scanning of Vedic metres. On this point I shall have to say a few words in conclusion, because I shall frequently avail myself of this licence, for the purpose of righting apparently corrupt verses in the hymns of the *Rig-veda*; and I feel bound to explain, once for all, why I avail myself of it in preference to other emendations which have been proposed by scholars such as Professors Benfey, Kuhn, Roth, Bollensen, and others.

The merit of having first pointed out some cases where

^a I, 54, 9; 135, 2; III, 42, 8; V, 11, 5; VII, 22, 7; VIII, 51, 9; 76, 8; 82, 5; IX, 62, 27; 86, 30; X, 167, 1.

^b II, 11, 3; V, 30, 6.

^c See Bollensen, *Orient und Occident*, vol. iii, p. 459; Kuhn, *Beiträge*, vol. iv, p. 199.

^d *Orient und Occident*, vol. iv, p. 449.

two syllables must be treated as one, belongs, I believe, to Professor Bollensen in his article, 'Zur Herstellung des Veda,' published in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 461. He proposed, for instance, to write *hyāná* instead of *hiyāná*, IX, 13, 6; *dhyānó* instead of *dhiyānó*, VIII, 49, 5; *sáhyase* instead of *sáhiyase*, I, 71, 4; *yānó* instead of *iyānó*, VIII, 50, 5, &c. The actual alteration of these words seems to me unnecessary; nor should we think of resorting to such violent measures in Greek where, as far as metrical purposes are concerned, two vowels have not unfrequently to be treated as one.

That *iva* counts in many passages as one syllable is admitted by everybody. The only point on which I differ is that I do not see why *iva*, when monosyllabic, should be changed to *va*, instead of being pronounced quickly, or, to adopt the terminology of Greek grammarians, by *synizesis*^a. *Synizesis* is well explained by Greek scholars as a quick pronunciation of two vowels so that neither should be lost, and as different thereby from *synalœphe*, which means the contraction of two vowels into one^b. This *synizesis* is by no means restricted to *iva* and a few other words, but seems to me a very frequent expedient resorted to by the ancient *Rishis*.

Originally it may have arisen from the fact that language allows in many cases alternate forms of one or two syllables. As in Greek we have double forms like *ἀλγεινός* and *ἀλγεινός*, *γαλακτοφάγος* and *γλακτοφάγος*, *πηγνός* and *πηγνός*, *πυκνός* and *πυκνός*^c, and as in Latin we have the shortening

^a *Synizesis* in Greek applies only to the quick pronunciation of two vowels, if in immediate contact; and not, if separated by consonants. *Samprasāraṇa* might seem a more appropriate term, but though the grammatical process designated in Sanskrit by *Samprasāraṇa* offers some analogies, it could only by a new definition be applied to the metrical process here intended.

^b A. B. p. 835, 30. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς μέτροις καὶ ἡ καλουμένη συνεκφώνησις ἢ καὶ συνίησις λέγεται. Ὅταν γὰρ φωνηέντων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους γένηται ἡ προφορά, τότε γίνεται ἡ συνίησις εἰς μίαν συλλαβὴν. Διαφέρει δὲ συναλοιφῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραμμάτων ἐστὶ κλοπή, ἡ δὲ χρόνων· καὶ ἡ μὲν συναλοιφή, ὡς λέγεται, φαίνεται, ἡ δὲ οὐ. Mehlhorn, *Griechische Grammatik*, § 101. Thus in *Ἄσπετος ὄλεμος* we have *synizesis*, in *Ἄσπετος ὄλεμος* *synæresis*.

^c Cf. Mehlhorn, *Griechische Grammatik*, § 57.

or suppression of vowels carried out on the largest scale*, we find in Sanskrit, too, such double forms as *pr̥ithvi* or *pr̥ithivī*, *adhi* and *dhi*, *api* and *pi*, *ava* and *va*. The occurrence of such forms which have nothing to do with metrical considerations, but are perfectly legitimate from a grammatical point of view, would encourage a tendency to treat two syllables—and particularly two short syllables—as one, whenever an occasion arose. There are, besides, in the Vedic Sanskrit a number of forms where, as we saw, a long syllable has to be pronounced as two. In some of these cases this pronunciation is legitimate, i.e. it preserves an original dissyllabic form which in course of time had become monosyllabic. In other cases the same process takes place through a mistaken sense of analogy, where we cannot prove that an original dissyllabic form had any existence even in a prehistoric state of language. The occurrence of a number of such alternate forms would naturally leave a general impression in the minds of poets that two short syllables and one long syllable were under certain circumstances interchangeable. So considerable a number of words in which a long syllable has to be pronounced as two syllables has been collected by Professors Kuhn, Bollensen, and others, that no doubt can remain on this subject. Vedic poets, being allowed to change a semivowel into a vowel, were free to say *nāsātyā* and *nāsātṡyā*, VIII, 5, 32; *pr̥ithivyās* and *pr̥ithivṡyāḥ*; *pitrōḥ* and *pitrōḥ*, I, 31, 4. They could separate compound words, and pronounce *ghr̥itānnāḥ* or *ghr̥itā-ānnāḥ*, VII, 3, 1. They could insert a kind of shewa or svarabhakti in words like *sām̐nē* or *sām̐nē*, VIII, 6, 47; *dhām̐nē* or *dhām̐nē*, VIII, 92, 25; *ārāv̐nāḥ* and *ārāv̐nāḥ*, IX, 63, 5. They might vary between *pāntī* and *pāntī*, I, 41, 2; *yāthānā* and *yāthānā*, I, 39, 3; *nīdhātōḥ* and *nīdhātōḥ*, I, 41, 9; *tredhā* and *tredhā*, I, 34, 8; *dēvāḥ* and *dēvāḥ* (besides *devāsaḥ*), I, 23, 24; *rōdasī* and *rōdasī*, I, 33, 9; 59, 4; 64, 9; and *rōdāsyōḥ*, I, 33, 5; 59, 2; 117, 10;

* See the important chapters on 'Kürzung der Vokale' and 'Tilgung der Vokale' in Corssen's 'Aussprache des Lateinischen;' and more especially his remarks on the so-called irrational vowels in Plautus, *ibid.* vol. ii, p. 70.

VI, 24, 3; VII, 6, 2; X, 74, 1^a. Need we wonder then if we find that, on the other hand, they allowed themselves to pronounce *pr̥thivī* as *pr̥thivī*, I, 191, 6; VII, 34, 7; 99, 3; *dhṛīshṇāvā* as *dhṛīshṇava*, V, 52, 14; *śuvānā* as *śuvānā*? There is no reason why we should change the spelling of *śuvānā* into *svānā*. The metre itself tells us at once where *śuvānā* is to be pronounced as two or as three syllables. Nor is it possible to believe that those who first handed down and afterwards wrote down the text of the Vedic hymns, should have been ignorant of that freedom of pronunciation. Why, there is not one single passage in the whole of the ninth *Māṇḍala*, where, as far as I know, *śuvānā* should not be pronounced as dissyllabic, i.e. as *śuvānā*; and to suppose that the scholars of India did not know how that superfluous syllable should be removed, is really taking too low an estimate of men like *Vyāḍi* or *Saunaka*.

But if we once admit that in these cases two syllables separated by a single consonant were pronounced as one and were metrically counted as one, we can hardly resist the evidence in favour of a similar pronunciation in a large number of other words, and we shall find that by the admission of this rapid pronunciation, or of what in *Plautus* we should call irrational vowels, many verses assume at once their regular form without the necessity of admitting the suppression of final *s*, *m*, *n*, or the introduction of other prosodial licences. To my mind the most convincing passages are those where, as in the *Atyashī* and similar hymns, a poet repeats the same phrase twice, altering only one or two words, but without endeavouring to avoid an excess of syllables which, to our mind, unless we resort to synizesis, would completely destroy the uniformity of the metre. Thus we read:

I, 133, 6. *āpūrūshāghno* • *pratītā sūrā sātvaḥhī*,
trīsāptaiḥ sūrā sātvaḥhī.

* Professor Bollensen in some of these passages proposes to read *rodasios*. In I, 96, 4, no change is necessary if we read *vīrām*. *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. xxii, p. 587.

Here no *pra must be pronounced with one ictus only, in order to get a complete agreement between the two iambic diameters.

I, 134, 5. ūgrā īṣhaṇāntā bhurvāni,
āpām īṣhāntā bhurvāni.

As ishanta never occurs again, I suspect that the original reading was ishanta in both lines, and that in the second line ishanta, pronounced rapidly, was mistaken for ishanta. Is not bhurvāni a locative, corresponding to the datives in vāne which are so frequently used in the sense of infinitives? See note to I, 6, 8, page 47 seq. In I, 138, 3, we must read :

āheṭāmānā ūrusāmsā sārī bhāvā,
vāge-vāge sārī bhāvā.

In I, 129, 11,

ādḥā hī tvā gānitā gīganād vāsō,
rākshōhanam tvā gīganād vāsō,

we might try to remove the difficulty by omitting vāsō at the end of the refrain, but this would be against the general character of these hymns. We want the last word vāsō, if possible, at the end of both lines. But, if so, we must admit two cases of synizesis, or, if this seems too clumsy, we must omit tvā.

I shall now proceed to give a number of other examples in which the same consonantal synizesis seems necessary in order to make the rhythm of the verses perceptible to our ears as it was to the ears of the ancient Rishis.

The preposition anu takes synizesis in

I, 127, 1. ghrītasyā vibhrāshñm ānu vāshñ sōkīshā. Cf. X, 14, 1.

The preposition abhi :

I, 91, 23. rāyō bhāgam sāhasāvān abhi yūdhyā.

Here Professor Kuhn changes sahasāvan into sahasvaḥ, which, no doubt, is a very simple and very plausible emendation. But in altering the text of the Veda many things have to be considered, and in our case it might be objected that sahasvaḥ never occurs again as an epithet of Soma.

As an invocation *sahasvaḥ* refers to no deity but Agni, and even in its other cases it is applied to Agni and Indra only. However, I do not by any means maintain that *sahasvaḥ* could not be applied to Soma, for nearly the same arguments could be used against *sahasāvan*, if conjecturally put in the place of *sahasvaḥ*; I only wish to point out how everything ought to be tried first, before we resort in the Veda to conjectural emendations. Therefore, if in our passage there should be any objection to admitting the synizesis in *abhi*, I should much rather propose synizesis of *sahasāvan*, than change it into *sahasvaḥ*. There is synizesis in *maha*, e.g. I, 133, 6. *āvār māha īndrā dādrīhī sṛdhī nāḥ*. Although this verse is quoted by the *Prātisākhya*, *Sūtra* 522, as one in which the lengthened syllable *dhī* of *sṛdhī* does not occupy the tenth place, and which therefore required special mention, the original poet evidently thought otherwise, and lengthened the syllable, being a syllable liable to be lengthened, because it really occupied the tenth place, and therefore received a peculiar stress.

The preposition *pari*:

VI, 52, 14. *mā vō vākāmsī parīkākshyānī vōkām*,
sūmneshv īd vō āntāmā mādēmā.

Here Professor Kuhn (*Beiträge*, vol. iv, p. 197) begins the last *pāda* with *vōkām*, but this is impossible, unless we change the accent of *vōkām*, though even then the separation of the verb from *mā* and the accumulation of two verbs in the last line would be objectionable.

Hārī is pronounced as *hārī*:

VII, 32, 12. *yā īndrō hārīvān nā dābhāntī tām rīpāḥ*.

II, 18, 5. *ā kātvarīmsatā haribhīr yugānāḥ*.

Hence I propose to scan the difficult verse I, 167, 1, as follows:

sāhasrām tā īndrā-ūtāyō nāḥ,
*sāhasrām īshō harivō gūrtatāmāḥ**,

* As to the scanning of the second line see p. cxiv.

sāhāsraṁ rāyo mādayādhyai,
sāhāsrīnā ūpā nō yāntu vāgāḥ.

That the final o instead of as is treated as a short syllable we saw before, and in I, 133, 6, we observed that it was liable to synizesis. We see the same in

I, 175, 6. māyā ivāpō nā trīshyātē bābhūthā.

V, 61, 16. ā yāgñiyāso vavṛittānā.

The pragrīhya ī of the dual is known in the Veda to be liable in certain cases to Sandhi. If we extend this licence beyond the limits recognised by the Prātisākhya, we might scan

VI, 52, 14. ūbhē rōdāsy āpām nāpāk kṛ mānmā, or we might shorten the ī before the a, and admitting synizesis, scan :

ubhē rōdāsī āpām nāpāk kṛ mānmā.

In III, 6, 10, we must either admit Sandhi between prākī and adhvaréva, or contract the first two syllables of adhvaréva.

The o and e of vocatives before vowels, when changed into av or a(y), are liable to synizesis :

IV, 48, 1. vāyāv ā kandrēnā rāthēnā (Anushubh, c.)

IV, 1, 2. sā bhrātārām varuṇām āgnā ā vāvṛitsvā.

The termination avaḥ also, before vowels, seems to count as one syllable in V, 52, 14, dīvō vā dhrīshnāvā ōgasā, which would render Professor Bollensen's correction (Orient und Occident, vol. ii, p. 480), dhrīshnúogasā, unnecessary.

Like ava and iva, we find aya and iya, too, in several words liable to be contracted in pronunciation ; e.g. vayam, VI, 23, 5 ; ayam, I, 177, 4 ; iyam, VII, 66, 8² ; I, 186, 11 (unless we read vo+sme) ; X, 129, 6. Professor Bollensen's proposal to change iyam to im, and ayam to am (Orient und Occident, vol. ii, p. 461), would only cause obscurity, without any adequate gain, while other words would by a similar suppression of vowels or consonants become simply irrecongnisable. In I, 169, 6, for instance, ādha has to be

pronounced with one ictus; in VI, 26, 7, *sādhāvīrā* is trisyllabic. In VI, 10, 1, we must admit synizesis in *adhvaré*; in I, 161, 8, either in *udakām* or in *abravītana*; I, 110, 9, in *ṛibhumān*; VIII, 79, 4, in *diváh*; V, 4, 6, in *nṛítama* (unless we read *so-gne*); I, 164, 17, in *paráh*; VI, 15, 14, in *pāvaka*; I, 191, 6; VII, 34, 7; 99, 3, in *prithivī*; II, 20, 8, in *púraḥ*; VI, 10, 1, in *prayatí*; VI, 17, 7, in *bríhát*; IX, 19, 6, in *bhiyásam*; I, 133, 6, in *maháh*; II, 28, 6; IV, 1, 2; VI, 75, 18, in *varuna*; III, 30, 21, in *vṛishabha*; VII, 41, 6, in *vágínah*; II, 43, 2, in *sísumatíḥ*; VI, 51, 2, in *sanutár*; VI, 18, 12, in *sthávirasya*, &c.

These remarks will, I hope, suffice in order to justify the principles by which I have been guided in my treatment of the text and in my translation of the *Rig-veda*. I know I shall seem to some to have been too timid in retaining whatever can possibly be retained in the traditional text of these ancient hymns, while others will look upon the emendations which I have suggested as unpardonable temerity. Let everything be weighed in the just scales of argument. Those who argue for victory, and not for truth, can have no hearing in our court. There is too much serious work to be done to allow time for wrangling or abuse. Any dictionary will supply strong words to those who condescend to such warfare, but strong arguments require honest labour, sound judgment, and, above all, a genuine love of truth.

The second volume, which I am now preparing for Press, will contain the remaining hymns addressed to the Maruts. The notes will necessarily have to be reduced to smaller dimensions, but they must always constitute the more important part in a translation or, more truly, in a deciphering of Vedic hymns.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

PARKS END, OXFORD:
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VEDIC HYMNS.



VEDIC HYMNS.

MANDALA X, HYMN 121.

ASHTAKA VIII, ADHYĀYA 7, VARGA 3-4.

TO THE UNKNOWN GOD.

1. In the beginning there arose the Golden Child (Hiranya-garbha¹); as soon as born, he alone was the lord of all that is. He stablished the earth and this heaven:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

2. He who gives breath, he who gives strength, whose¹ command all the bright gods revere, whose shadow² is immortality, whose shadow is death:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

3. He who through his might became the sole king of the breathing and twinkling¹ world, who governs all this, man and beast:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

4. He through whose might¹ these snowy mountains are, and the sea, they say, with the distant river (the Rasâ²), he of whom these regions are indeed the two arms:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

5. He through whom the awful heaven and the earth were made fast¹, he through whom the ether was stablished, and the firmament; he who measured the air in the sky²:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

6. He to whom heaven and earth¹, standing firm by his will, look up, trembling in their mind; he over whom the risen sun shines forth:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

7. When the great waters¹ went everywhere, holding the germ (Hiranya-garbha), and generating light, then there arose from them the (sole²) breath of the gods:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

8. He who by his might looked even over the waters which held power (the germ) and generated the sacrifice (light¹), he who alone is God above all gods²:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

9. May he not hurt us, he who is the begetter of the earth, or he, the righteous, who begat the heaven; he who also begat the bright and mighty waters:—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

[10¹. Pragâpati, no other than thou embraces all these created things. May that be ours which we desire when sacrificing to thee: may we be lords of wealth!]

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to *Hiranyagarbha Prāgapatya*, and is supposed to be addressed to Ka, Who, i.e. the Unknown God.

First translated in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859, p. 569; see also *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 301; *Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, p. 15.

Verse 1=VS. XIII, 4; XXIII, 1; XXV, 10; TS. IV, 1, 8, 3; 2, 8, 2; AV. IV, 2, 7.

Verse 2=VS. XXV, 13; TS. IV, 1, 8, 4; VII, 5, 17, 1; AV. IV, 2, 1; XIII, 3, 24.

Verse 3=VS. XXIII, 3; XXV, 11; TS. IV, 1, 8, 4; VII, 5, 16, 1; AV. IV, 2, 2.

Verse 4=VS. XXV, 12; TS. IV, 1, 8, 4; AV. IV, 2, 5.

Verse 5=VS. XXXII, 6; TS. IV, 1, 8, 5; AV. IV, 2, 4.

Verse 6=VS. XXXII, 7; TS. IV, 1, 8, 5; AV. IV, 2, 3.

Verse 7=VS. XXVII, 25; XXXII, 7; TS. II, 2, 12, 1; IV, 1, 8, 5; TA. I, 23, 8; AV. IV, 2, 6.

Verse 8=VS. XXVII, 26; XXXII, 7; TS. IV, 1, 8, 6.

Verse 9=VS. XII, 102; TS. IV, 2, 7, 1.

Verse 10=VS. X, 20; XXIII, 65; TS. I, 8, 14, 2; III, 2, 5, 6; TB. II, 8, 1, 2; III, 5, 7, 1; AV. VII, 79, 4; 80, 3.

This is one of the hymns which has always been suspected as modern by European interpreters. The reason is clear. To us the conception of one God, which pervades the whole of this hymn, seems later than the conception of many individual gods, as recognised in various aspects of nature, such as the gods of the sky, the sun, the storms, or the fire. And in a certain sense we may be right, and language also confirms our sentiment. In our hymn there are several words which do not occur again in the *Rig-veda*, or which occur in places only which have likewise been suspected to be of more modern date. *Hiranyagarbhā*

itself is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. *Sám avartata* is found only in the last *Mandala*, X, 90, 14; 129, 4. *Bhûta* also, in the sense of what is, occurs in the tenth *Mandala* only. It is used three times (X, 55, 2; 58, 12; 90, 2) as opposed to *bháva*, i. e. what is and what will be; and once more in the sense of all that is (X, 85, 17). *Ātmadāh*, in the sense of giving life, is another ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. *Prasīsh* is restricted to *Mandalas* I (I, 145, 1), IX (IX, 66, 6; 86, 32), and our passage. *Himāvat*, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. The repetition of the relative pronoun in verses 2 and 4 is unusual. In the tenth verse the compound *yāt-kāma* is modern, and the insertion of *etāni* between *tvāt* and *anyāh* is at all events exceptional. The passage V, 31, 2 is not parallel, because in *tvāt indra vásyah anyāt*, the ablative *tvāt* is governed by *vásyah*. In VI, 21, 10, *ná tvāvān anyāh amṛita tvāt asti*, *anyāh* is separated from *tvāt* by a vocative only, as in VIII, 24, 11.

But when we say that a certain hymn is modern, we must carefully consider what we mean. Our hymn, for instance, must have existed not only previous to the *Brāhmaṇa* period, for many *Brāhmaṇas* presuppose it, but previous to the *Mantra* period also. It is true that no verse of it occurs in the *Sāma-veda*, but in the *Sāma-veda-brāhmaṇa* IX, 9, 12, verse 1 at least is mentioned^a. Most of its verses, however, occur in the *Vāgasaneyi-saṃhitā*, in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, and in the *Atharva-veda-saṃhitā*, nay, the last verse, to my mind the most suspicious of all, occurs most frequently in the other *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*.

But though most of the verses of our hymn occur in other *Saṃhitās*, they do not always occur in the same order.

In the *Vāg. Saṃh.* we have the first verse in XIII, 4, but no other verse of our hymn follows. We have the first verse again in XXIII, 1, but not followed by verse 2, but by verse 3 (XXIII, 3)^b. Then we have verse 1 once more

^a The last line is here, *tasmai ta indo havishā vidhema*, let us sacrifice to him with thy oblation, O Soma!

^b Var. lect. *nimeshatāh*.

in XXV, 10, followed by verse 3 (XXV, 11), by verse 4 (XXV, 12), and then by verse 2 (XXV, 13).

We have verses 5, 6, 7, 8 in VS. XXXII, 6 and 7, and verses 7 and 8 in VS. XXVII, 25 and 26, while verse 9 is found in XII, 102 only^a, and the last verse in X, 20^b, and XXIII, 65.

In the Taitt. *Samhitā* the verses follow more regularly, still never quite in the same order as in the Rig-veda. In TS. IV, 1, 8, 3^c, we have verses 1 to 8, but verse 3 before verse 2, and verse 6 before verse 5, while verse 9 follows in IV, 2, 7, 1.

In TS. v. 3 stands before v. 2, in VII, 5, 16, 1, and VII, 5, 17, 1.

In TS. II, 2, 12, the pratikas of verses 1, 7, 10 are quoted in succession.

Verse 7 occurs with important various readings in TA. I, 23, 8, *āpo ha yād brīhatīr gārbham āyan dāksham dādhanā ganāyantiḥ svayambhūm, tāta imé-dhyāsrīgryanta sargāḥ*.

Lastly in the AV. we find verses 1 to 7 from IV, 2, 1, to IV, 2, 7, but arranged in a different order, viz. as 2, 3, 6, 5, 4, 7, 1, and with important various readings.

Verse 2, *yó 3 syése dvipádo yás kátushpadaḥ*, as third páda; also in XIII, 3, 24.

Verse 3, *ekó rāgā; yásya khāyāmrītam yásya mrityúḥ*, as third páda.

Verse 4, *yásya vísrve; samudré yásya rasām id āhúḥ; imās ka*.

Verse 5, *yásya dyaúr urvī prīthivī ka mahī yasyádá urvá-1 ntáriksham, yasyásaú sūro vítato mahitvā*.

Verse 6, *ávatas kaskabhāné bhiyásāne ródasī áhvayethām (sic), yasyásaú panthā rāgaso vimānaḥ*.

Verse 7, *āpo ágre vísvam áván gārbham dādhanā amrītá ritagñāḥ, yāsu devīshv ádhi devá ásit*.

Verse 10, *vísvā rūpāñi paribhūr gagāna*, see VII, 79, 4, and 80, 3.

We are justified, therefore, in looking upon the verses, composing this hymn, as existing before the

^a Var. lect. *mā má, satyádharma vyānaḥ, prathamó* for *brīhatīḥ*.

^b Var. lect. *rūpāñi* for *bhūtāni*.

^c Var. lect., ver. 5, *dridhé*, dual for *drīhā*; ver. 6, *úditau vyéti* for *údito vibhāti*; ver. 8, *agnīm* for *yagnām*.

final arrangement of the four *Samhitās*, and if we persist in calling a hymn, dating from that period, a modern hymn, we must make it quite clear that, according to the present state of our knowledge, such a hymn cannot well be more modern than 1000 B.C. Besides the variations in the arrangement of the verses of our hymn, the very considerable various readings which we find in the VS., TS., and AV. are highly instructive, as showing the frequent employment of our hymn for sacrificial purposes. In several cases these various readings are of great importance, as we shall see.

Verse 1.

MUIR: *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?

LUDWIG: *Hiranyagarbha* hat zuerst sich gebildet, er ward geboren als einziger herr alles gewordenen, diese erde und diesen himel hält er; Ka, dem gotte, möchten wir mit havis aufwarten.

Note 1. *Hiranyagarbha*^a has been translated in different ways, and it would perhaps be best to keep it as a proper name, which it is in later times. It means literally the golden embryo, the golden germ or child, or born of a golden womb, and was no doubt an attempt at naming the sun. Soon, however, that name became mythological. The golden child was supposed to have been so called because it was *Pragâpati*, the lord of creation, when dwelling as yet in the golden egg, and *Hiranyagarbha* became in the end a recognised name of *Pragâpati*, see Sây. on X, 121, 1. All this is fully explained by Sâyana, TS. IV, 1, 8, 3; IV, 2, 8, 2; by Mahîdhara, VS. XIII, 4.

Verse 2.

MUIR: 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?

^a M. M., India, What can it teach us? pp. 144, 162.

LUDWIG: Geber des lebendigen hauches, geber der kraft, zu des unterweisung alle götter sich einfinden, des glanz die unsterblichkeit, dessen der tod ist, Ka, dem gotte, möchten wir mit havis aufwarten.

Note 1. In order to account for the repetition of *yasya*, *Sâyana* and *Mahidhara* take *visve* for men, and *devâh* for gods.

Note 2. It is difficult to say what is meant by *khâyâ*, shadow. I take it in the sense of what belongs to the god, as the shadow belongs to a man, what follows him, or is determined by him. In that sense *Sâyana* also takes it, TS. IV, 1, 8, 4, *yasya pragâpates khâyâvat svâdhînam amṛitam, moksharûpam, mṛityuh, prâninâm maranam api, yasya khâyeva svâdhînah*; and, though not quite so clearly, in RV. X, 121, 2. *Mahidhara* on the contrary takes *khâyâ* in the sense of refuge, and says, whose shadow, i.e. whose worship, preceded by knowledge, is *amṛita*, immortality, a means of deliverance^a, while ignorance of him is death, or leads to *samsâra*.

Verse 3.

MUIR: 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 shall we offer our oblation?

LUDWIG: Der des atmenden, augenbewegenden lebendigen durch seine grösze der einzige könig geworden; der verfügt über disz zwei- und vier-füszige, Ka, dem gotte, möchten wir mit havis aufwarten.

Note 1. It is difficult to say whether *nimishatah* means twinkling or sleeping. It has both meanings as to wink has in English. *Sâyana* (X, 121, 3; TS. IV, 1, 8, 4) and *Mahidhara* (VS. XXIII, 3^b) explain it by winking. This may be right as expressing sensuous perception, in addition to mere breathing. In X, 190, 2, *visvasya mishatô vaś* means, lord of all that winks, i.e.

^a *muktihetu*, not *yuktihetu*, as Weber prints.

^b Is *nimeshâto* in XXIII, 3, a varia lectio, or an *arudha*? In XXV, 13, we read *nimishato*.

lives. The later idea, that the gods do not wink, has nothing to do with our passage.

Verse 4.

MUIR: Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasâ (river), declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms: to what god shall we offer our oblation?

LUDWIG: Dessen die schneebedeckten (berge, die Hima-vân) vermöge seiner grösze, als des eigentum man ocean und Rasâ nennt, des dise himelsgegenden, des arme sie, Ka, dem gotte, möchten wir mit havis aufwarten.

Note 1. Muir's translation, which suggests itself very naturally to a European mind, is impossible, because mahitvâ cannot be either mahitvâm (as Sâyana also and Mahîdhara suggest), or mahitvâni; and because âhúh does not mean declare. Otherwise nothing could be better than his rendering: 'Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasâ (river), declare.'

Mahitvâ, as Sâyana also rightly perceives, TS. IV, 1, 8, 4, is a very common instrumental (see Lanman, Noun-inflection, pp. 335-6), and the same mahitvâ must be supplied for samudrâm. We might make the whole sentence dependent on âhuh without much change of meaning. The Atharva-veda text supplies a lectio faciliior, but not therefore melior.

Note 2. The Rasâ is a distant river, in some respects like the Greek Okeanos. Dr. Aufrecht takes it as a name of the milky way, Z. D. M. G. XIII, 498: see Muir, S. T. II, p. 373, n. 19.

Verse 5.

MUIR: 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 shall we offer our oblation?

LUDWIG: Durch den gewaltig der himel und fest die erde, durch den gestützt Svar, und das gewölbe, der die räume im mittelgebiete ausgemessen, Ka, dem gotte, möchten wir mit havis aufwarten.

Note 1. In this verse I decidedly prefer the reading of the Atharva-veda, *yena dyaus ugrâ prithivî ka drilhe*. It seems not a *lectio faciliior*, and we avoid the statement that the heaven has been made *ugrâ*. *Ugrâ*, as applied to *dyaus*, means awful and grand, as an inherent quality rather, and not simply strong. See Ludwig, Notes, p. 441.

Note 2. *Rágaso vimānaḥ* has been fully discussed by Muir, S. T. IV, p. 71, but it is difficult to find a right translation for it, because the cosmography of the Veda is so different from our own (see I, 6, 9, note 1, and I, 19, 3, note 1). I think we may translate it here by the air, or even by space, particularly the bright air in the sky, the sky (*antariksha* or *nabhas*) being between heaven (*dyu*) and earth (*prithivî*), while *svaḥ* and *nāka* are still higher than the heaven (*dyu*), *svaḥ* being sometimes explained as the abode of the sun, the ether, or empyrean, *nāka*, the firmament, as *svarga* (*Mahīdhara*); or *svaḥ* as *svarga*, and *nāka* as *āditya* (*Sāyana*). *Vimāna* is here simply the measurer, though *vimā*, from meaning to measure, is apt to take the meaning of to make, which is an excuse for *Sāyana*'s rendering, 'who makes the rain in the sky.'

The Atharva-veda rendering is very free, and certainly no improvement.

Verse 6.

MUIR: To whom two contending armies, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the risen sun shines: to what god shall we offer our oblation?

LUDWIG: Auf den die beiden Schlachtreihen durch (ihre) Begriffe aufgestellt in Ordnung ihren Blick richten, zitternd, im Geiste, wo darüber hin aufgegangen Sûra ausstrahlt, Ka, dem Gotte, möchten wir mit Havis aufwarten.

Note 1. It would be well to read *ródasî* for *krándasî* (which B. R. explain by 'two armies'), and the various reading in AV. IV, 2, 3 decidedly points in that direction. But even if *krándasî* stands, it must be taken in the same sense as *ródasî*. *Uditau vyeti* in TS. IV, 1, 8, 5 is explained by *udayavishaye vividham gakkhati*.

Verse 7.

MUIR: When the great waters pervaded the universe containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (asu) of the gods: to what god shall we offer our oblation?

LUDWIG: Als die groszen waszer kamen, die allen keim in sich faszten, zeugend den Agni, da kam zu stande der götter einziger lebensgeist; Ka, dem gotte, möchten wir mit havis aufwarten.

Note 1. The waters here referred to have to be understood as the waters in the beginning of the creation, where, as we read (RV. X, 129, 3), 'everything was like a sea without a light,' or, as the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa (XI, 1, 6, 1) says, 'everything was water and sea.' These waters held the germ^a, and produced the golden light, the sun^b, whence arose the life of all the gods, viz. Pragâpati. The Atharva-veda adds a verse which repeats the same idea more clearly: *âpo vatsām ganáyantîr gârbham âgre sāmairayan, tásyotá gâyamânasyólba âsîd dhiranyâya*, 'In the beginning the waters, producing a young, brought forth an embryo, and when it was being born, it had a golden covering.' The sunrise serves here as elsewhere as an image of the creation.

Note 2. Grassmann proposes to omit eka, because it is absent in the Maitráyaṇî Sâkhâ. The metre shows the same.

Verse 8.

MUIR: 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 shall we offer our oblation?

LUDWIG: Der in seiner grösze sogar die waszer über-schaute, wie sie die fähigkeit besitzend erzeugten das opfer, der der einzige gott war über den göttern, Ka, dem gotte, möchten wir mit havis aufwarten.

Note 1. In *dáksham dádhanâ ganáyantîr yagñám*, we have a repetition of what was said in the preceding verse,

^a See RV. X, 82, 5-6.

^b See RV. X, 72, 7.

dáksham standing for gárbham, yagnám for agním, which is actually the reading of TS. The Atharva-veda does not contain this verse, which is used as an anyâ vikalpitâ yâgyâ in TS.

Note 2. It is curious that one of the most important sentences in the Rig-veda, yo deveshv adhi deva eka âsīt, should have been changed in the Atharva-veda IV, 2, 6 into yâsu devishv adhi deva âsīt, 'over which divine waters there was the god.' See Ludwig, Notes, p. 441.

Verse 9.

MUIR: 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 shall we offer our oblation?

LUDWIG: Nicht schädige uns, der der erde erzeuger, oder der den himel bereitet mit warhafter satzung, der auch die wasser, die hellen, die mächtigen erzeugt hat, Ka, dem gotte, möchten wir mit havis aufwarten.

Verse 10.

MUIR: Pragâpati, 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.

LUDWIG: Pragâpati, kein anderer als du hat umfasst die wesen alle, der wunsch, um deswillen wir dir opfern, der werde uns zu teil, besitzer von reichthümern mögen wir sein.

Note 1. This verse is certainly extremely weak after all that preceded, still, to judge from its frequent occurrence, we cannot well discard it. All we can say is that nowhere, except in the Rig-veda, does it form the final verse of our hymn, and thus spoil its whole character.

That character consists chiefly in the burden of the nine verses, Kasmai devâya havishâ vidhema, 'To what god shall we offer sacrifice?' This is clearly meant to express a desire of finding out the true, but unknown god, and to do so, even after all has been said that can be said of a supreme god. To finish such a hymn with a statement

that Pragâpati is the god who deserves our sacrifice, may be very natural theologically, but it is entirely uncalled for poetically. The very phrase *Kasmai devâya havishâ vidhema* must have been a familiar phrase, for we find in a hymn addressed to the wind, X, 168, 4, after all has been said that can be said of him, the concluding line: *ghóshâh it asya srinvire ná rûpâm tásmâi vâtâya havishâ vidhema*, 'his sound indeed is heard, but he is not seen—to that Vâta let us offer sacrifice.'

But more than this, on the strength of hymns like our own in which the interrogative pronoun *ka*, 'who,' occurs, the Brâhmanas actually invented a god of the name of *Ka*. I pointed this out many years ago in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1860, p. 433), where I said: 'In accordance with the same system, we find that the authors of the Brâhmanas had so completely broken with the past that, forgetful of the poetical character of the hymns, and the yearning of the poets after the unknown god, they exalted the interrogative pronoun into a deity, and acknowledged a god 'Ka, or Who.' In the *Taittiriya-samhitâ* (I, 7, 6, 6), in the *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana* (XXIV, 4), in the *Tândya-brâhmana* (XV, 10), and in the *Satapatha-brâhmana* ^a, whenever interrogative verses occur, the author states, that *Ka* is Pragâpati, or 'the Lord of Creatures' (*Pragâpatir vai Ka*). Nor did they stop there. Some of the hymns in which the interrogative pronoun occurred were called *Kadvat*, i.e. having *kad* or *quid*. But soon a new adjective was formed, and not only the hymns, but the sacrifices also, offered to the god, were called *Kâya*, or *who-ish* ^b. This word, which is not to be identified with the Latin *cujus*, *cuja*, *cujum*, but is merely the artificial product of an effete mind, is found in the *Taittiriya-samhitâ* (I, 8, 3, 1), and in the *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ* (XXIV, 15). At the time of Pânini

^a Satap. Brâhm. I, 1, 1, 13; II, 5, 2, 13; IV, 5, 6, 4; also Aitar. Brâhm. III, 21.

^b Âsv. Sr. Sûtra II, 17, 14; Kâty. Sr. Sûtra V, 4, 23; Vait. Sûtra VIII, 22, ed. Garbe.

this word had acquired such legitimacy as to call for a separate rule explaining its formation (Pân. IV, 2, 25). The commentator there explains Ka by Brahman. After this we can hardly wonder that in the later Sanskrit literature of the Purâṇas, Ka appears as a recognised god, as the supreme god, with a genealogy of his own, perhaps even with a wife; and that in the Laws of Manu, one of the recognised forms of marriage, generally known by the name of Pragâpati-marriage, occurs under the monstrous title of 'Kâya.' Stranger still, grammarians who know that ka forms the dative kasmai only if it is an interrogative pronoun, consider kasmai in our hymn as irregular, because, as a proper name, Ka ought to form the dative Kâya.

MANDALA I, HYMN 6.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 11-12.

TO INDRA AND THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Those who stand around ² him while he moves on, harness the bright red (steed)¹; the lights in heaven shine forth³.

2. They harness to the chariot on each side his (Indra's)¹ two favourite bays, the brown, the bold, who can carry the hero.

3. Thou who createst light where there was no light, and form, O men¹! where there was no form, hast been born together with the dawns².

4. Thereupon¹ they (the Maruts), according to their wont², assumed again the form of new-born babes³, taking their sacred name.

5. Thou, O Indra, with the swift Maruts¹, who break even through the stronghold², hast found even in their hiding-place the bright ones³ (days or clouds).

6. The pious singers¹ (the Maruts) have, after their own mind², shouted towards the giver of wealth, the great, the glorious (Indra).

7. Mayest thou¹ (host of the Maruts) be verily seen² coming together with Indra, the fearless: you are both happy-making, and of equal splendour.

8. With the beloved hosts of Indra, with the blameless, hasting² (Maruts), the sacrificer¹ cries aloud.

9. From yonder, O traveller (Indra), come hither,
or from the light^a of heaven¹; the singers all yearn
for it;—

10. Or we ask Indra for help from here, or
from heaven, or from above the earth, or from the
great sky.

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Kaṇva, the son of Ghora. The metre is Gâyatrî throughout.

Verse 1=SV. II, 818; VS. XXIII, 5; AV. XX, 26, 4; 47, 10; 69, 9; TS. VII, 4, 20, 1; TB. III, 9, 4, 1.

Verse 2=SV. II, 819; VS. XXIII, 6; AV. XX, 26, 5; 47, 11; 69, 10; TS. VII, 4, 20, 1.

Verse 3=SV. II, 820; VS. XXIX, 37; AV. XX, 26, 6; 47, 12; 69, 11; TS. VII, 4, 20, 1; TB. III, 9, 4, 3.

Verse 4=SV. II, 101; AV. XX, 40, 3; 69, 12.

Verse 5=SV. II, 202; AV. XX, 70, 1.

Verse 6=AV. XX, 70, 2.

Verse 7=SV. II, 200; AV. XX, 40, 1; 70, 3.

Verse 8=AV. XX, 40, 2; 70, 4.

Verse 9=AV. XX, 70, 5.

Verse 10=AV. XX, 70, 6.

Verse 1.

WILSON: The circumstationed (inhabitants of the three worlds) associate with (Indra), the mighty (Sun), the indestructive (fire), the moving (wind), and the lights that shine in the sky.

BENFEY: Die rothe Sonne schirr'n sie an, die wandelt um die stehenden, Strahlen strahlen am Himmel auf.

LUDWIG: Sie spannen an den hellen, den roten, den vom feststehenden hinwegwandelnden; heller glanz erstrahlt am Himmel.

Note 1. The poet begins with a somewhat abrupt description of a sunrise. Indra is taken as the god of the bright day, whose steed is the sun, and whose companions the Maruts, or the storm-gods. Arushá, meaning originally red, is used as a proper name of the horse or of the rising sun, though it occurs more frequently as the name of the red horses or flames of Agni, the god of fire, and also of the morning light. In our passage, Arushá, a substantive, meaning the red of the morning, has taken bradhná as an

adjective,—bradhná meaning, as far as can be made out, bright in general, though, as it is especially applied to the Soma-juice, perhaps bright-brown or yellow. Names of colour are difficult to translate from one language into another, for their shades vary, and withdraw themselves from sharp definition. We shall meet with this difficulty again and again in the Veda; see RV. X, 20, 9.

As it has actually been doubted whether bradhná arushá can be meant for the sun, and whether the Vedic poets ever looked upon the sun as a horse, I may quote Vāg. Samh. XXIII, 4, where the same verse occurs and is declared to be addressed to the sun; and Satap. Br. XIII, 2, 6, 1, where we read, *yuñgānti bradhnām arushām karan-tam iti, asau vā ādityo bradhno-rusho-mum evāsmā ādityam yunakti svargasya lokasya samashṭyai*. Ludwig remarks justly that the sun has been conceived as a chariot also, and that bradhná arushá may have been thus understood here. Delbrück translates quite boldly: *Sie schirren die rothe Sonne an*. See also Tait. Br. III, 7, 7, 4; Tāndya Br. XXIII, 3, 5; Sāṅkh. Br. II, 17, 3; Ludwig, Comm. ii. p. 173. M. Bergaigne (Rél. Ved. iii. p. 324) remarks very truly: 'Le soleil est tantôt une roue, tantôt un char, tantôt un cheval, trainant le char, tantôt un héros monté sur le char et dirigeant les chevaux.'

The following passages will illustrate the principal meaning of arushá, and justify the translation here adopted.

ARUSHÁ, AS AN ADJECTIVE.

Arushá is used as an adjective in the sense of red:

VII, 97, 6. *tām sagmāsaḥ arushāsaḥ āsvāḥ brīhaspátim saha-vāhaḥ vahanti*,—nábhaḥ ná rūpām arushám vāsānāḥ.

Powerful red horses, drawing together draw him, Brīhaspati: horses clothed in red colour, like the sky.

III, 1, 4. *svetām gaghānām arushām mahi-tvā*.

Agni, the white, when born; the red, by growth.

III, 15, 3. *krishnāsu agne arushāḥ ví bhāhi*.

Shine, O Agni, red among the dark ones.

III, 31, 21; VI, 27, 7.

VII, 75, 6. *prāti dyutânām arushāsah āsvāh kitrāh adri-sran ushāsam vāhantaḥ.*

The red horses, the beautiful, were seen bringing to us the bright dawn.

V, 43, 12; I, 118, 5; IV, 43, 6; V, 73, 5; I, 36, 9; VII, 3, 3; 16, 3; X, 45, 7; I, 141, 8.

II, 2, 8. *sáh idhânáh ushāsah rāmyāh ānu svāh ná dīdet arushéna bhânúnā.*

He (Agni), lit after the lovely dawns, shone like the sky with his red splendour.

III, 29, 6; IV, 58, 7; I, 114, 5; V, 59, 5; 12, 2; 12, 6; VI, 8, 1.

VI, 48, 6. *syāvāsu arusháh vrīshā.*

In the dark (nights) the red hero (Agni). Cf. III, 7, 5.

In one passage *vrīshan* *arushá* is intended for fire in the shape of lightning.

X, 89, 9. *nī amítreshu vadhám indra túmram vrīshan vrīshānam arushám sīṣhi.*

Whet, O strong Indra, the heavy strong red weapon, against the enemies.

X, 43, 9. *út gāyatām parasúh gyótishā sahā—vī rokatām arusháh bhânúnā súkīh.*

May the axe (the thunderbolt) appear with the light—may the red one blaze forth, bright with splendour.

X, 1, 6; VI, 3, 6.

X, 20, 9. *krīshnāh svetáh arusháh yāmaḥ asya bradhnáh rigráh utá sōnah.*

His (Agni's) path is black, white, red, bright, reddish, and yellow.

Here it is extremely difficult to keep all the colours distinct.

Arushá is frequently applied to Soma, particularly in the 9th *Māṇḍala*. There we read :

IX, 8, 6. *arusháh hárīh.* IX, 71, 7. *arusháh diváh kavīh vrīshā.* IX, 74, 1. *vāgī arusháh.* IX, 82, 1. *arusháh vrīshā hárīh.* IX, 89, 3. *hárīm arushám.*

IX, 111, 1. *arusháh hárīh.* See also IX, 25, 5; 61, 21. In IX, 72, 1, *arushá* seems used as a substantive in the sense of red-horse.

Professor Spiegel, in his important review of my translation (Heidelberger Jahrbücher, 1870, p. 104), points out that aurusha in Zend means white, so that it would seem as if the original meaning of arusha had been bright, bright like fire, and thus red.

ARUSHÁ, AS AN APPELLATIVE.

Arushá is used as an appellative, and in the following senses :

1. The one red-horse of the Sun, the two or more red-horses of Agni.

I, 6, 1. *yuñgānti bradhnám arushám.*

They yoke the bright red-horse (the Sun).

I, 94, 10. *yát áyuktháh arusháh róhitá ráthe.*

When thou (Agni) hadst yoked the two red-horses and the two ruddy horses to the chariot. I, 146, 2.

II, 10, 2. *srúyáh agníh—hávam me—syávā rátham vaha-táh róhitá vā utá arusháh.*

Mayest thou, Agni, hear my call, whether the two black, or the two ruddy, or the two red-horses carry you.

Here three kinds of colours are clearly distinguished, and an intentional difference is made between róhita and arushá. IV, 2, 3.

IV, 6, 9. *táva tyé agne harítah—róhitásah—arushāsah vríshanaḥ.*

To thee (Agni) belong these bays, these ruddy, these red-horses, the stallions.

Here, again, three kinds of horses are distinguished—Haríts, Róhitas, and Arushás.

VIII, 34, 17. *yé rigráh vāta-ramhasah arushāsah raghu-syádah.*

Here arushá may be the subject, and the rest adjectives ; but it is also possible to take all the words as adjectives, referring them to áśú in the next verse. The fact that *rigrá* likewise expresses a peculiar red colour, is no objection, as may be seen from I, 6, 1 ; 94, 10.

VII, 42, 2. *yuñkshvá—harítah róhitah ka yé vā sádman arusháh.*

Yoke (O Agni) the bays, and the ruddy horses, or the red-horses which are in thy stable. VII, 16, 2.

2. The cloud, represented as one of the horses of the Maruts.

I, 85, 5. *utá arushásya ví syanti dhārāk.*

(When you go to the battle, O Maruts), the streams of the red (horse) flow off.

V, 56, 7. *utá syāh vāgī arushāk.*

This strong red-horse,—meant for one of the horses of the Maruts, but, at the same time, as sending rain.

ARUSHÁ, AS THE PROPER NAME OF A SOLAR DEITY.

Besides the passages in which *arushá* is used either as an adjective, in the sense of red, or as an appellative, meaning some kind of horse, there are others in which, as I pointed out in my Essay on Comparative Mythology^a, *Arushá* occurs as a proper name, as the name of a solar deity, as the bright deity of the morning (*Morgenroth*). My interpretation of some of these passages has been contested, nor shall I deny that in some of them a different interpretation is possible, and that in looking for traces of *Arushá*, as a Vedic deity, representing the morning or the rising sun, and containing, as I endeavoured to show, the first germs of the Greek name of Eros, I may have seen more indications of the presence of that deity in the Veda than others would feel inclined to acknowledge. Yet in going over the same ground again, I think that even verses which for a time I felt inclined to surrender, yield a better sense, if we take the word *arushá*, which occurs in them as a substantive, as the name of a matutinal deity, than if we look upon it as an adjective or a mere appellative. It might be said that wherever this *arushá* occurs, apparently as the name of a deity, we ought to supply Agni or Indra or Sūrya. This is true to a certain extent, for the sun, or the light of the morning, or the bright sky form no doubt the substance and

^a Chips from a German Workshop, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 137 seq. Selected Essays, vol. i, p. 444.

subject-matter of this deity. But the same applies to many other names originally intended for these conceptions, but which, nevertheless, in the course of time, became independent names of independent deities. In our passage I, 6, 1, *yuṅgānti bradhnám arushám*, we may retain for *arushá* the appellative power of steed or red-steed, but if we could ask the poet what he meant by this red-steed, or if we ask ourselves what we can possibly understand by it, the answer would be, the morning sun, or the light of the morning. In other passages, however, this meaning of red-steed is really no longer applicable, and we can only translate *Arushá* by the Red, understanding by this name the deity of the morning or of the morning sun, the later *Aruṇa*.

VII, 71, 1. *ápa svásuḥ ushásah nák gihíte rinákti krishnā arushāya pánthām*.

The Night retires from her sister, the Dawn; the Dark one yields the path to the Red one, i. e. the red morning.

Here *Arushá* shares the same half-mythological character as *Ushas*. Where we should speak of dawn and morning as mere periods of time, the Vedic poet speaks of them as living and intelligent beings, half human, half divine, as powers of nature capable of understanding his prayers, and powerful enough to reward his praises. I do not think therefore that we need hesitate to take *Arushá* in this passage as a proper name of the morning, or of the morning sun, to whom the dark goddess, the Night, yields the path when he rises in the East.

VI, 49, 2. *diváh śísum sáhasah sūnúm agním yagñásya ketúm arushám yágadhyai*.

To worship the child of *Dyu*, the son of strength, *Agni*, the light of the sacrifice, the Red one (*Arushá*).

In this verse, where the name of *Agni* actually occurs, it would be easier than in the preceding verse to translate *arushá* as an adjective, referring it either to *Agni*, the god of fire, or to *yagñásya ketúm*, the light of the sacrifice. I had myself yielded* so far to these considerations that I

* Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii, p. 139.

gave up my former translation, and rendered this verse by 'to worship Agni, the child of the sky, the son of strength, the red light of the sacrifice^a.' But I return to my original translation, and I prefer to see in Arushá an independent name, intended, no doubt, for Agni, as the representative of the rising sun and, at the same time, of the sacrificial fire of the morning, but nevertheless as having in the mind of the poet a personality of his own. He is the child of Dyū, originally the offspring of heaven. He is the son of strength, originally generated by the strong rubbing of the *aravis*, i. e. the wood for kindling fire. He is the light of the sacrifice, whether as reminding man that the time for the morning sacrifice has come, or as himself lighting the sacrifice on the Eastern altar of the sky. He is Arushá, originally as clothed in bright red colour, but gradually changed into the representative of the morning. We see at once, if examining these various expressions, how some of them, like the child of Dyū, are easily carried away into mythology, while others, such as the son of strength, or the light of the sacrifice, resist that unconscious metamorphosis. That Arushá was infected by mythology, that it had approached at least that point where nomina become changed into numina, we see by the verse immediately following:

VI, 49, 3. *arushásya duhitárā vírūpe (iti ví-rūpe) str/bhiḥ anyā pipisē sūrah anyā.*

There are two different daughters of Arushá; the one is clad in stars, the other belongs to the sun, or is the wife of Svar.

Here Arushá is clearly a mythological being, like Agni or Savitar or Vaisvânara; and if Day and Night are called his daughters, he, too, can hardly have been conceived otherwise than as endowed with human attributes, as the child of Dyū, as the father of Day and Night, and not as a mere period of time, not as a mere cause or effect.

IV, 15, 6. *tām árvantam ná sânasīm arushám ná diváh śsum marmṛigyānte divé-dive.*

^a Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1867, p. 204.

They trim the fire day by day, like a strong horse, like Arushá, the child of Dyu.

Here, too, Arushá, the child of Dyu, has to be taken as a personal character, and, if the ná after arushám is right, a distinction is clearly made between Agni, the sacrificial fire, to whom the hymn is addressed, and Arushá, the child of heaven, the pure and bright morning, here used as a simile for the cleaning or trimming of the fire on the altar.

V, 47, 3. arusháh su-parnáh.

Arushá, the morning sun, with beautiful wings.

THE FEMININE ÁRUSHÎ, AS AN ADJECTIVE.

Árushî, like arushá, is used as an adjective, in the same sense as arushá, i. e. red :

III, 55, 11. syávi ka yát árushî ka svásárau.

As the dark and the red are sisters.

I, 92, 1 and 2. gávah árushîh and árushîh gáh.

The red cows of the dawn.

I, 92, 2. rúrantam bhânúm árushîh asirayuh.

The red dawns obtained bright splendour.

Here ushása^h, the dawns, occur in the same line, so that we may take árushî^h either as an adjective, referring to the dawns, or as a substantive, as a name of the dawn or of her cows.

I, 30, 21. ásve ná kître arushi.

Thou beautiful red dawn, thou, like a mare.

Here, too, the vocative arushi is probably to be taken as an adjective, particularly if we consider the next following verse :

IV, 52, 2. ásvā-iva kitrā árushî mātā gávām ritā-vari sákhā abhūt arvíno^h ushā^h.

The dawn, beautiful and red, like a mare, the mother of the cows (days), the never-failing, she became the friend of the Asvins.

X, 5, 5. saptá svásrî^h árushî^h.

The seven red sisters.

THE FEMININE ÁRUSHÎ, AS A SUBSTANTIVE.

If used as a substantive, árushî seems to mean the dawn. It is likewise used as a name of the horses of Agni, Indra, and Soma ; also as a name for mare in general.

It means dawn in X, 8, 3, though the text points here so clearly to the dawn, and the very name of dawn is mentioned so immediately after, that this one passage seems hardly sufficient to establish the use of árushî as a recognised name of the dawn. Other passages, however, would likewise gain in perspicuity, if we took árushî by itself as a name of the dawn, just as we had to admit in several passages arushá by itself as a name of the morning. Cf. I, 71, 1.

Árushî means the horses of Agni, in I, 14, 12 :

yukshvá hí árushîḥ ráthe harítaḥ deva rohítaḥ.

Yoke, O god (Agni), the red-horses to the chariot, the bays, the ruddy.

I, 72, 10. prá nṛkîḥ agne árushîḥ agānan.

They knew the red-horses, Agni, coming down. VIII, 69, 5.

Soma, as we saw, was frequently spoken of as arusháḥ háriḥ.

In IX, 111, 2, tridhātubhiḥ árushîbhiḥ seems to refer to the same red-horses of Soma, though this is not quite clear.

The passages where árushî means simply a mare, without any reference to colour, are VIII, 68, 18, and VIII, 55, 3.

It is curious that Arushá, which in the Veda means red, should, as pointed out before, in its Zend form aurusha, mean white. That in the Veda it means red, and not white, is shown, for instance, by X, 20, 9, where svetá, the name for white, is mentioned by the side of arushá. Most likely arushá meant originally brilliant, and became fixed with different shades of brilliancy in Sanskrit and Persian. Arushá presupposes a form ar-vas, and is derived from a root ar in the sense of running or rushing. See Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii, pp. 135, 137.

Having thus explained the different meanings of *arushá* and *árushī* in the *Rig-veda*, I feel it incumbent, at least for once, to explain the reasons why I differ from the classification of Vedic passages as given in the Dictionary published by Boehtlingk and Roth. Here, too, the passages in which *arushá* is used as an adjective are very properly separated from those in which it appears as a substantive. To begin with the first, it is said that '*arushá* means ruddy, the colour of Agni and his horses; he (Agni) himself appears as a red-horse.' In support of this, the following passages are quoted:

III, 1, 4. *ávardhayan su-bhágam saptá yahvī́h svetám gagā́nām arushám mahi-tvā́, ś́srum ná gátám abhí áruh árvā́h.* Here, however, it is only said that Agni was born brilliant-white^a, and grew red, that the horses came to him as they come to a new-born foal. Agni himself is not called a red-horse.

III, 7, 5. Here, again, *vŕ̥shnah arushásya* is no doubt meant for Agni. But *vŕ̥shan* by itself does not mean horse, though it is added to different names of horses to qualify them as male horses; cf. VII, 69, 1, *ā́ vām ráthah vŕ̥shabhih yātu árvaih*, may your chariot come near with powerful horses, i. e. with stallions. See note to I, 85, 12. We are therefore not justified in translating *arushá vŕ̥shan* by red-horse, but only by the red male, or the red hero.

In III, 31, 3, *agníh gagā́e guhvā́ régamānah maháh putrán arushásya pra-yákshe*, I do not venture to say who is meant by the *maháh putrán arushásya*, whether *Ādityas* or *Maruts*, but hardly the sons of Agni, as Agni himself is mentioned as only born. But, even if it were so, the father of these sons (*putra*) could hardly be intended here for a horse.

IV, 6, 9. *táva tyé agne harítah ghrita-snā́h róhitāsah rigu-ā́ñkah su-ā́ñkah, arushāsah vŕ̥shanah rigu-mushkā́h.* Here, so far from Agni being represented as a red-horse, his different horses, the *Haríts* or bays, the *Róhitas* or

^a See V, 1, 4. *svetáh vā́gī gāyate ágre áhnām.* X, 1, 6. *arusháh gátáh padé ś́lāyā́h.*

ruddy, and the *arushāsaḥ vrīṣhanah*, the red stallions, are distinctly mentioned. Here *vrīṣhan* may be translated by stallion, instead of simply by male, because *arushā* is here a substantive, the name of a horse.

V, 1, 5. *gānishṭa hí gēnyaḥ āgre áhnām hitáh hitēshu arusháh vāneshu*. Here *arusháh* is simply an adjective, red, referring to Agni, who is understood throughout the hymn to be the object of praise. He is said to be kind to those who are kind to him, and to be red in the woods, i. e. brilliant in the wood which he consumes; cf. III, 29, 6. Nothing is said about his equine nature.

In V, 12, 2 and 6, VI, 48, 6, we have again simply *arushā vrīṣhan*, which does not mean the red-horse, but the red male, the red hero, i. e. Agni.

In VI, 49, 2, *diváh śśum sáhasaḥ sūnúm agnīm yagñásya ketúm arushám yágadhyai*, there is no trace of Agni being conceived as a horse. He is called the child of the sky or of Dyū, the son of strength (who is produced by strong rubbing of wood), the light or the beacon of the sacrifice, and lastly *Arushā*, which, for reasons stated above, I take to be used here as a name.

Next follow the passages in which, according to Professor Roth, *arushā*, as an adjective, is said to be applied to the horses, cows, and other teams of the gods, particularly of the dawn, the *Asvins*, and *Bṛihaspati*.

I, 118, 5. *pári vām ásváh vāpushaḥ patangāḥ váyaḥ vahantu arushāḥ abhīke*. Here we find the *váyah arushāḥ* of the *Asvins*, which it is better to translate by red birds, as immediately before the winged horses are mentioned. In fact, whenever *arushā* is applied to the vehicle of the *Asvins*, it is to be understood of these red birds, IV, 43, 6.

In I, 92, 1 and 2 (not 20), *árushī* occurs three times, referring twice to the cows of the dawn, once to the dawn herself.

In IV, 15, 6, *tám árvantam ná sânasīm arushám ná diváh śśum marmṛigyānte divé-dive*, *arushā* does not refer to the horse or any other animal of Agni. The verse speaks of a horse by way of comparison only, and says that the sacrificers clean or trim Agni, the fire, as people clean a horse. We

cannot join arushám in the next páda with árvantam in the preceding páda, for the second ná would then be without any construction. The construction is certainly not easy, but I think it is safer to translate: they trim him (Agni), day by day, as they clean a strong horse, as they clean Arushá, the child of Dyu. In fact, as far as I know, arushá is never used as the name of the one single horse belonging to Agni, but always of two or more.

In III, 31, 21, antár (íti) *krishnān arushaḥ dhāma bhiḥ gāt, dhāma bhiḥ* is said to mean flames of lightning. But dhāman in the Rig-veda does not mean flames, and it seems better to translate, with thy red companies, scil. the Maruts.

That arushá in one or two passages means the red cloud, is true. But in X, 43, 9, arushá refers to the thunderbolt mentioned in the same verse; and in I, 114, 5, everything refers to Rudra, and not to a red cloud, in the proper sense of the word.

Further on, where the meanings attributable to árushî in the Veda are collected, it is said that árushî means a red mare, also the teams of Agni and Ushas. Now, here, surely, a distinction should have been made between those passages in which árushî means a real horse, and those where it expresses the imaginary steeds of Agni. The former, it should be observed, occur in one *Mandala* only, and in places of somewhat doubtful authority, in VIII, 55, 3, a Váḷakhilya hymn, and in VIII, 68, 18, a dānastuti or panegyric. Besides, no passage is given where árushî means the horses of the dawn, and I doubt whether such a passage exists, while the one verse where árushî is really used for the horses of Indra, is not mentioned at all. Lastly, two passages are set apart where árushî is supposed to mean flames. Now, it may be perfectly true that the red-horses of Agni are meant for flames, just as the red-horses of Indra may be the rays of the sun. But, in that case, the red-horses of Agni should always have been thus translated, or rather interpreted, and not in one passage only. In IX, 111, 2, árushî is said to mean flames, but no further light is thrown upon that very difficult passage.

Note 2. *Pári tasthúshaḥ*. I take this form as a nominative plural like *ábibhyushaḥ*, I, 11, 5, *tvām devāḥ ábibhyushaḥ tugyámânâsaḥ ávishuḥ*, 'the gods, stirred up, came to thee, not fearing;' and like *dadúshaḥ*, I, 54, 8, *yé te indra dadúshaḥ vardháyanti máhi kshatrám*, 'who giving or by their gifts increase thy great power, O Indra.' Here we might possibly take it as a gen. sing. referring to te, but *dadivân* is far more appropriate as an epithet of the sacrificer than of the god. (See Benfey, *Vocativ*, p. 24; and *Hermes*, p. 16.) It is well known among Sanskrit scholars that Professor Whitney, in reviewing my translation, declared that the participial form *tasthushaḥ* had no right to be anything but an accusative plural or a genitive or ablative singular. (See *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iv, p. 508.) Dr. Kern, however, in his translation of the *Bṛihat-Samhitâ* had shown long before that nom. plur. such as *vidushaḥ* are by no means rare, even in the *Mahâbhârata* and kindred works. Dr. Lanman (*Journ. Americ. Or. Soc.* X, p. 513) has now entered *abibhyushaḥ* as a nom. plur., but he prefers to take *tasthushaḥ* as an acc. plural, so that we should have to translate *kárantam pári tasthúshaḥ* by 'walking round those who stand.' This may be grammatically possible; but who could be meant by *tasthushaḥ*, standing ones? And, secondly, is it usual in Vedic Sanskrit to say *karati pári tam*, 'he walks round him?' We find *pári tam yâti*, or *tam pári yâti*, but hardly *yâti pári tam*, 'he goes round him,' except when *pári* stands independent of the verb and means 'around,' e.g. IX, 72, 8, *pavasva pári pârthivam rágaḥ*. It is more difficult to decide whether we should adopt Ludwig's interpretation, who takes *pári tasthushaḥ* in the sense of 'away from what is firm.' This is correct grammatically, and *tasthivat*, as opposed to *gágat*, is often used in the sense of what is immovable. But is it ever used in that sense by itself? I doubt it, though I may add in support of it such a passage as I, 191, 9, *út apaptat asaú sūryaḥ . . . âdityáḥ párvatebhyaḥ*, a verse where the expression *visvâdrishṭaḥ adrishṭaḥ* is analogous to our *ketúm kṛinván aketáve*. I therefore retain *pári tasthushaḥ* as a nom. plural in the sense of standing around, circumstantes, possibly of *parikāra*,

attendants. Parishthāna or sthāna comes to mean an abode, and paritasthivantas would be bystanders, attendants, the people, in fact, who are supposed to harness the horse.

Though I do not assign great weight to interpretations of hymns, as given by the Brāhmanas, I may mention that in the Taitt. Br. III, 9, 4, 1, paritasthushaḥ is explained as a nom. plur., ime vai lokāḥ paritasthushaḥ, while Sāyana in his commentary (Sāma-veda II, 6, 3, 12, 1) has parito-va-sthitā lokatrayavartināḥ prāninaḥ.

Note 3. Rōkante rokāṇā. A similar expression occurs III, 61, 5, where it is said of Ushas, the dawn, that she lighted the lights in the sky, prā rokāṇā ruruke ranvā-sandrīk.

Verse 2.

WILSON: They (the charioteers) harness to his car his two desirable coursers, placed on either hand, bay-coloured, high-spirited, chief-bearing.

BENFEY: Die lieben Falben schirren sie zu beiden Seiten des Wagens an, braune, kühne, held-tragende.

LUDWIG: Sie spannen seine lieblichen falben an den wagen mit auseinandergehenden seiten, die blutroten, mutigen, helden-bringenden.

Note 1. Although no name is given, the pronoun asya clearly refers to Indra, for it is he to whom the two bays belong. The next verse, therefore, must likewise be taken as addressed to Indra, and not to the sun or the morning-red, spoken of as a horse or a chariot in the first verse.

Vipakshasā is well explained by Sāyana, vividhe pakshasā rathasya pārsvau yayos tau vipakshasau, rathasya dvayor pārsvayor yogitāv ity arthaḥ. The only doubt is whether it refers to the two sides of the chariot, or of the principal horse. That horses were sometimes yoked so that one should act as leader, and two should be harnessed on each side, we see in I, 39, 6, note.

Verse 3.

WILSON: Mortals, you owe your (daily) birth (to such an Indra), who, with the rays of the morning, gives sense to the senseless, and to the formless, form.

BENFEY: Licht machend—Männer!—das Dunkele und kenntlich das Unkenntliche, entsprangst du mit dem Morgenroth.

LUDWIG: Sichtbarkeit schaffend dem unsichtbaren, gestalt o schmuckreiche (Marut) dem gestaltlosen, wurdet ihr mit den Ushas zusammen geboren.

Note 1. In the TB. III, 9, 4, several of these mantras are enjoined for the *Asvamedha*. When the banner (*dhvaga*) is fastened, this verse is to be used, because *ketu* was supposed to mean a banner. The vocative *maryâh*, which I have translated by O men, had evidently become a mere exclamation at a very early time. Even in our passage it is clear that the poet does not address any men in particular, for he addresses Indra, nor is *marya* used in the general sense of men. It means males, or male offspring. It sounds more like some kind of asseveration or oath, like the Latin *mehercle*, or like the English O ye powers, and it is therefore quoted as a *nipâta* or particle in the *Vâg. Prâtis.* II, 16. It can hardly be taken here as addressed to the Maruts, though the Maruts are the subject of the next verse. Kluge in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxv, p. 309, points out that *maryâh* as an interjection does not occur again in the *Rig-veda*. But the *Rig-veda* contains many words which occur once only, and the author of *Vâg. Prâtisâkhya* is no mean authority. See also *Tândya Brâhm.* VII, 6, 5. If Dr. Kluge proposes to read *mâryâi* as a dative (like *λύκῳ*) he knows, of course, that such a form does not only never occur again in the *Rig-veda*, but never in the whole of Sanskrit literature. Grassmann and Lanman (N. I., p. 339) both seem to imagine that the Pada text has *marya*, but it has *maryâh*, and no accent. If *maryâh* had the accent, we might possibly translate, 'the youths, i. e. the Maruts, made,' taking *krinvan* for *akrinvan*, or the more usual *akurvan*; but in that case the transition to *agâyathâh* would be very sudden. See, however, I, 6, 7.

Sāyana explains it *maryāh, manushyāh ! idam āstaryam paryata*. Another explanation of this verse, which evidently troubled the ancient commentators as much as us, is, 'O mortal, i. e. O sun (dying daily), thou hast been born with the dawn.'

Note 2. *Ushādbhih*, an instrumental plural which attracted the attention of the author of the *Vārttika* to *Pān.* VII, 4, 48. It occurs but, once, but the regular form, *ushobhih*, does not occur at all in the *Rig-veda*. The same grammarian mentions *mās*, month, as changing the final *s* of its base into *d* before *bhis*. This, too, is confirmed by *RV.* II, 24, 5, where *mādbhih* occurs. Two other words, *svavas*, offering good protection, and *svatavas*, of independent strength, mentioned together as liable to the same change, do not occur with *bhih* in the *Rig-veda*, but the forms *svavadbhih* and *svatavadbhih* probably occurred in some other Vedic writings. *Svatavadbhyaḥ* has been pointed out by Professor Aufrecht in the *Vāgasan. Samhitā* XXIV, 16, and *svatavobhyaḥ* in *Satap. Br.* II, 5, 1, 14. That the nom. *svavân*, which is always trisyllabic, is not to be divided into *sva-vân*, as proposed by *Sākalya*, but into *su-avân*, is implied by *Vārttika* to *Pān.* VIII, 4, 48, and distinctly stated in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*. That the final *n* of the nom. *su-avân* disappeared before semi-vowels is confirmed by the *Sākala-prātisākhya*, *Sūtra* 287; see also *Vāgasan. Prātis.* III, *Sūtra* 135 (*Weber, Ind. Stud.* vol. iv, p. 206). On the proper division of *su-avas*, see Aufrecht, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xiii, p. 499.

Verse 4.

WILSON: Thereafter, verily, those who bear names invoked in holy rites (the Maruts), having seen the rain about to be engendered, instigated him to resume his embryo condition (in the clouds).

BENFEY: Sodann von freien Stücken gleich erregen wieder Schwangerschaft die heiligen Namen tragenden.

LUDWIG: Da haben nämlich in ihrer göttlichen weise diese der *Prisni* leibesfrucht gebracht, opfer verdienenden namen erwerbend.

Note 1. Ât must here take vyûha and be pronounced as an iambus. This is exceptional with ât, but there are at least two other passages where the same pronunciation is necessary. I, 148, 4, ât rokate vâne â vi-bhâ-vâ, though in the line immediately following it is monosyllabic. Also in V, 7, 10, ât agne âprinatak.

Note 2. Svadhâ, literally one's own place, afterwards, one's own nature. It was a great triumph for the science of Comparative Philology that, long before the existence of such a word as svadhâ in Sanskrit was known, it should have been postulated by Professor Benfey in his *Griechisches Wurzellexicon*, published in 1839, and in the appendix of 1842. Svadhâ was known, it is true, in the ordinary Sanskrit, but there it only occurred as an exclamation used on presenting an oblation to the manes. It was also explained to mean food offered to deceased ancestors, or to be the name of a personification of Mâyâ or worldly illusion, or of a nymph. But Professor Benfey, with great ingenuity, postulated for Sanskrit a noun svadhâ, as corresponding to the Greek *ἔθος* and the German *sitte*, O. H. G. *sit-u*, Gothic *sid-u*. The noun svadhâ has since been discovered in the Veda, where it occurs very frequently; and its true meaning in many passages where native tradition had entirely misunderstood it, has really been restored by means of its etymological identification with the Greek *ἔθος* or *ἦθος*. See Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. ii, p. 134; vol. xii, p. 158.

The expressions ânu svadhâm and svadhâm ânu are of frequent occurrence. They mean, according to the nature or character of the persons spoken of, and may be translated by as usual, or according to a person's wont. Thus in our passage we may translate, The Maruts are born again, i. e. as soon as Indra appeared with the dawn, according to their wont; they are always born as soon as Indra appears, for such is their nature.

I, 165, 5. indra svadhâm ânu hí na^h babhûtha.

For, Indra, according to thy wont, thou art with us.

VIII, 20, 7. svadhâm ânu sríyam nára^h—vâhante.

According to their wont, the men (the Maruts) carry splendour.

Thou hast grown (Indra) according to thy nature.

IV, 33, 6. ánu svadhā́m r̥ibhávaḥ gāgmuh̥ eṭām.

According to their nature, the R̥ibhus went to her, scil. the cow; or, according to this their nature, they came.

IV, 52, 6; I, 33, 11; I, 88, 6; VII, 56, 13; III, 51, 11.

In all these passages svadhā́ may be rendered by manner, habit, usage, and ánu svadhā́m would seem to correspond to the Greek ἐξ ἑθους. Yet the history of these words in Sanskrit and Greek has not been exactly the same. First of all we observe in Greek a division between ἑθός and ἦθος, and whereas the former comes very near in meaning to the Sanskrit svadhā́, the latter shows in Homer a much more primitive and material sense. It means in Homer, not a person's own nature, but the own place, for instance, of animals, the haunts of horses, lions, fish; in Hesiod, also of men. Hom. Il. XV, 268, μετὰ τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομόν ἱππων, loca consueta et pascua. Svadhā́ in the Veda does not occur in that sense, although etymologically it might take the meaning of one's own place: cf. dhā-man, familia, &c. Whether in Greek ἦθος, from meaning lair, haunt, home, came, like νόμος and νόμος, to mean habit, manner, character, which would be quite possible, or whether ἦθος in that meaning represents a second start from the same point, which in Sanskrit was fixed in svadhā́, is impossible to determine. In Sanskrit svadhā́ clearly shows the meaning of one's own nature, power, disposition. It does not mean power or nature in general, but always the power of some one, the peculiarity, the individuality of a person. This will appear from the following passages:

II, 3, 8. tisráḥ devīḥ svadháyā barhīḥ ā́ idám ákṣhidram pántu.

May the three goddesses protect by their power the sacred pile unbroken.

IV, 13, 5. káyā yāti svadháyā.

By what inherent power does he (the Sun) move on?

IV, 26, 4. ā́kṣkráyā svadháyā.

By a power which requires no chariot, i.e. by himself without a chariot.

The same expression occurs again X, 27, 19.

In some places the verb *mad*, to delight, joined with *svadháyâ*, seems to mean to revel in his strength, to be proud of his might.

V, 32, 4. *svadháyâ mādantam*.

Vṛitra who delights in his strength.

VII, 47, 3. *svadháyâ mādantiḥ*.

The waters who delight in their strength. See X, 124, 8.

In other passages, however, as we shall see, the same phrase (and this is rather unusual) requires to be taken in a different sense, so as to mean to rejoice in food.

I, 164, 38; III, 17, 5.

III, 35, 10. *Indra pība svadháyâ kīṭ sutásya agnéḥ vā pāhi gihváyâ yagatra*.

Indra drink of the libation by thyself (by thy own power), or with the tongue of Agni, O worshipful.

To drink with the tongue of Agni is a bold but not unusual expression. V, 51, 2. *agnéḥ pibata gihváyâ*. X, 15, 3.

I, 165, 6. *kvā syā vaḥ marutaḥ svadhā́āsīt yát mām ékam sam-ádhatta ahi-hátye*.

Where was that custom of yours, O Maruts, when you left me alone in the killing of Ahi?

VII, 8, 3. *káyâ naḥ agne ví vasaḥ su-vrīktīm kām ūm (īti) svadhām rinavaḥ sasyámānaḥ*.

In what character dost thou light up our work, and what character dost thou assume, when thou art praised?

IV, 58, 4; IV, 45, 6.

I, 64, 4. *sākám gagāire svadháyâ*.

They (the Maruts) were born together, according to their nature; very much like *ánu svadhām*, I, 6, 4. One can hardly render it here by 'they were born by their own strength,' or 'by spontaneous generation.'

In other passages, however, *svadháyâ*, meaning originally by its own power, or nature, comes to mean, by itself, *sponte suâ*.

VII, 78, 4. *ā asthāt rátham svadháyâ yugyámānam*.

She, the dawn, mounted the chariot which was harnessed by itself, by its own power, without requiring the assistance of people to put the horses to.

X, 129, 2. ānīt avātām svadháyā tát ékam.

That only One breathed breathlessly (or freely) by its own strength, i. e. by itself.

In the same sense svadhābhiḥ is used in several passages :

I, 113, 13. amṛtā karati svadhābhiḥ.

The immortal Dawn moves along by her own strength, i. e. by herself.

VIII, 10, 6. yāt vā svadhābhiḥ adhi-tīshṭhathaḥ rátham.

Or whether ye mount your chariot by your own strength, ye Asvins.

I, 164, 30. gíváḥ mṛtásya karati svadhābhiḥ ámartyaḥ mártvena sá-yoniḥ.

The living moves by the powers of the dead, the immortal is the brother of the mortal. III, 26, 8 ; V, 60, 4.

There are doubtful passages, such as I, 180, 6, in which the meaning of svadhābhiḥ, too, is doubtful. In VI, 2, 8, svadhā looks like an adverb, instead of svadháyā, and would then refer to párigmā. The same applies to VIII, 32, 6.

But svadhā means also food, lit. one's own portion, the sacrificial offering due to each god, and lastly, food in general.

I, 108, 12. yāt indrágnī (íti) út-itā sūryasya mādhye diváḥ svadháyā mādáyethe (íti).

Whether you, Indra and Agni, delight in your food at the rising of the sun or at midday.

X, 15, 12. tvám agne īlitāḥ gāta-vedaḥ ávāt havyāni surabhīni kṛtvī, prá adāḥ pitṛi-bhyaḥ svadháyā té akshan addhī tvám deva prá-yatā havīmshi. 13. yé ka ihā pitāraḥ yé ka ná ihā yān ka vidmā yān ūm (íti) ka ná pra-vidmā, tvám vettha yāti té gāta-vedaḥ svadhābhiḥ yagnām sú-kṛitam gushasva. 14. yé agni-dagdhāḥ yé ánagni-dagdhāḥ mādhye diváḥ svadháyā mādáyante, tébhiḥ sva-rāt ásunītim etām yathā-vasām tanvām kalpayasva.

12. Thou, O Agni Gātavedas, hast carried, when implored, the offerings which thou hast rendered sweet : thou hast given them to the fathers, they fed on their share. Eat thou, O god, the proffered oblations. 13. Our fathers who are here, and those who are not here, our fathers whom we know and those whom we do not know, thou knowest

how many they are, O Gâtavedas, accept the well-made sacrifice with the sacrificial portions. 14. They who, whether burnt by fire or not burnt by fire, rejoice in their offering in the midst of heaven, give to them, O king, that life, and thy (their) own body, according to thy will.

III, 4, 7. *saptá prikskhāsaḥ svadhāyā madanti.*

The seven horses delight in their food.

X, 14, 7. *ubhā rāgānā svadhāyā mādantā.*

The two kings delighting in their food.

IX, 113, 10. *yātra kāmāḥ ni-kāmāḥ ka, yātra bradhnāsyā vishrāpam, svadhā ka yātra trīptiḥ ka tātra mām amṛitam kridhī.*

Where wishes and desires are, where the cup of the bright Soma is (or, where the highest place of the sun is), where there is food and rejoicing, there make me immortal.

I, 154, 4. *yāsyā trī pūrṇā mādhunā padāni ākshīyamānā svadhāyā mādanti.*

He (Vishnu) whose three places, full of sweet, imperishable, delight or abound in food.

V, 34, 1; II, 35, 7; I, 168, 9; I, 176, 2.

In the tenth book *svadhā* is used very much as it occurs in the later Sanskrit, as the name of a peculiar sacrificial rite.

X, 14, 3. *yān ka devāḥ vavridhūḥ ye ka devān svāhā anye svadhāyā anye madanti.*

Those whom the gods cherish, and those who cherish the gods, the one delight in Svāhā, the others in Svadhā; or, in praise and food.

NOTE 3. The expression *garbha-tvām ā-irire* is matched by that of III, 60, 3, *saudhanvanāsaḥ amṛita-tvām ā-irire*, the Saudhanvanas (the *Ribhus*) obtained immortality, or became immortal. I do not think that *punar erire* can mean, as Ludwig supposes, they pushed away their state of *garbha*. The idea that the Maruts assumed the form of a *garbha*, lit. of an embryo or a new-born child, is only meant to express that they were born, or that the storms burst forth from the womb of the sky as soon as Indra arises to do battle against the demon of darkness. Thus we read, I, 134, 4, *āganayaḥ marūtaḥ vakshānābhyah*, Thou, Vāyu, hast produced the Maruts from the bowels (of the sky).

As assisting Indra in this battle, the Maruts, whose name retained for a long time its purely appellative meaning of storms, attained their rank as deities by the side of Indra, or, as the poet expresses it, they assumed their sacred name. This seems to be the whole meaning of the later legend that the Maruts, like the *R̥ibhus*, were not originally gods, but became deified for their works. See also Kern, Translation of *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, p. 117, note.

Other explanations are: they made that which was born within the cloud into a garbha or embryo; or, they arose with *Āditya*, proceeded with *Savitar*, and when *Savitar* set, they became again garbhas; see *Sāma-veda* II, 2, 7, 2, comm.

VÁHNI.

Verse 5.

WILSON: Associated with the conveying Maruts, the traversers of places difficult of access, thou, Indra, hast discovered the cows hidden in the cave.

BENFEY: Mit den die Festen brechenden, den Stürmenden fandst, Indra, du die Kühe in der Grotte gar.

LUDWIG: Und mit denen, die das feste sogar anbrechen, selbst im versteck, o Indra, mit den priesterlichen, fandest du die morgenstralen auf.

Note 1. *Sāyana* explains *vāhni* in the sense of *Marúdbhiḥ*, and he tells the oft-repeated story how the cows were carried off by the *Paṇis* from the world of the gods, and thrown into darkness, and how Indra with the Maruts conquered them and brought them back. Everybody seems to have accepted this explanation of *Sāyana*, and I myself do not venture to depart from it. Yet it should be stated that the use of *vāhni* as a name of the Maruts is by no means well established. *Vāhni* is in fact a most difficult word in the Veda. In later Sanskrit it means fire, and is quoted also as a name of *Agni*, the god of fire, but we do not learn why a word which etymologically means carrier, from *vah*, to carry, should have assumed the meaning of fire. It may be that *vah*, which in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin means chiefly to carry, expressed origin-

ally the idea of moving about (the German be-wegen), in which case váh-ni, fire, would have been formed with the same purpose as ag-ní, ig-nis, fire, from Sk. ag, áy-*o*, ag-*o*. In *Alvis-mal*, V, 94, we read, kalla Vág Vanir, the Wanæs call fire Vág, i.e. wavy. But in Sanskrit Agni is so constantly represented as the carrier of the sacrificial oblation, that something may also be said in favour of the Indian scholastic interpreters who take váhni, as applied to Agni, in the sense of carrier. However that may be, it admits of no doubt that váhni, in the Veda, is distinctly applied to the bright fire or light. In some passages it looks very much like a proper name of Agni, in his various characters of terrestrial and celestial light. It is used for the sacrificial fire :

V, 50, 4. yátra váhniḥ abhí-hitaḥ.

Where the sacrificial fire is placed.

It is applied to Agni :

VII, 7, 5. ásâdi vritáḥ váhniḥ â-gaganvân agníḥ brahmâ.

The chosen light came nigh, and sat down, Agni, the priest.

Here Agni is, as usual, represented as a priest, chosen like a priest, for the performance of the sacrifice. But, for that very reason, váhni may here have the meaning of priest, which, as we shall see, it has in many places, and the translation would then be more natural : He, the chosen minister, came near and sat down, Agni, the priest.

VIII, 23, 3. váhniḥ vindate vásu.

Agni finds wealth (for those who offer sacrifices?).

More frequently váhni is applied to the celestial Agni, or other solar deities, where it is difficult to translate it in English except by an adjective :

III, 5, 1. ápa dvârâ támasaḥ váhniḥ âvar (ity âvaḥ).

Agni opened the two doors of darkness.

I, 160, 3. sáḥ váhniḥ putráḥ pitróḥ pavitra-vân punâti dhîraḥ bhúvanâni mâyáyâ.

That light, the son of the two parents, full of brightness, the wise, brightens the world by his power.

Agni is even called váhni-tama (IV, 1, 4), which hardly means more than the brightest.

II, 17, 4. *āt ródasī (īti) gyótishā váhniḥ ā atanot.*

Then the bright (Indra) stretched out or filled heaven and earth with his light.

II, 38, 1. *út ūm (īti) syáh deváh savitā—váhniḥ asthāt.*

The divine Savitar, the luminous, arose.

Besides this meaning of light or fire, however, there are clearly two other meanings of *váhni* which must be admitted in the Veda, first that of a carrier, vehicle, and, it may be, horse; secondly that of minister or priest.

VI, 57, 3. *agāḥ anyásya váhnayaḥ hárī (īti) anyásya sám-bhrítā.*

The bearers of the one (Pūshan) are goats, the bays are yoked for the other (Indra).

I, 14, 6. *ghritá-prishthāḥ manaḥ-yúgaḥ yé tvā váhanti váhnayaḥ.*

The horses with shining backs, obedient to thy will, which carry thee (Agni).

VIII, 3, 23. *yásmai anyé dása práti dhúram váhanti váhnayaḥ.*

A horse against whom other ten horses carry a weight; i. e. it requires ten horses to carry the weight which this one horse carries. (See X, 11, 7. *vāhamānaḥ āsvaiḥ.*)

II, 37, 3. *médyantu te váhnayaḥ yébhiḥ ŷyase.*

May thy horses be fat on which thou goest. II, 24, 13.

I, 44, 13. *srudhī srut-karna váhni-bhiḥ.*

Agni, who hast ears to hear, hear, on thy horses. Unless *váhni-bhiḥ* is joined with the words that follow, *devaḥ sayāva-bhiḥ*.

III, 6, 2. *vaḥyántām te váhnayaḥ saptá-gihvāḥ^a.*

May thy seven-tongued horses be called. Here *váhna-yaḥ* is clearly meant for the flames of Agni, yet I doubt whether we should be justified in dropping the simile, as the plural of *váhni* is nowhere used in the bald sense of flames.

In one passage *váhni* is supposed to be used as a feminine, or at all events applied to a feminine subject:

VIII, 94, 1. *yuktā váhniḥ ráthânām.*

^a Cf. I, 58, 7. *saptá guhvāḥ.*

She is yoked as the drawer of the chariots. Probably, however, *váhniḥ* should here be changed into *váhni*.

The passages in which *váhni* is applied to Soma in the ninth and tenth *Mandalas* throw little light on the subject. (IX, 9, 6; 20, 5; 6; 36, 2; 64, 19; 89, 1; X, 101, 10.)

Instead of *visām vispátih*, lord of men (VII, 7, 4), we find IX, 108, 10. *visām váhniḥ ná vispátih*. One feels inclined to translate here *váhniḥ* by leader, but it is more likely that *váhni* is here again the common name of Soma, and that it is inserted between *visām ná vispátih*, which is meant to form one phrase.

In IX, 97, 34. *tisráḥ vākaḥ ṭrayati prá váhniḥ*, we may take *váhni* as the common appellation of Soma. But it may also mean minister or priest, as in the passages which we have now to examine. Cf. X, 11, 6.

For besides these passages in which *váhni* clearly means vector, carrier, drawer, horse, there is a large class of verses in which it can only be translated by minister, i. e. officiating minister, and, as it would seem, chiefly singer or reciter^a.

The verb *vah* was used in Sanskrit in the sense of carrying out (*ud-vah*, *ausführen*), or performing a rite, particularly as applied to the reciting of hymns. Hence such compounds as *ukthá-vâhas* or *stóma-vâhas*, offering hymns of praise, and *yagná-vâhas*. Thus we read:

V, 79, 4. *abhí yé tvâ vibhâ-vari stómairḥ grínānti váhnayah*.

The ministers who praise thee, splendid Dawn, with hymns.

I, 48, 11. *yé tvâ grínānti váhnayah*.

The ministers who praise thee.

VII, 75, 5. *ushāḥ ukkhati váhni-bhiḥ grínānā*.

The dawn lights up, praised by the ministers.

VI, 39, 1. *mandráśya kavéh divyásya váhneh*.

Of the sweet poet, of the heavenly priest . . .

VII, 82, 4. *yuvām ít yut-sú prítanâsu váhnayah yuvām kshémasya pra-savé mitá-gñavah, írānā vásvabh ubháyasya káravah índrávarunâ su-hávâ havâmahe*.

^a See Taitt. Bráhm. I, 1, 6, 10. *vahnir vá anadvân, vahnir adhvaryuḥ*.

We, as ministers, invoke you only in fights and battles; we, as suppliants, (invoke) you for the granting of treasure; we, as poets, (invoke) you, the lords of twofold wealth, you, Indra and Varuṇa, who listen to our call.

VI, 32, 3. *sáh váhni-bhiḥ ríkva-bhiḥ góshu sásvat mitá-gñu-bhiḥ puru-krítvā gígāya.*

He (Indra) was victorious often among the cows, always with celebrating and suppliant ministers.

I have placed these two passages together because they seem to me to illustrate each other, and to show that although in the second passage the celebrating and suppliant ministers may be intended for the Maruts, yet no argument could be drawn from this verse in favour of váhni by itself meaning the Maruts. See also VIII, 6, 2; 12, 15; X, 114, 2.

IV, 21, 6. *hótā yáh naḥ mahān sam-várāṇeshu váhniḥ.*

The Hotar who is our great priest in the sanctuaries.

I, 128, 4. *váhniḥ vedhāḥ ágāyata.*

Because the wise priest (Agni) was born.

The same name which in these passages is applied to Agni, is in others, and, as it will be seen, in the same sense, applied to Indra.

II, 21, 2. *tuvi-gráye váhnaye.*

To the strong-voiced priest or leader.

The fact that váhni is followed in several passages by *ukthaḥ* would seem to show that the office of the váhni was chiefly that of recitation or of addressing prayers to the gods.

III, 20, 1. *agním ushásam asvínā dadhi-krām ví-usháishu havate váhniḥ ukthaḥ.*

The priest at the break of day calls with his hymns Agni, Ushas, the Asvins, and Dadhikrá.

I, 184, 1. *tā vām adyá tau aparám huvema ukhāntýām ushási váhniḥ ukthaḥ.*

Let us invoke the two Asvins to-day and to-morrow, the priest with his hymns is there when the dawn appears.

In a similar sense, it would seem, as *váhniḥ ukthaḥ*, the Vedic poets frequently use the words *váhniḥ áśā*. This *áśā* is the instrumental singular of *ás*, mouth, and it is used

in other phrases also of the mouth as the instrument of praise.

VI, 32, 1. *vagrīne sām-tamāni vākāmsi āśā sthāvīrāya taksham.*

I have shaped with my mouth blessed words to the wielder of the thunderbolt, the strong Indra.

X, 115, 3. *āśā vāhniṃ nā sokīśhā vi-rapsīnam.*

He who sings with his flame as the poet with his mouth. See also I, 38, 14. *mimīhī ślókam āsyē*, make a song in thy mouth.

Thus we find *vāhniḥ āśā* in the same place in the sixth and seventh *Mandalas* (VI, 16, 9 ; VII, 16, 9), in the phrase *vāhniḥ āśā vidúh-tarah*, applied to Agni in the sense of the priest wise with his mouth, or taking *vāhniḥ āśā* as it were one word, the wise poet.

I, 129, 5. *vāhniḥ āśā, vāhniḥ nah ākkha.*

Indra, as a priest by his lips, as a priest coming towards us.

From the parallelism of this passage it would seem that Professor Roth concluded the meaning of *āśā** to be near,

* *Ās*, mouth, the Latin *os*, *oris*, has been derived from a root *as*, to breathe, preserved in the Sanskrit *as-u*, spirit, *asu-ra*, endowed with spirit, living, the living god. Though I agree with Curtius in admitting a primitive root *as*, to breathe, from which *as-u*, breath, must have sprung, I have always hesitated about the derivation of *ās* and *āsyā*, mouth, from the same root. I do not think, however, that the lengthening of the vowel in *ās* is so great a difficulty as has been supposed (Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, vol. xvii, p. 145). Several roots lengthen their vowel *a*, when used as substantives without derivative suffixes. In some cases this lengthening is restricted to the *Āṅga* base, as in *anaḍvāh*; in others to the *Āṅga* and *Pada* base, as in *visvavāh*, *visvavād̥bhiḥ*, &c.; in others again it pervades the whole declension, as in *turāśhāt*: (see Sanskrit Grammar, §§ 210, 208, 175.) Among ordinary words *vāk* offers a clear instance of a lengthened vowel. In the Veda we find *rūtīśhāham*, VI, 14, 4, and *rūtīśhāham* (*Samhitā*), I, 64, 15. In X, 71, 10 the *Samhitā* has *sabhāśahéna*, the *Pada* *sabhāśahéna*. We find *vāh* in *apsu-vāh* (*Sām. Ved.*), *indra-vāh*, *havya-vāh*. *Sah* at the end of compounds, such as *nri-sah*, *prītanā-sah*, *bhūri-sah*, *satrā-sah*, *vibhā-sah*, *sadā-sah*, varies between a long and short *ā*: (see Regnier, *Étude sur l'idiome du*

or coram. In the *Nighantū*, II, 16, the right reading is evidently *âsât*, not *âsâ*; see *Nirukta*, ed. Satyavrata Sâma-srami, vol. i, p. 264. *Âsâ*, however, is an old variant, as may be seen from *Rig-veda-bhâshya* I, 127, 8; X, 115, 3.

I, 76, 4. *pragâ-vatâ vâkasâ vâhniâ âsâ â ka huvé ní ka satsi ihâ devaiâ*.

With words in which my people join, I, the poet, invoke, and thou (Agni) sittest down with the gods.

VI, 11, 2. *pâvakâyâ guhvâ vâhniâ âsâ*.

Thou, a poet with a bright tongue, O Agni!

Grassmann thinks that *vahnir âsâ* can always be translated by 'vor das Angesicht bringend,' but this does not appear to be the case in his translation.

The question now arises in what sense *vâhni* is used when applied without further definition to certain deities. Most deities in the Veda are represented as driving or driven, and many as poets or priests. When the *Asvins* are called *vâhni*, VIII, 8, 12; VII, 73, 4, it may mean riders. But when the *Virve Devâs* are so called, I, 3, 9, or the *Rîbhus*, the exact meaning is more doubtful. The *Maruts* are certainly riders, and whatever other scholars may say to the contrary, it can be proved that they were supposed to sit astride on horseback, and to have the bridle through the horse's nostrils (V, 61, 2). But if in our verse I, 6, 5, we translate *vâhni* as an epithet, rider, and not only as an epithet, but as a name of the *Maruts*, we cannot support our translation by independent evidence, but must rely partly on the authority of *Sâyana*, partly on the general tenor of the text before us, where the *Maruts* are mentioned in the preceding verse, and, if I am right, in the verse following also. On the other hand, if *vâhni* can thus be used as a name of

Vêdas, p. 111.) At all events no instance has yet been pointed out in Sanskrit, showing the same contraction which we should have to admit if, as has been proposed, we derived *âs* from *av-as*, or from *an-as*. From 'an' we have in the Veda *ânâ*, mouth or face, I, 52, 15. From *as*, to breathe, the Latin omen, originally *os-men*, a whisper, might likewise be derived. See Bopp, *Comp. Gr. par.* 909; Kuhn in *Ind. Stud.* I, 333.

the Maruts, there is at least one other passage which would gain in clearness by the admission of that meaning, viz.

X, 138, 1. *táva tyé indra sakhyéshu váhnayak—ví adar-diruk valám.*

In thy friendship, Indra, these Maruts tore asunder the cloud.

Note 2. I have translated *viśú* by stronghold, though it is only an adjective, meaning firm. Dr. Oscar Meyer, in his able essay *Quaestiones Homericae, specimen prius, Bonnae, 1867*, has tried to show that this *viśú* is the original form of *ῥῆϊος*, and he has brought some further evidence to show that the siege and conquest of Troy, as I pointed out in my *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. ii, p. 470, was originally described in language borrowed from the siege and conquest of the dark night by the powers of light, or from the destruction of the cloud by the weapons of Indra. It ought to be considered, however, that *viśú* in the Veda has not dwindled down as yet to a mere name, and that therefore it may have originally retained its purely appellative power in Greek as well as in Sanskrit, and from meaning a stronghold in general, have come to mean the stronghold of Troy.

Note 3. The bright cows are here the cows of the morning, the dawns, or the days themselves, which are represented as rescued at the end of each night by the power of Indra, or similar solar gods. Indra's companions in that daily rescue are here the Maruts, the storms, the same companions who act even a more prominent part in the battle of Indra against the dark clouds. These two battles are often mixed up together, so that possibly *usríyák* may have been meant for clouds.

Verse 6.

WILSON: The reciters of praises praise the mighty (troop of Maruts), who are celebrated, and conscious of the power of bestowing wealth in like manner as they (glorify) the counsellor (Indra).

BENFEY: Nach ihrer Einsicht verherrlichend besingen Sänger den Schätzeheern, den berühmten, gewaltigen.

LUDWIG : Als fromme heran zum liede haben die sänger ihn, der treffliches findet, berühmten gesungen.

Note 1. The reasons why I take *gírah* as a masculine in the sense of singer or praiser, may be seen in a note to I, 37, 10.

Note 2. *yáthâ matím*, lit. according to their mind, according to their heart's desire. Cf. II, 24, 13.

Verse 7.

WILSON : May you be seen, Maruts, accompanied by the undaunted (Indra); both rejoicing, and of equal splendour.

BENFEY : So lass mit Indra denn vereint, dem furchtlosen, erblicken dich, beide erfreu'nd und glanzesgleich.

LUDWIG : Mit Indra zusammen wirst du gesehn zusammengehend mit dem furchtlosen, mild ihr zwei, von gleichem glanze.

Note 1. The sudden transition from the plural to the singular is strange, but the host of the Maruts is frequently spoken of in the singular, and nothing else can here be intended. It may be true, as Professor Benfey suggests, that the verses here put together stood originally in a different order, or that they were taken from different sources. Yet though the *Sâma-veda* would seem to sanction a small alteration in the order of the verses, the alteration of verses 7, 4, 5, as following each other, would not help us much. The *Atharva-veda* sanctions no change in the order of these verses.

The transition to the dual at the end of the verse is likewise abrupt, not more so, however, than we are prepared for in the *Veda*. The suggestion of the *Nirukta* (IV, 12) that these duals might be taken as instrumentals of the singular, is of no real value.

Note 2. *Dr̥kshase*, a very valuable form, well explained by *dr̥isyethâh*, a second person singular conjunctive of the First Aorist *Âtmanepada*, the termination 'sase' corresponding to Greek *σῆ*, as the conjunctive takes the personal terminations of the present in both languages. Similar

forms, viz. *prīkshase*, X, 22, 7, *mamsase*, X, 27, 10; Ath. Veda VII, 20, 2-6, and possibly *vīvakshase*, X, 21, 1-8, 24, 1-3, 25, 1-11, will have to be considered hereafter. (Nirukta, ed. Roth, p. 30, Notes.) As Ludwig has pointed out, the *Tāndya-brāhmaṇa* XII, 2, 6, 7, reads *drikshuse*, and explains it by *ime lokā dadṛisire*. *Sāyana*, however, explains *dṛisidhātoḥ karmāṇi madhyamaikavaṭane vyatyayena sepratyaye drikshusa iti rūpam*. See Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, I, p. 111. The story of Indra's being forsaken by all the gods in his battle against *Vṛitra*, but being helped by the Maruts, is often mentioned; see RV. VIII, 96, 7; SV. I, 4, 1, 4, 2; Ait. Br. III, 20.

Verse 8.

WILSON: This rite is performed in adoration of the powerful Indra, along with the irreproachable, heavenward-tending, and amiable bands (of the Maruts).

BENFEY: Durch Indra's liebe Schaaren, die untadligen, himmelstürmenden, strahlet das Opfer mächtiglich.

LUDWIG: Mit den tadellosen, morgens erscheinenden singt der kämpfer sighaft, mit des Indra zu liebenden scharen.

NOTE 1. *Arkati*, which I have here translated by he cries aloud, means literally, he celebrates. I do not know of any passage where *arkati*, when used, as here, without an object, means to shine, as Professor Benfey translates it. The real difficulty, however, lies in *makhá*, which *Sāyana* explains by sacrifice, and which I have ventured to translate by priest or sacrificer. *Makhá*, as an adjective, means, as far as we can judge, strong or vigorous, and is applied to various deities, such as *Pūshan* I, 138, 1, *Savitṛi* VI, 71, 1, *Soma* XI, 20, 7, *Indra* III, 34, 2, the Maruts I, 64, 11; VI, 66, 9. By itself, *makhá* is never used as the name of any deity, and it cannot therefore, as Professor Roth proposes, be used in our passage as a name of Indra, or be referred to Indra as a significant adjective. In I, 119, 3, *makhá* is applied to men or warriors, but it does not follow that *makhá* by itself means warriors, though it may be connected

with the Greek *μαχος* in *σύμμαχος*. See Curtius, *Grundzüge*, p. 293 ; Grassmann, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xvi, p. 164.

There are two passages where *makhá* refers to an enemy of the gods, IX, 101, 13 ; X, 171, 2.

Among the remaining passages there is one where *makhá* is used in parallelism with *váhni*, X, 11, 6. *vívakti váhniḥ, su-apasyáte makháḥ*. Here I propose to translate, The poet speaks out, the priest works well. The same meaning seems applicable likewise to the phrase *makhásya dāvane*, to the offering of the priest, though I should prefer to translate 'to share in the sacrifice.'

I, 134, 1. *ā yāhi dāvane, vāyo (iti), makhásya dāvane*.

Come, Vāyu, to the offering, to the offering of the priest.

VIII, 7, 27. *ā naḥ makhásya dāvane—dévāsaḥ úpa gan-tana*.

Come, gods, to the offering of our priest.

Professor Roth proposes to render *makhá* in these passages by 'attestation of joy, celebration, praise,' and he takes *dāvane* as a dative of *dāván*, a *nomen actionis*, meaning, the giving. There are some passages where one feels inclined to admit a noun *dāvāna*, and to take *dāvane* as a locative sing.

VI, 71, 2. *devásya vayám savitúḥ sávīmani*

sréshṭhe syāma vásunaḥ ka dāvane.

May we be in the favour of the god Savitar, and in the best award of his treasure.

In II, 11, 1, and II, 11, 12, the locative would likewise be preferable ; but there is a decided majority of passages in which *dāvane* occurs and where it is to be taken as a dative*, nor is there any other instance in the Veda of a *nomen actionis* being formed by *vana*. It is better, therefore, in VI, 71, 2, to refer *sréshṭhe* to *sávīmani*, and to make allowance in the other passages for the idiomatic use of such phrases as *dāvane vásûnām* or *râyáḥ dāvane*, whether from *dā* or from *do*. See *De Infinitivi forma et usu*, by E. Wilhelm, 1873, p. 17.

* RV. I, 61, 10 ; 122, 5 ; 134, 2 ; 139, 6 ; II, 1, 10 ; IV, 29, 5 ; 32, 9 ; V, 59, 1 ; 4 ; 65, 3 ; VIII, 25, 20 ; 45, 10 ; (92, 26) ; 46, 25 ; 27 ; 63, 5 ; 69, 17 ; 70, 12 ; IX, 93, 4 ; X, 32, 5 ; 44, 7 ; 50, 7.

The termination váne explains, as has been shown by Professor Benfey, Greek infinitives such as δοῦναι, i. e. δοεναί or δοφεναι = Sanskrit dā-vāne. The termination mane in dā-mane, for the purpose of giving, explains, as the same scholar has proved, the ancient infinitives in Greek, such as δό-μεναι. It may be added that the regular infinitives in Greek, ending in εναί, as λελοιπ-έναι, are likewise matched by Vedic forms such as IX, 61, 30. dhūrv-ane, or VI, 61, 13. vibhv-áne, and turv-áne (Delbrück in K. Z. XVIII, p. 82 ; Bopp, Accent, §§ 106, 113, 117). It is hardly right to say that vibhváne in VI, 61, 13, should be taken as an instrumental, for it does not refer to the chariot, but to Sarasvatī. In the termination ειν, which stands for ενι, like εἰς for εσι, we have, on the contrary, not a dative, but a locative of an abstract noun in an, both cases, as we see from their juxta-position in VI, 71, 2, being equally applicable to express the relation which we are accustomed to call infinitive. See RV. I, 134, 5. ugrāḥ ishananta bhurváni, apām ishanta bhurváni.

Note 2. Abhidyu I now translate by hastening, and derive it from div, dīvyati, in its original meaning of to throw forth, to break forth, to shine. As from this root we have didyú, weapon, what is thrown, pl. didyavaḥ, and possibly didyut, the weapon, particularly Indra's weapon or thunderbolt, abhidyu might mean breaking forth, rushing forth towards us, something like prakṛiḥ/naḥ, another name of the Maruts. How abhidyu could mean conquérant, maître du jour, as M. Bergaigne maintains, I do not see. Abhidyūn, I, 33, 11 ; 190, 4, does not differ much from ánu-dyūn, i. e. it is used vipsáyām.

Verses 9, 10.

WILSON: Therefore circumambient (troop of Maruts), come hither, whether from the region of the sky, or from the solar sphere ; for, in this rite, (the priest) fully recites your praises.

BENFEY: Von hier, oder vom Himmel komm ob dem Æther, Umkreisender ! zu dir streben die Lieder all.

LUDWIG: Von hierher, o Parigman, kom, oder von des himels glanzfirmamente her; zu disem streben unsere lieder auf.

WILSON: We invoke Indra,—whether he come from this earthly region, or from the heaven above, or from the vast firmament,—that he may give (us) wealth.

BENFEY: Von hier, oder vom Himmel ob der Erde begehren Spende wir, oder, Indra! aus weiter Luft.

LUDWIG: Von hier zu empfangen verlangen wir, oder vom himel, oder vom irdischen raume her, oder aus dem grossen luftkreis den Indra.

Note 1. Although the names for earth, sky, and heaven vary in different parts of the Veda, yet the expression *diváh roṇánám* occurs so frequently that we can hardly take it in this place in a sense different from its ordinary meaning. Professor Benfey thinks that *roṇáná* may here mean ether, and he translates ‘come from heaven above the ether;’ and in the next verse, ‘come from heaven above the earth.’ At first, every reader would feel inclined to take the two phrases, *diváh vá roṇánāt ádhi*, and *diváh vá páṛthivát ádhi*, as parallel; yet I believe they are not quite so.

The following passages will show that the two words *roṇánám diváh* belong together, and that they signify the light of heaven, or the bright place of heaven.

VIII, 98, 3. *ágakṣhah roṇánám diváh.*

Thou (Indra) wentest to the light of heaven. I, 155, 3.

III, 6, 8. *uraú vá yé antárikṣhe—diváh vá yé roṇané.*

In the wide sky, or in the light of heaven.

VIII, 82, 4. *upamé roṇané diváh.*

In the highest light of heaven.

IX, 86, 27. *trīṣṭhe prishṭhé ádhi roṇané diváh.*

On the third ridge, in the light of heaven. See also I, 105, 5; VIII, 69, 3.

The very phrase which we find in our verse, only with *ṛit* instead of *vá*, occurs again, I, 49, 1; VIII, 8, 7; and the same sense must probably be assigned to VIII, 1, 18, *ádha gṃáh ádha vá diváh brīhatáh roṇánāt ádhi*.

Either from the earth, or from the light of the great heaven, increase, O Indra!

Roṇáná also occurs in the plural:

I, 146, 1. *vísṡá diváh roṇánā*.

All the bright regions of heaven.

Sáyana: 'All the bright palaces of the gods.' See III, 12, 9.

The same word *roṇáná*, and in the same sense, is sometimes joined with *sūrya* and *nāka*.

Thus, I, 14, 9. *sūryasya roṇánāt vísṡān devān—hótā ihá vakshati*.

May the Hotar bring the *Viśve Devas* hither from the light of the sun, or from the bright realm of the sun.

III, 22, 3. *yáh roṇané parástāt sūryasya*.

The waters which are above, in the bright realm of the sun, and those which are below.

I, 19, 6. *yé nākasya ádhi roṇané, diví devāsaḥ āsate*.

They who in the light of the firmament, in heaven, are enthroned as gods.

Here *diví*, in heaven, seems to be the same as the light of the firmament, *nākasya roṇané*.

Thus *roṇáná* occurs also frequently by itself, when it clearly has the meaning of heaven.

It is said of the dawn, I, 49, 4; of the sun, I, 50, 4; and of Indra, III, 44, 4.

vísṡam ā bhāti roṇánám, he lights up the whole sky.

We also read of three *roṇanas*, where, though it is difficult to say what is really meant, we must translate, the three skies. The cosmography of the Veda is, as I said before, somewhat vague and varying. There is, of course, the natural division of the world into heaven and earth (*dyú* and *bhūmí*), and the threefold division into earth, sky, and heaven, where sky is meant for the region intermediate between heaven and earth (*pr̥thivī*, *antáriksha*, *dyú*). There is also a fourfold division, for instance,

VIII, 97, 5. *yát vā ási roṇané diváh
samudrásyā ádhi vishṡápi,
yát p̥r̥thivē sádane vr̥trahan-tama,
yát antárikshē ā gahi*.

Whether thou, O greatest killer of *Vṛitra*, art in the light of heaven, or in the basin of the sea, or in the place of the earth, or in the sky, come hither!

V, 52, 7. *yé vavridhánta pāṛthivāḥ yé uraú antárikṣhe ā, vṛigāne vā nadīnām sadhá-sthe vā mahāḥ divāḥ.*

The Maruts who grew, being on the earth, those who are in the wide sky, or in the realm of the rivers, or in the abode of the great heaven.

But very soon these three or more regions are each spoken of as threefold. Thus,

I, 102, 8. *tisráḥ bhūmih trīṇi roṇāṇ.*

The three earths, the three skies.

II, 27, 9. *trī roṇāṇ divyā dhārayanta.*

The *Ādityas* support the three heavenly skies.

V, 69, 1. *trī roṇāṇ varuṇa trīṇ utá dyūn trīṇi mitra dhārayathaḥ rágāṃsi.*

Mitra and Varuṇa, you support the three lights, and the three heavens, and the three skies.

Here there seems some confusion, which *Sāyana's* commentary makes even worse confounded. What can *roṇāṇ* mean as distinct from *dyú* and *rágas*? The fourth verse of the same hymn throws no light on the subject, and I should feel inclined to take *divyā-pāṛthivasya* as one word, though even then the cosmic division here adopted is by no means clear. However, there is a still more complicated division alluded to in IV, 53, 5:

trīḥ antárikṣham savitā mahi-tvaṇā trī rágāṃsi pari-bhūḥ trīṇi roṇāṇ, tisráḥ divāḥ pṛthivīḥ tisráḥ invati.

Here we have the sky thrice, three welkins, three lights, three heavens, three earths.

A careful consideration of all these passages will show, I think, that in our passage we must take *divāḥ vā roṇāṇā* *ádhi* in its usual sense, and that we cannot separate the two words.

In the next verse, on the contrary, it seems equally clear that *divāḥ* and *pāṛthivāt* must be separated. At all events there is no passage in the *Rig-veda* where *pāṛthiva* is joined as an adjective with *dyú*. *Pāṛthiva* as an adjective is frequently joined with *rágas*, never with *dyú*. See I, 81,

5; 90, 7; VIII, 88, 5; IX, 72, 8: in the plural, I, 154, 1; V, 81, 3; VI, 31, 2; 49, 3.

Pārthivāni also occurs by itself, when it refers to the earth, as opposed to the sky and heaven.

X, 32, 2. *vī indra yāsi divyāni roṇāṇā vī pārthivāni rāgasā.*

Indra thou goest in the sky between the heavenly lights and the earthly.

VIII, 94, 9. *ā yé vīsvā pārthivāni paprāthan roṇāṇā divāḥ.*

The Maruts who stretched out all the earthly lights, and the lights of heaven.

VI, 61, 11. *ā-paprūshī pārthivāni urú rāgaḥ antāriksham.*

Sarasvatī filling the earthly places, the wide welkin, the sky. This is a doubtful passage.

Lastly, *pārthivāni* by itself seems to signify earth, sky, and heaven, if those are the three regions which Vishṇu measured with his three steps; or east, the zenith, and west, if these were intended as the three steps of that deity. For we read:

I, 155, 4. *yāḥ pārthivāni tri-bhīḥ it vīgāma-bhīḥ urú krāmishā.*

He (Vishṇu) who strode wide with his three strides across the regions of the earth.

These two concluding verses might also be taken as containing the actual invocation of the sacrificer, which is mentioned in verse 8. In that case the full stop at the end of verse 8 should be removed.

MANDALA I, HYMN 19.

ASHṬAKA I, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 36-37.

TO AGNI (THE GOD OF FIRE) AND THE MARUTS
(THE STORM-GODS).

1. Thou art called forth to this fair sacrifice for a draught of milk¹; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

2. No god indeed, no mortal, is beyond the might¹ of thee, the mighty one; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

3. They who know of the great sky¹, the Visve Devas² without guile³; with those Maruts come hither, O Agni!

4. The strong ones who sing their song¹, unconquerable by force; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

5. They who are brilliant, of terrible designs, powerful, and devourers of foes; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

6. They who in heaven are enthroned as gods, in the light of the firmament¹; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

7. They who toss the clouds¹ across the surging sea²; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

8. They who shoot with their darts (lightnings) across the sea with might; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

9. I pour out to thee for the early draught¹ the sweet (juice) of Soma; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Medhâtithi, of the family of Kaṇva. Verse I=SV. I, 16.

Verse 1.

WILSON : Earnestly art thou invoked to this perfect rite, to drink the Soma juice ; come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY : Zu diesem schönen Opfer wirst du gerufen, zum Trank der Milch !—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni ! komm !

LUDWIG : Her zu diesem schönen opfer, gerufen wirst zum milchtrank du, mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Note 1. Gopîthá is explained by Yâska and Sâyana as drinking of Soma. I have kept to the literal signification of the word, a draught of milk. In the last verse of our hymn the libation offered to Agni and the Maruts is said to consist of Soma, but Soma was commonly mixed with milk. The other meaning assigned to gopîthá, protection, would give the sense : 'Thou art called for the sake of protection.' But pîtha has clearly the sense of drinking in soma-pîthá, RV. I, 51, 7, and may therefore be taken in the same sense in gopîthá.

Verse 2.

WILSON : No god nor man has power over a rite (dedicated) to thee, who art mighty : come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY : Denn nicht ein Gott, kein Sterblicher ragt über dein, des Grossen, Macht—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni ! komm !

LUDWIG : Es überragt kein gott, kein sterblicher die einsicht dein des grossen, mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Note 1. The Sanskrit krátu expresses power both of body and mind. Paraś governs the accusative.

Verse 3.

WILSON : Who all are divine, and devoid of malignity,

and who know (how to cause the descent) of great waters : come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Die guten Götter, welche all bestehen in dem weiten Raum—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LUDWIG: Die wissen um den grossen raum, alle götter truges bar, mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Note 1. The sky or welkin (*rāgas*) is the proper abode of the Maruts, and 'they who know of' means simply 'they who dwell' in the great sky. The Vedic poets distinguish commonly between the three worlds, the earth, *pr̥thivī*, f., or *pārthiva*, n.; the sky, *rāgas*; and the heaven, *dyú*: see I, 6, 9, note 1. The phrase *mahāh rāgasah* occurs I, 6, 10; 168, 6, &c. *Sāyana* takes *rāgas* for water or rain: see on this my article in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xii, p. 28. In some passages *rāgas* means 'darkness,' and might be identified with the Greek Ἐρεβος; Ath. Veda VIII, 2, 1. *pārāyāmi tvā rāgasa út tvā mr̥tyór apīparam*, 'I bring thee out of darkness, out of death I brought thee.' The identification of *rāgas* with Ἐρεβος (Leo Meyer, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. vi, p. 19) must however remain doubtful, until stronger evidence has been brought forward in support of a Greek β representing a Sanskrit *g*, even in the middle of a word. See my article in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xv, p. 215; Curtius, *Grundzüge* (fifth edition), p. 480.

Note 2. The appellation *Vīśve devāḥ*, all gods together, or, more properly, host-gods, is often applied to the Maruts; cf. I, 23, 8; 10. Benfey connects this line with the preceding verse, considering *Vīśve devāḥ*, it seems, inappropriate as an epithet of the Maruts.

Note 3. On *adrūh*, without guile or deceit, without hatred, see Kuhn's excellent article, *Zeitschrift für die Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, vol. i, pp. 179, 193. *Adrūh* is applied to the Maruts again in VIII, 46, 4, though in connection with other gods. It is applied to the *Vīśve Devas*, RV. I, 3, 9; IX, 102, 5: the *Ādityas*, RV. VIII, 19, 34; 67, 13: the *Rudras*, RV. IX, 73, 7: to Heaven and Earth, RV. II, 41, 21; III, 56, 1; IV, 56, 2; VII, 66, 18: to *Mitra* and *Varuna*, RV. V, 68, 4: to *Agni*, RV. VI, 15, 7; VIII, 44, 10. The form *adhrūk* occurs in the sixth *Mandala* only.

Verse 4.

WILSON: Who are fierce, and send down rain, and are unsurpassed in strength: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Die schrecklich-unbesiegbaren, die mächtiglich Licht angefacht—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LUDWIG: Die singen, die gewaltigen, ihr lied unange-griffen durch (ihre) kraft, mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Note 1. Sâyana explains arká by water. Hence Wilson: 'Who are fierce and send down rain.' But arká has only received this meaning of water in the artificial system of interpretation first started by the authors of the Brâhmanas, who had lost all knowledge of the natural sense of the ancient hymns. The passages in which arká is explained as water in the Brâhmanas are quoted by Sâyana, but they require no refutation. On the singing of the Maruts, see note to I, 38, 15; also Bergaigne, Journ. As. 1884, p. 194. The perfect in the Veda, like the perfect in Homer, has frequently to be rendered in English by the present.

Verse 5.

WILSON: Who are brilliant, of terrific forms, who are possessors of great wealth, and are devourers of the malevolent: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Die glänzend-grau'ngestaltigen, hochherrschend feindvernichtenden — Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LUDWIG: Die glanzvollen, von schrecklicher gestalt, von grosser herschaft, feindverzerer, mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Verse 6.

WILSON: Who are divinities abiding in the radiant heaven above the sun: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Die Götter die im Himmel sind ob dem Lichtkreis des Göttersitz's—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LUDWIG: Die ob der himmelswölbung glanz, am himel die götter sitzen, mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Note 1. Nâka must be translated by firmament, as there

is no other word in English besides heaven, and that is wanted to render *dyú*. Like the Jewish firmament, the Indian *nāka*, too, is adorned with stars; cf. I, 68, 10. *pipésa nākam str̥bhiḥ*. *Dyú*, heaven, is supposed to be above the *rāgas*, sky or welkin. Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xii, p. 28.

Sāyana: 'In the radiant heaven above the sun.' See note 1 to I, 6, 9; p. 49.

Verse 7.

WILSON: Who scatter the clouds, and agitate the sea (with waves): come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Welche über das wogende Meer hinjagen die Wolkenschaar—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LUDWIG: Die die berge wiegend hindurch durchs wogenmeer bewegen, mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Note 1. That *pārvata* (mountain) is used in the sense of cloud, without any further explanation, is clear from many passages:

I, 57, 6. *tvám tám indra pārvatam mahāṁ urúm vāgreṇa vagrin parva-sāḥ kakartitha*.

Thou, Indra, hast cut this great broad cloud to pieces with thy lightning. Cf. I, 85, 10.

We actually find two similes mixed up together, such as V, 32, 2. *ūdhāḥ pārvatasya*, the udder of the cloud. All we can do is to translate *pārvata* by mountain, but always to remember that mountain means cloud. In the Edda, too, the rocks, said to have been fashioned out of Ymir's bones, are supposed to be intended for clouds. In Old Norse *klakkr* means both cloud and rock; nay, the English word cloud itself has been identified with the Anglo-Saxon *clūd*, rock. See Justi, *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 62. See Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, I³, 398, 424; also Kuhn, *Weisse Frau*, p. 12.

Note 2. Whether the surging sea is to be taken for the sea or for the air, depends on the view which we take of the earliest cosmography of the Vedic *Rishis*. *Sāyana* explains: 'They who make the clouds to go, and stir the

watery sea.' Wilson remarks that the influence of the winds upon the sea, alluded to in this and the following verse, indicates more familiarity with the ocean than we should have expected from the traditional inland position of the early Hindus, and it has therefore been supposed by others that, even in passages like our own, *samudrá* was meant for the sky, the waters above the firmament. But although there are passages in the *Rig-veda* where *samudrá* must be taken to mean the welkin (*RV. I, 95, 3. samudrá ékam diví ékam ap-sú*), this word shows in by far the larger number of passages the clear meaning of ocean. There is one famous passage, *VII, 95, 2*, which proves that the Vedic poets, who were supposed to have known the upper courses only of the rivers of the *Penjáb*, had followed the greatest and most sacred of their rivers, the *Sarasvatî*, as far as the Indian ocean. It is well known that, as early as the composition of the laws of the *Mānavas*, and possibly as early as the composition of the *Sūtras* on which these metrical laws are based, the river *Sarasvatî* had changed its course, and that the place where that river disappeared under ground was called *Vinasana*^a, the loss. This *Vinasana* forms, according to the laws of the *Mānavas*, the western frontier of *Madhyadesa*, the eastern frontier being formed by the confluence of the *Gangā* and *Yamunā*. *Madhyadesa* is a section of *Āryāvarta*, the abode of the *Āryas* in the widest sense. *Āryāvarta* shares with *Madhyadesa* the same frontiers in the north and the south, viz. the *Himālaya* and *Vindhya* mountains, but it extends beyond *Madhyadesa* to the west and east as far as the western and eastern seas. A section of *Madhyadesa*, again, is the country described as that of the *Brahmarshis*, which comprises only *Kurukshetra*, the countries of the *Matsyas*, *Pañkālās* (*Kānyakubga*, according to *Kullūka*), and *Sūrasenas* (*Mathurā*, according to *Kullūka*). The most sacred spot of all, however, is that section of the *Brahmarshi* country which lies between the rivers *Drishadvatî* and *Sarasvatî*, and which in the laws of

^a Mentioned in *Lāṭy. Śrauta Sūtras*, X, 15, 1; *Pañkavimsa Brāhm. XXV, 10, 1*; see *Hist. A. S. L.*, p. 12.

the Mānavas is called Brahmāvarta. In the Sûtras which supplied the material to the authors of the metrical law-books, the Vinasana is mentioned for the first time in the Baudhāyana Sûtras, I, 2, 9, 'Āryāvarta lies to the east of the region where (the Sarasvatī) disappears, to the west of the Black-forest, to the north of the Pāripātra (mountains), to the south of the Himālaya.' The name of the Sarasvatī is not mentioned, but no other river can be understood. What is curious, however, is, that in the Vasishṭha Sûtras where the same frontiers of Āryāvarta are given (I, 8), the MSS. read originally prāḡ ādarsāt, i. e. east of the Ādarsa mountains, which was afterwards changed into prāḡ adarsanāt, and interpreted 'east of the invisibility, or of the disappearance of the Sarasvatī.' Vasishṭha quotes another authority, a Gāthā of the Bhāllavins, which says : 'In the west the boundary river,' i. e. sindhur vidhārāṇī. This sindhur vidhārāṇī is another name of the old Sarasvatī, and in Baudhāyana I, 2, 12, the same verse is quoted, though the reading of vidhārāṇī varies with viṭarāṇī and visarāṇī. See Bühler, l. c. Madhyadesa is mentioned in one of the Parisishṭas (MS. 510, Wilson) as a kind of model country, but it is there described as lying east of Dasārṇa^a, west of Kāmpilya^b, north of Pāriyātra^c, and south of the Himavat, or again, in a more general way, as the Duāb of the Gangā and Yamunā^d.

It is 'very curious that while in the later Sanskrit lite-

^a See Wilson's Vishṇu-purāṇa, ed. Hall, pp. 154, 155, 159, 160.

^b See Wilson's Vishṇu-purāṇa, ed. Hall, p. 161.

^c L. c., pp. 123, 127. Instead of Pāriyātra, other MSS. read Pāripātra; see Bühler, Vasishṭha I, 8.

^d Prāḡ dasārṇāt pratyak kāmpilyād udak pāriyātrād, dakshinena himavataḥ. Gangāyamunayor antaram eke madhyadesam ity ātakshate. Medhātithi says that Madhyadesa, the middle country, was not called so because it was in the middle of the earth, but because it was neither too high nor too low. Albiruny, too, remarks that Madhyadesa was between the sea and the northern mountains, between the hot and the cold countries, equally distant from the eastern and western frontiers. See Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 46.

rature the disappearance of the Sarasvatî in the desert is a fact familiar to every writer, no mention of it should occur during the whole of the Vedic period, and it is still more curious that in one of the hymns of the Rîg-veda we should have a distinct statement that the Sarasvatî fell into the sea :

VII, 95, 1-2. *prá kshódasâ dhāyasâ sasre eshā sárasvatî dharúnam āyasi pūh, pra-bābadhānā rathyā-iva yāti vísvāh apāh mahinā sīndhuh anyāh. ékā aketat sárasvatî nadīnām rúkih yati giri-bhyaḥ ā samudrāt, rāyāh kētantī bhūvanasya bhūreḥ ghrítam páyāh duduhe nāhushāya.*

1. 'With her fertilising stream this Sarasvatî comes forth— (she is to us) a stronghold, an iron gate. Moving along as on a chariot, this river surpasses in greatness all other waters. 2. Alone among all rivers Sarasvatî listened, she who goes pure from the mountains as far as the sea. She who knows of the manifold wealth of the world, has poured out to man her fat milk.'

Here we see *samudrá* used clearly in the sense of sea, the Indian sea, and we have at the same time a new indication of the distance which separates the Vedic age from that of the later Sanskrit literature. Though it may not be possible to determine by geological evidence the time of the changes which modified the southern area of the Penjáb and caused the Sarasvatî to disappear in the desert, still the fact remains that the loss of the Sarasvatî is later than the Vedic age, and that at that time the waters of the Sarasvatî reached the sea. Professor Wilson had observed long ago in reference to the rivers of that part of India, that there have been, no doubt, considerable changes here, both in the nomenclature and in the courses of the rivers, and this remark has been fully confirmed by later observations. I believe it can be proved that in the Vedic age the Sarasvatî was a river as large as the Sutlej, that it was the last of the rivers of the Penjáb, and therefore the iron gate, or the real frontier against the rest of India. At present the Sarasvatî is so small a river that the epithets applied to the Sarasvatî in the Veda have become quite inapplicable to it. The Vedic *Rishis*, though acquainted with numerous rivers, including

the Indus and Ganges, call the Sarasvatî the mother of rivers (VII, 36, 6. *sârasvatî saptâthî sîndhu-mâtâ*), the strongest of rivers (VI, 61, 13. *apâsâm apâh-tamâ*), and in our passage, VII, 95, 2, we have, as far as I can judge, conclusive evidence that the old Sarasvatî reached in its course the Indian sea, either by itself, or united with the Indus^a.

But this passage, though important as showing the application of *samudrâ*, i. e. confluviæ, to the Indian sea, and proving the acquaintance of the Vedic *Rishis* with the southern coast of India, is by no means the only one in which *samudrâ* must be translated by sea. Thus we read, VII, 49, 2 :

yâh âpah divyâh utâ vâ srâvanti khanîtrimâh utâ vâ yâh svayam-gâh, samudrâ-arthâh yâh sûtayaâh pâvakâh tâh âpah devîh ihâ mām avantu.

The waters which are from heaven, or those which flow after being dug, or those which spring up by themselves, the bright, pure waters that tend to the sea, may those divine waters protect me here !

I, 71, 7. *agnîm vîsvâh abhî prîkshaâh sakante samudrâm nâ sravâtaâh saptâ yahvîh.*

All kinds of food go to Agni, as the seven rivers go to the sea.

Cf. I, 190, 7. *samudrâm nâ sravâtaâh ródha-kakrâh.*

V, 78, 8. *yâthâ vâtaâh yâthâ vânam yâthâ samudrâh égati.*

As the wind moves, as the forest moves, as the sea moves (or the sky).

In hymn X, 58, the same expression occurs which we have in our hymn, and *samudrâm arnavâm* there as here admits but of one explanation, the surging sea.

Samudrâ in many passages of the *Rig-veda* has to be taken as an adjective, in the sense of watery or flowing :

VI, 58, 3. *yâ te pûshan nâvaâh antâh samudré hiranyâyîh antârikshe kâranti.*

Thy golden ships, O Pûshan, which move within the watery sky.

^a See 'India, what can it teach us?' pp. 170, 171.

VII, 70, 2. *yáh vâm samudrân sarítaḥ píparti.*

He who carries you across the watery rivers.

I, 161, 14. *at-bhíḥ yâti várunaḥ samudraíḥ.*

Varuṇa moves in the flowing waters.

In both these passages *samudrá*, as an adjective, does not conform to the gender of the noun. See Bollensen, *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 467.

II, 16, 3. *ná samudraíḥ párvataiḥ indra te ráthaḥ (ná pari-bhvē).*

Thy chariot, O Indra, is not to be overcome by the watery clouds.

Verse 8.

WILSON: Who spread (through the firmament), along with the rays (of the sun), and, with their strength, agitate the ocean: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Die mit Blitzen schleudern mächtig über das Meer hinaus—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LUDWIG: Die mit stralen ihre richtung nemen mit gewalt durchs mer, mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Verse 9.

WILSON: I pour out the sweet Soma juice for thy drinking, (as) of old: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Ich giesse zu dem ersten Trank für dich des Soma Honig aus—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LUDWIG: Ich giesze dir zum ersten trunk madhu mit dem soma zu; mit den Marut, Agni, kom.

Note 1. *Pûrvapîti*, the early draught, implies at the same time the priority of the god to whom it is given.

MANDALA I, HYMN 37.

ASHṬAKA I, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 12-14.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Sing forth, O Kaṁvas, to the sportive host of your Maruts, brilliant on their chariots, and unscathed¹,—

2. They who were born together, self-luminous, with the spotted deer (the clouds)¹, the spears, the daggers, the glittering ornaments².

3. I hear their¹ whips, almost close by, when they crack them in their hands; they gain splendour² on their way³.

4. Sing forth the god-given prayer to the wild¹ host of your Maruts, endowed with terrible vigour² and strength.

5. Celebrate the bull among the cows (the storm among the clouds)¹, for it is the sportive host of the Maruts; he grew as he tasted the rain².

6. Who, O ye men, is the strongest among you here, ye shakers of heaven and earth, when you shake them like the hem of a garment¹?

7. At your approach the son of man holds himself down; the gnarled cloud¹ fled at your fierce anger.

8. They at whose racings¹ the earth, like a hoary king, trembles for fear on their ways,

9. Their birth is strong indeed: there is strength to come forth from their mother, nay, there is vigour twice enough for it¹.

10. And these sons, the singers¹, stretched out the fences in their racings²; the cows had to walk knee-deep.

11. They cause this long and broad unceasing rain¹ to fall on their ways.

12. O Maruts, with such strength as yours, you have caused men to tremble¹, you have caused the mountains to tremble.

13. As the Maruts pass¹ along, they talk together on the way : does any one hear them?

14. Come fast on your quick steeds ! there are worshippers¹ for you among the Kaṇvas : may you well rejoice among them.

15. Truly there is enough for your rejoicing. We always are their servants, that we may live even the whole of life.

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Kaṇva, the son of Ghora.

Verse 1=TS. IV, 3, 13, 6.

Verse 3=SV. I, 135.

Verse 10=SV. I, 221.

Verse 1.

WILSON: Celebrate, Kaṇvas, the aggregate strength of the Maruts, sportive, without horses, but shining in their car.

BENFEY: Kaṇviden, auf! begrüsst mit Sang, die muntre Heerschaar der Marut's, die rasch'ste, wagenglänzende.

LUDWIG: Eurer spilenden schar, der Marutschar, der unangreifbaren, die auf wagen glänzt, der singt, o Kaṇvās, zu.

Note 1. Wilson translates *anarvānam* by without horses, though the commentator distinctly explains the word by without an enemy. A Brāhmaṇa passage explains: *bhrātrivyo vā arvā, ity śrutyantarāt*. See TS. IV, 3, 13, 6. Wilson considers it doubtful whether *arvan* can ever mean enemy. The fact is, that in the Rig-veda *an-arvān* never means without horses, but always without hurt or free from enemies; and the commentator is perfectly right, as far as the sense is concerned, in rendering the word by without an enemy, or unopposed (*apraty-rīta*). *An-arvān* is not formed from *arvat*, horse, racer, but from *arvan*; and this is derived from the same root which yields *arus*, n. a wound, *rīti* (see I, 64, 15, note), &c. The accusative of *anarvat*, without a horse, would be *anarvantam*, not *anarvānam*.

The root *ar*, in the sense of hurting, is distantly connected with the root *mar*: see Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p. 323. It exists in the Greek *ἄλλυμι*, corresponding to Sanskrit *rinomi*, i. e. *arnomi*, I hurt, likewise

in *ούλη*, wound, which cannot be derived from *δλη*; in *ούλος*, *ούλιος*, hurtful, and *δλοός*, destructive : see Curtius, *Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie* (fünfte Ausgabe), p. 372. In the Veda *ar* has the sense of offending or injuring, particularly if preceded by *upa*.

X, 164, 3. *yát ā-sāsā nih-sāsā abhi-sāsā upa-ārimá gā-gratah yát svapántah, agnīh vīsvāni āpa duk-kritāni āgushāni āré asmát dadhātu.*

If we have offended, or whatever fault we have committed, by bidding, blaming, or forbidding, while waking or while sleeping, may Agni remove all wicked misdeeds far from us.

Hence *upārá*, injury, VII, 86, 6. *ásti gyāyān kántyasaḥ upa-aré*, the older man is there to injure, to offend, to mislead, the young : (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, second edition, p. 541.) Roth translates *upārá* by *Verfehlung*, missing. *Ari*, enemy, too, is best derived from this root, and not from *rā*, to give, with the negative particle, as if meaning originally, as *Sāyana* supposes, a man who does not give. In *ārarivān*, gen. *ārarushaḥ*, hostile, Rosen recognised many years ago a participle of a really reduplicated perfect of *ar*, and he likewise traced *arāru*, enemy, back to the same root : see his note to I, 18, 3.

From this root *ar*, to hurt, *ārvan*, hurting, as well as *ārus*, wound, are derived in the same manner as both *dhānvan* and *dhānus*, bow, are formed from *dhan*; *yāgvān* and *yāgus* from *yag*, *pārvan* and *pārus* from *par*. See Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, vol. ii, p. 233.

Anarvān, then, is the same as *ānarus*, Sat. P. *Brāhmaṇa* III, 1, 3, 7; and from meaning originally without a wound or without one who can wound, it takes the more general sense of uninjured, invulnerable, perfect, strong, (cf. integer, intact, and entire.) This meaning is applicable to I, 94, 2; 136, 5; II, 6, 5; V, 49, 4; VII, 20, 3; 97, 5; X, 61, 13; 65, 3. In I, 116, 16, *anarvān* seems to be used as an adverb; in I, 51, 12, as applied to *ślōka*, it may have the more general meaning of irresistible, powerful.

There are two passages in which the nom. sing. *ārvān*, and one in which the acc. sing. *ārvānam*, occur, apparently

meaning horse. But in I, 163, 13, and IX, 97, 25, *árvān* stands in the Pada text only, the *Samhitā* has *árvā ákka* and *árvā iva*. In X, 46, 5, the text *hlri-smasrum ná árvānam dhāna-arkam* is too doubtful to allow of any safe induction, particularly as the *Sāma-veda* gives a totally different reading. I do not think, therefore, that *árvat*, horse, admits in the nom. and acc. sing. of any forms but *árvā* and *árvan-tam*^a. *Pāṇini* (VI, 4, 127) allows the forms *arvān* and *arvānam*, but in *anarvan* only, which, as we saw, has nothing in common with *árvat*, horse. Benfey: 'die rascheste (keinen Renner habend, uneinholbar),' the quickest (having no racer, hence not to be reached). M. Bergaigne (*Journ. As.* 1884, p. 188) tries to defend *anarvan* in the sense of *anasva*, without considering the grammatical objections. In VI, 66, 7 (not I, 6, 7) *anasváḥ* does not refer to *yāmaḥ*.

The masculine *anarvānam* after the neuter *sárdhas* is curious; *sárdhas* means might, but it is here used to express a might or an aggregate of strong men or gods, and the nom. plur. *yé*, who, in the next verse, shows the same transition of thought, not only from the singular to the plural, but also from the neuter to the masculine, which must be admitted in *anarvānam*^b. It would be possible, if necessary, to explain away the irregularity of *anarvānam* by admitting a rapid transition from the Maruts to Indra, the eldest among the Maruts (cf. I, 23, 8. *Indra-gyeshthāḥ mārut-ganāḥ*), and it would be easier still to alter *sárdhas* into *sárdham*, as an accusative singular of the masculine noun *sárdha*, which has the same meaning as the neuter *sárdhas*. There is one passage, V, 56, 9, which would seem to give ample countenance to such a conjecture:

tām vaḥ sárdham rathe-rúbham—ā huve.

I call hither this your host, brilliant on chariots.

Again, II, 30, 11, we read:

tām vaḥ sárdham mārutam—girā úpa bruve.

I call with my voice on this your host of Maruts.

^a See Bugge, *K. Z.* XIX, p. 403.

^b Bollensen (*Z. D. M. G.* XXII, 603) calls it a vulgar Donatus; see, however, Lanman, *Noun-Inflection*, pp. 330, 526.

VIII, 93, 16. *srutám vaḥ vrítrahán-tamam prá sárdham*
karshanínām, ā sushe.

I pant for the glorious, victorious, host of the quick Maruts.

From this *sárdha* we have also the genitive *sárdhasya*, VII, 56, 8 (4):

subhráh vaḥ sūshmaḥ krúdhmī mánāmsi dhúniḥ múnī-
iva sárdhasya dhrishnóḥ.

Your prowess is brilliant, your minds furious; the shout of the daring host is like one possessed.

We have likewise the dative *sárdhāya*, the instrumental *sárdhena*, and the acc. plur. *sárdhān*; and in most cases, except in two or three where *sárdha* seems to be used as an adjective, meaning strong, these words are applied to the host of the Maruts.

But the other word *sárdhas* is equally well authenticated, and we find of it, not only the nominative, accusative, and vocative sing. *sárdhas*, but likewise the nom. plur. *sárdhāmsi*.

The nominative singular occurs in our very hymn:

I, 37, 5. *kríám yát sárdhaḥ mārutam.*

Which is the sportive host of the Maruts.

I, 127, 6. *sáḥ hī sárdhaḥ ná mārutam tuvi-svániḥ.*

For he (Agni) is strong-voiced like the host of the Maruts.

IV, 6, 10. *tuvi-svanásaḥ mārutam ná sárdhaḥ.*

Thy flames (Agni) are strong-voiced like the host of the Maruts.

V, 46, 5. *utá tyát naḥ mārutam sárdhaḥ ā gamat.*

May also that host of the Maruts come to us.

II, 1, 5. *tvám narām sárdhaḥ asi puru-vásuḥ.*

Thou (Agni), full of riches, art the host of the men.

This host of men seems to me intended again for the Maruts, although it is true that in thus identifying Agni with different gods, the poet repeats himself in the next verse:

II, 1, 6. *tvám sárdhaḥ mārutam.*

Thou art the host of the Maruts.

If this repetition seems offensive, the first *narām sárdhas* might be taken for some other company of gods. Thus we find:

VII, 44, 5. *srinótu naḥ daśvyam sárdhaḥ agníḥ srinvántu vísve mahishāḥ ámûrāḥ*.

May the divine host, may Agni, hear us, may the Visve hear us, the strong, the wise.

Or III, 19, 4. *sáḥ ā vaha devá-tātim yavishtha sárdhaḥ yát adyá divyám yágâsi*.

Bring thou hither, O Agni, the gods, that you may sacrifice to-day to the divine host.

Or I, 139, 1. *ā nú tát sárdhaḥ divyám vrinímahe*.

We chose for us now that divine host.

As in these last, so in many other passages, *sárdhas* is used as a neuter in the accusative. For instance,

I, 106, 1; II, 11, 14. *mārutam sárdhaḥ*.

II, 3, 3; VI, 3, 8. *sárdhaḥ marútām*.

The vocative occurs,

V, 46, 2. *ágne índra váruṇa mítra dévāḥ sárdhaḥ prá yanta māruta utá vishṇo (iti)*.

Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, gods, host of the Maruts, come forth, and Vishṇu!

We see how throughout all these passages those in which *sárdha* and *sárdhas* are applied to the Maruts, or to some other company of gods, preponderate most decidedly. Yet passages occur in the Rig-veda where both *sárdha* and *sárdhas* are applied to other hosts or companies. Thus V, 53, 10, *sárdha* refers to chariots, while in I, 133, 3, *sárdhas* is applied to evil spirits.

If the passages hitherto examined were all that occur in the Rig-veda, we might still feel startled at the construction of our verse, where *sárdhas* is not only followed by masculine adjectives in the singular, but, in the next verse, by a pronoun in the plural. But if we take the last irregularity first, we find the same construction, viz. *sárdhas* followed by *yé*, in III, 32, 4:

índrasya sárdhaḥ marútaḥ yé āsan.

The host of Indra, that was the Maruts.

As to the change of genders, we find adjectives in the masculine after *sárdhas*, in

V, 52, 8. *sárdhaḥ mārutam út samsa satyá-savasam r/bh-vasam*.

Celebrate the host of the Maruts, the truly vigorous, the brilliant.

Here, too, the poet afterwards continues in the plural, though as he uses the demonstrative, and not, as in our passage, the relative pronoun, we cannot quote this in support of the irregularity which has here to be explained. Anyhow the construction of our verse, though bold and unusual, is not so unusual as to force us to adopt conjectural remedies. In V, 58, 2, we find *yé* after *ganáh*. On the Umbrian *Çerfo Martio*, as possibly the same as *sárdha-s máruta-s*, see Grassman, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xvi, p. 190. The Zend *saredha*, kind, species, is the same word.

Verse 2.

WILSON: Who, borne by spotted deer, were born self-radiant, with weapons, war-cries, and decorations.

BENFEY: Die mit Hirschen und Speeren gleich mit Donnern und mit Blitzen auch—selbststrahlende—geboren sind.

LUDWIG: Die mit vilfarbigen speeren, mit der schwerter glanze, sichtbar wurden mit eigenem leuchten.

Note 1. The spotted deer (*prīshatī*) are the recognised animals of the Maruts, and were originally, as it would seem, intended for the rain-clouds. *Sāyana* is perfectly aware of the original meaning of *prīshatī*, as clouds. The legendary school, he says, takes them for deer with white spots, the etymological school for many-coloured lines of clouds: (RV. BH. I, 64, 8.) This passage shows that although *prīshatī*, as Roth observes, may mean a spotted cow or a spotted horse,—the Maruts, in fact, are called sometimes *prīshat-asvāh*, having piebald horses, or, having *prīshats* for their horses, VII, 40, 3,—yet the later tradition in India had distinctly declared in favour of spotted deer. The Vedic poets, however, admitted both ideas, and they speak in the same hymn, nay, in the same verse, of the fallow deer and of the horses of the Maruts. Thus V, 58, 1, the Maruts are called *āśú-asvāh*, possessed of quick horses; and in V, 58, 6, we read *yát prá áyāsishṭa prīshatībhiḥ āsvaiḥ—ráthebhiḥ*, where the gender of *prīsha-*

tībhiḥ would hardly allow us to join it with ásvaiḥ, but where we must translate: When you come with the deer, the horses, the chariots, or with your deer, as horses. Ludwig joins prishatībhiḥ with rishābhiḥ, and again in I, 64, 8; see note 1 to I, 87, 4.

Note 2. The spears and daggers of the Maruts are meant for the thunderbolts, and the glittering ornaments for the lightning. Sāyana takes vāśī in this passage for war-cries on the authority of the Nirukta, where vāśī is given among the names of the voice. From other passages, however, it becomes clear that vāśī is a weapon of the Maruts; and Sāyana, too, explains it sometimes in that sense: cf. V, 53, 4; 57, 2. Thus I, 88, 3, the vāśīs are spoken of as being on the bodies of the Maruts. In V, 53, 4, the Maruts are said to shine in their ornaments and their vāśīs. Here Sāyana, too, translates vāśī rightly by weapon; and in his remarks on I, 88, 3, he says that vāśī was a weapon commonly called ārá, which is a shoemaker's awl. See Dhammapada, ver. 401. This reminds one of framea, which at one time was supposed to be connected with the German pfrieme. See, however, Grimm (Deutsche Grammatik, vol. i, p. 128) and Leo Meyer (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. vi, p. 424). In VIII, 29, 3, the god Tvashṭar is said to carry an iron vāśī in his hand. Grassman (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xvi, p. 163) translates vāśī by axe. That aṅgī is to be taken in the sense of ornament, and not in the sense of ointment, is shown by passages like VIII, 29, 1, where a golden ornament is mentioned, aṅgī añkte hiraṇyáyam. Sákám, together, is used with reference to the birth of the Maruts; see I, 64, 4. It should not be connected with vāśībhiḥ.

Verse 3.

WILSON: I hear the cracking of the whips in their hands, wonderfully inspiring (courage) in the fight.

BENFEY: Schier hier erschallt der Peitsche Knall, wenn sie in ihrer Hand erklingt; leuchtend fahr'n sie im Sturm herab.

LUDWIG: Als wäre es hier, so hört man es, wenn die geisseln in ihren händen knallen; wunderbar strecken sie auf ihrer fart sich nieder.

Note 1. Eshâm should be pronounced as a creticus; also in verses 9, 13, 15. This is a very common vyûha. On the whips as lightning, see Grimm, Donner, p. 27.

Note 2. I should have taken *kitrâm* as an adverb, like Benfey, if *ni riñg* were not usually construed with an accusative. *Riñg* in the 3rd pers. plur. pres. Âtm. is treated like a verb of the Ad-class. The SV. seems to read *yâmam*, and the commentator explains it by *ratham*.

Note 3. The locative *yâman* is frequently used of the path on which the gods move and approach the sacrifice; hence it sometimes means, as in our passage, in the sky. *Yâmam* in BR., s. v. *arg*, is wrong.

We might also translate: 'Here, close by, I hear what the whips in their hands say; they drive forth the beautiful (chariot) on the road.' See SV. I, 2, 1, 5, 1, comm.

Verse 4.

WILSON: Address the god-given prayer to those who are your strength, the destroyers of foes, the powerful, possessed of brilliant reputation.

BENFEY: Singt eurer Schaar, der wühlenden, der strahlenreichen, kräftigen ein gotterfülltes Gebet!

LUDWIG: Eurer kûnen schar, von blendender herlichkeit, der kraftvollen, soll ein von den gôttern eingegebenes brahma gesungen werden.

Note 1. Benfey translates *ghrîshvi* by burrowing, and refers it to the thunderbolt that uproots the earth. He points out that *ghrîshvi* means also, for the same reason, the boar, as proved by Kuhn (Die Herabkunft des Feuers, S. 202). *Ghrîshî* is evidently a common name for boar, the Norse *gríss*, and the god of the wind, *Grimnir* or *Grimr*, is conceived as a boar, shaking the cornfield, in such phrases as 'Der Eber geht ins Korn' (Gentha, l. c. p. 14). I prefer, however, in this place the general sense assigned to the adjective *ghrîshu* and *ghrîshvi*, exuberant, brisk, wild. See Kuhn in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xi, p. 385. Wilson, after Sâyana, translates destroyers of foes. On the representation of the clouds as boars, see Nir. V, 4.

Note 2. *Tveshá-dyumna* is difficult to render. Both

tveshá and dyumná are derived from roots that mean to shine, to be bright, to glow. Derivatives from tvish express the idea of fieriness, fierceness, and fury. In IV, 17, 2, tvish is used correlatively, with manyú, wrath. Derivatives from dyu convey the idea of brightness and briskness. Both qualities are frequently applied to the Maruts.

Verse 5.

WILSON: Praise the sportive and resistless might of the Maruts, who were born amongst kine, and whose strength has been nourished by (the enjoyment of) the milk.

BENFEY: Preist hoch die muntre Marutschaar die unbesiegbare in den Kühen, im Schlund des Safts wuchs sie heran.

LUDWIG: Preise wie unter kühlen den stier, (so) der Marut spilende schar, beim verschlingen des saftes ist sie gross geworden.

Note 1. This translation is merely conjectural. I suppose that the wind driving the clouds before him, is here compared to a bull among cows, cf. V, 52, 3:

té syandrāśaḥ ná ukshāraḥ āti skandanti sárvarīḥ.

They, the Maruts, like rushing bulls, mount on the dark cows.

The last sentence states that the wind grows even stronger after it has tasted the rain (I, 85, 2. té ukshitāśaḥ mahimānam ārata).

Note 2. I take *gāmbhe* in the sense of *gāmbhane*. (On the root *gabh* and its derivatives, see Kuhn, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, vol. i, p. 123 seq.) It would be better to read *mukhe*, instead of *sukhe*, in the commentary. The Maruts were not born of milk for *Prisni*, as Wilson says in a note, but from the milk of *Prisni*. *Prisni* is called their mother, Rudra their father: (V, 52, 16; 60, 5.)

Benfey takes the cows for clouds in which the lightnings dwell; and the abyss of the sap is by him supposed to be again the clouds.

Verse 6.

WILSON : Which is chief leader among you, agitators of heaven and earth, who shake all around, like the top (of a tree)?

BENFEY : Wer, Helden ! ist der erste euch—ihr Erd- und Himmel-schütterer !—wenn ihr sie schüttelt Wipfeln gleich ?

LUDWIG : Wer ist der grösste bei euch, helden, wenn vom himel und der erde, schütteler, ihr am saume gleichsam rüttelt !

Note 1. *Āntam ná*, literally, like an end, is explained by *Sāyana* as the top of a tree. Wilson, Langlois, and Benfey accept that interpretation. Roth proposes, like the hem of a garment, which I prefer ; for *vastrānta*, the end of a garment, is a common expression in later Sanskrit, while *anta* is never applied to a tree in the sense of the top of a tree. Here *agra* would be more appropriate.

Verse 7.

WILSON : The householder, in dread of your fierce and violent approach, has planted a firm (buttress) ; for the many-ridged mountain is shattered (before you).

BENFEY : Vor eurem Gange beuget sich, vor eurem wilden Zorn der Mann ; der Hügel weicht und der Berg.

LUDWIG : Vor eurem anzug, eurem gewaltigen eifer, niederduckte sich der mensch, wich der festgeknotete [wolken]berg.

Note 1. *Sāyana* translates : 'Man has planted a firm buttress to give stability to his dwelling.' The reading *ná* for *ní*, which Aufrecht adopted, is untenable, as Ludwig shows. It has been altered in the second edition. See also VIII, 7, 5, *ní yemiré*. *Nidadhré* is the perfect *Ātmanepada*, and expresses the holding down of the head or the cowering attitude of man. I have taken *ugrāya manyāve* over to *gṛhīta*, because these words could hardly form an apposition to *yāmāya*. As the Vedic poets speak of the very mountains as shaken by the storms, we might translate *pārvato girīḥ* by the gnarled or rocky mount ;

but there is no authority for translating *gñhita* by it is shattered, and we should have to translate, the mountain yielded or bent before your anger. Cf. V, 57, 3 :

ní vañ váñā gihate yāmanāñ bhiyāñ.

The forests get out of your way from fear.

V, 60, 2. *vāñā kit ugrāñ gihate ní vañ bhiyāñ prithivī kit regate párvatañ kit.*

Even the forests, ye fearful Maruts, yield from fear of you ; even the earth trembles, even the mountain.

In I, 166, 5, *yát tveshá-yāmāñ nadáyanta párvatāñ*, we may translate 'when they on their fiery course made the parvatas (clouds) to sound or thunder,' but it is more likely that *nādayati* here means to cause to shake or vibrate, and that *parvata* stands for mountain. We ought to remember such poetical expressions as I Kings xix. 11, 'and a great, strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord.'

Verse 8.

WILSON : At whose impetuous approach earth trembles ; like an enfeebled monarch, through dread (of his enemies).

BENFEY : Bei deren Lauf bei deren Sturm die Erde zittert voller Furcht, wie ein altergebeugter Mann.

LUDWIG : Bei deren märschen zitterte wie ein gealtet stammeshaupt die erd vor furcht auf ihren wegen.

Note 1. *Ágma* seems to express the act of racing or running (like *ági*, race, battle), while *yāma* is the road itself where the racing takes place. A very similar passage occurs in I, 87, 3. The comparison of the earth (fem.) to a king (masc.) would be considered a grave offence in the later Sanskrit literature. In I, 87, 3, *vithurāñ* takes the place of *vispāti*.

Verse 9.

WILSON : Stable is their birthplace, (the sky) ; yet the birds (are able) to issue from (the sphere of) their parent : for your strength is everywhere (divided) between two (regions,—or, heaven and earth).

BENFEY: Kaum geboren sind sie so stark, dass ihrer Mutter sie entfliehn: ist ja doch zwiefach ihre Kraft.

LUDWIG: Denn fest ist ihr geburtsort, vögel (sind sie) von der mutter fortzugehn, nach dem, wie von altersher ihre kraft.

Oder, Denn fest ist ihre kraft geworden von der mutter sich zu trennen, da schon von alters her ihre kraft diss wollte.

Note 1. A very difficult verse. The birth of the Maruts is frequently alluded to, as well as their surpassing strength, as soon as born. Hence the first sentence admits of little doubt. But what follows is very abrupt. Váyas may be the plural of vi, bird, or it may be váyas, the neuter, meaning vital strength: see Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xv, p. 217. The Maruts are frequently compared to birds (cf. I, 87, 2; 88, 1), but it is usual to indicate the comparison by ná or iva. I therefore take váyas as a nom. sing. neut., in the sense of vigour, life. They are called *br̥hadvayasah* in a Nivid; see Ludwig, p. 226. Nir-i is used with particular reference to the birth of a child (cf. V, 78, 7; 9).

Verse 10.

WILSON: They are the generators of speech: they spread out the waters in their courses: they urge the lowing (cattle) to enter (the water), up to their knees, (to drink.)

BENFEY: In ihrem Lauf erheben dann diese Söhne Getös und Fluth, die bis zum Knie den Kühen geht.

LUDWIG: Und dise söne, die sänger, denten auf ihren zügen ihre banen aus, so dass brüllend sie uns ganz nahe kamen.

Note 1. If we could take *sûnávaḥ gíraḥ* in the sense of the sons of voice, i. e. of thunder, which would remove many difficulties, the accent of *gíraḥ* would have to be changed. The commentator takes *sûnu* in the sense of *utpádaka*, producers of sound. *Gíraḥ*, however, occurs at least once more, in the sense of singers or poets, IX, 63, 10, where *gíraḥ* can only be a vocative, O ye singers! In I, 6, 6, the translation of *gíraḥ* by singers, i. e. the Maruts, may be contested, but if we consider that *gíraḥ*, in the sense of

hymns, is feminine, and is followed by the very word which is here used, viz. *devayántaḥ*, as a feminine, viz. *devayántīḥ*, VII, 18, 3, we can hardly doubt that in I, 6, 6, *gṛāḥ* is a masculine and means singers. The same applies to VI, 63, 10. In VI, 52, 9, *úpa naḥ sūnávaḥ gṛāḥ srinvantu amṛtasya yé*, the construction is, of course, quite different.

Note 2. The expression that the Maruts enlarged or extended the fences of their race-course (RV. IV, 58, 7), can only mean that they swept over the whole sky, and drove the clouds away from all the corners. *Kāshthā* may mean the wooden enclosures (carceres) or the wooden poles that served as turning and winning-posts (metae). The Sāma-veda has *yagñeshu* instead of *agmeshu*. That the translation of this verse is purely tentative, and far from satisfactory, was known to all Vedic scholars, but I doubt whether they will consider the interpretation which M. Bergaigne proposes with so much assurance, as less tentative and more satisfactory. He translates (Journ. As. 1884, p. 239), 'des fils ont, dans leur marche, allongé leurs chants comme des chemins, pour y marcher à genoux (sur les genoux) en mugissant (en chantant).' I shall content myself with shortly pointing out the misgivings which every Vedic scholar would feel at once in proposing such a rendering. First as to the conception itself. Can a poet say, 'The Maruts have stretched out their songs in order to march on them on their knees?' 'The roads,' as M. Bergaigne shows himself, are only a simile, and no one walks on a simile. Secondly, the idea that these Maruts widened the roads on which they march, is common enough, but that they lengthened their songs, like paths, is never said by the Vedic *Rishis*, nor would they in such a case have left out the particle *na* or *iva*. Lastly, though many things are said of the Maruts, I do not remember that they ever appear on their knees. I do not think, therefore, that M. Bergaigne's infallible method helps us much beyond where we were before. Conjectures are easy, but for that very reason, one does not like to bring them forward. One might propose to read *sūnávaḥ diváḥ*, a very common name of the Maruts. One might go a step further, identify

gih with *bhâratî*, and point out that the Maruts are called the sons of Bharata, II, 36, 2. But all this leaves us in utter uncertainty, and where a scholar feels the ground so uncertain beneath his feet, he hesitates to speak with papal authority. M. Bergaigne's strong point is that *abhigñû* means on their knees, not up to their knees. Here again, I ask, does *abhi* in prepositional compounds ever mean on? If *abhigñû* is used in the same sense in which we use 'on our knees,' it would in Sanskrit mean only 'bowing up to the knees.' Now in I, 72, 5, *abhigñû* seems to express a positive expression of reverence. With regard to the other passages where *abhigñû* occurs, M. Bergaigne has not shown how they ought to be translated so as to give a clear sense. I do not pretend to solve the difficulties, but I think it is better to confess our difficulties than to hide them under the veil of a so-called systematic interpretation. *Abhigñû*, like *mitagñû*, may have expressed a position of the knees, expressive of strength, but on such points very little information is to be gained from Indian commentators.

The last sentence expresses the result of this race, viz. the falling of so much rain that the cows had to walk up to their knees in water. This becomes still clearer from the next verse.

SÂYANA: These, the producers of speech, have spread water in their courses, they cause the cows to walk up to their knees in order to drink the water.

Verse 11.

WILSON: They drive before them, in their course, the long, vast, uninjurable, rain-retaining cloud.

BENFEY: Dann treiben sie im Sturm heran jenen langen und breiten Spross der Wolke unerschöpflichen.

LUDWIG: Sogar diesen langen, breiten, das kind der wolke, den unfriendlyen, schleudern auf ihren zügen sie vorwärts.

Note 1. Rain is called the offspring of the cloud, *mihó nápât*, and is then treated as a masculine; cf. *apâm nápât*, &c.

Verse 12.

WILSON: Maruts, as you have vigour, invigorate mankind: give animation to the clouds.

BENFEY: O Marut's! mit der Kraft, die ihr besitzt, werft ihr Geschöpfe um, die Berge werft ihr um sogar.

LUDWIG: O Marut, so wie eure kraft ist, warft ihr die leute nieder, warft ihr die berge nieder.

Note 1. In VIII, 72, 8, *akūkyavit* is explained by *vya-dārayat*, he tore open. *Akūkyavitana* is the Vedic form of the 2nd pers. plur. of the reduplicated aorist.

Verse 13.

WILSON: Wherever the Maruts pass, they fill the way with clamour: every one hears their (noise).

BENFEY: Wenn die Marut's des Weges ziehn, dann sprechen mit einander sie und mancher mag sie hören.

LUDWIG: Wenn die Marut wandern, sprechen auf dem weg sie mit einander, es höret sie ein jeder.

Note 1. *Yānti* has to be pronounced as an amphibrachys.

Verse 14.

WILSON: Come quickly, with your swift (vehicles). The offerings of the *Kaṇvas* are prepared. Be pleased with them.

BENFEY: Auf schnellen kommet schnell herbei, bei *Kaṇva*'s Spross sind Feste euch: da wollt euch schön ergötzen.

LUDWIG: Brecht rasch auf mit raschen rossen, bei den *Kaṇva*'s ist euer dienst, dort eben erfreuet euch.

Note 1. Benfey supposes that *dúvaḥ* stands in the singular instead of the plural. But why should the plural have been used, as the singular (*asti*) would have created no kind of difficulty? It is better to take *dúvaḥ* as a nominative plural of a noun *dū*, worshipper, derived from the same root which yielded *dúvaḥ*, worship. We certainly find *á-duvaḥ*, as a nom. plur., in the sense of not-worshipping:

VII, 4, 6. *mā tvā vayām sahasā-van avīrāḥ mā āpsavaḥ
pāri sadāma mā āduvaḥ.*

May we not, O hero, sit round thee like men without strength, without beauty (cf. VIII, 7, 7), without worship.

Here Sâyana explains *āduvaḥ* very well by *parikarāṇa-hīnāḥ*, which seems better than Roth's explanation 'zögernd, ohne Eifer.'

Verse 15.

WILSON : The offering is prepared for your gratification : we are your (worshippers), that we may live all our life.

BENFEY : Gerüstet ist für euren Rausch und wir gehören, traun ! euch an für unser ganzes Lebelang.

LUDWIG : Er ist euch zur trunkesfreude, und wir gleichfalls euer hier, dass unsere ganze dauer wir erleben.

MANDALA I, HYMN 38.

ASHṬAKA I, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 15-17.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. What then now? When¹ will you take (us) as a dear father takes his son by both hands, O ye gods, for whom the sacred grass has been trimmed²?

2. Where now? On what errand of yours are you going, in heaven, not on earth¹? Where are your cows sporting?

3. Where are your newest favours¹, O Maruts? Where the blessings? Where all delights?

4. If you, sons of *Prisni*, were mortals, and your praiser an immortal¹,—

5. Then never¹ should your praiser be unwelcome, like a deer in pasture grass², nor should he go on the path of Yama³.

6. Let not one sin¹ after another, difficult to be conquered, overcome us; may it depart² together with greed.

7. Truly they are terrible and powerful; even to the desert the Rudriyas bring rain that is never dried up¹.

8. The lightning lows like a cow, it follows as a mother follows after her young, when the shower (of the Maruts) has been let loose¹.

9. Even by day the Maruts create darkness with the water-bearing cloud¹, when they drench the earth.

10. Then from the shouting of the Maruts over the whole space of the earth¹, men reeled forward.

11. Maruts on your strong-hoofed never-wearying³

steeds¹ go after those bright ones (the clouds), which are still locked up².

12. May your fellies be strong, the chariots, and their horses, may your reins¹ be well-fashioned.

13. Speak forth for ever with thy voice to praise the Lord of prayer¹, Agni, who is like a friend², the bright one.

14. Fashion a hymn in thy mouth! Expand like the cloud¹! Sing a song of praise.

15. Worship the host of the Maruts, the terrible, the glorious, the musical¹. May they be magnified here among us².

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to *Kaṁva*, the son of *Ghora*. The metre is *Gâyatrî* throughout. Several verses, however, end in a spondee instead of the usual iambus. No attempt should be made to improve such verses by conjecture, for they are clearly meant to end in spondees. Thus in verses 2, 7, 8, and 9, all the three *pâdas* alike have their final spondee. In verse 7, the *ionicus a minore* is with an evident intention repeated thrice. No verse of the hymn occurs in *SV.*, *VS.*, *AV.*; but verse 8 = *TS.* III, 1, 11, 5; verse 9 = *TS.* II, 4, 8, 1.

Verse 1.

Note 1. *Kadha-priya* is taken in the *Padapāṭha* as one word, and *Sâyana* explains it by delighted by or delighting in praise, a nominative plural. A similar compound, *kadha-priya*, occurs in I, 30, 20, and there too the vocative sing. fem., *kadhapriye*, is explained by *Sâyana* as fond of praise. In order to obtain this meaning, *kadha* has to be identified with *kathâ*, story, which is simply impossible. There is another compound, *adha-priyâ*, nom. dual, which occurs VIII, 8, 4, and which *Sâyana* explains either as delighted here below, or as a corruption of *kadha-priyâ*.

In *Boehtlingk* and *Roth's Dictionary*, *kadha-priya* and *kadha-prî* are both taken as compounds of *kadha*, an interrogative adverb, and *priya* or *prî*, to love or delight, and they are explained as meaning kind or loving to whom? In the same manner *adha-priya* is explained as kind then and there.

It must be confessed, however, that a compound like *kadha-prî*, kind to whom?, is somewhat strange, and it seems preferable to separate the words, and to write *kâdha priyâ* and *âdha priyâ*.

It should be observed that the compounds *kadha-prî* and *kadha-priya* occur always in sentences where there is another interrogative pronoun. The two interrogatives *kât*—*kâdha*, what—where, and *kâs*—*kâdha*, who—where, occurring in the same sentence, an idiom so common in

Greek, may have puzzled the author of the Pada text, and the compound being once sanctioned by the authority of Sākalya, Sāyana would explain it as best he could. But if we admit the double use of the interrogative in Sanskrit, as in Greek, then, in our passage, *priyāk* would be an adjective belonging to *pitā*, and we might translate: 'What then now? When will you take (us), as a dear father takes his son by both hands, O ye Maruts?' In the same manner we ought to translate I, 30, 20:

kāk te *ushāk* *kādha* *priye* *bhugé* *márta* *amartye*.

Who and where was there a mortal to be loved by thee, O beloved, immortal Dawn?

In VIII, 7, 31, where the same words are repeated as in our passage, it is likewise better to write:

kát ha *núnám* *kádha* *priyāk* *yát* *índram* *ágahâtana*, *kāk* *va* *sakhi*-*tvé* *ohate*.

What then now? Where is there a friend, now that you have forsaken Indra? Who watches for your friendship?

Why in VIII, 8, 4, *adha* *priyā* should have been joined into one word is more difficult to say, yet here, too, the compound might easily be separated.

Kádha does not occur again, but would be formed in analogy with *ádha*. It occurs in Zend as *kadha*.

Kuhn, Beiträge IV, p. 186, has shown that *kūshthak* (RV. V, 74, 1) is a similar monster, and stands for *ku shthak*.

The words *kát* ha *núnám* commonly introduce an interrogative sentence, literally, What then now? cf. X, 10, 4.

Note 2. *Vrikta*-barhis is generally a name of the priest, so called because he has to trim the sacrificial grass. 'The sacred Kusa grass (*Poa cynosuroides*), after having had the roots cut off, is spread on the Vedi or altar, and upon it the libation of Soma-juice, or oblation of clarified butter, is poured out. In other places, a tuft of it in a similar position is supposed to form a fitting seat for the deity or deities invoked to the sacrifice. According to Mr. Stevenson, it is also strewn over the floor of the chamber in which the worship is performed.'

Cf. VI, 11, 5. *vriṅgé* ha *yát* *námasā* *barhík* *agnau*, *áyāmi* *srúk* *ghritá*-*vati* *su-vrīktík*.

When I reverentially trim the truss for Agni, when the well-trimmed ladle, full of butter, is stretched forth.

In our passage, unless we change the accent, it must be taken as an epithet of the Maruts, they for whom the grass-altar has been prepared. They are again invoked by the same name, VIII, 7, 20 :

kvā nūnām su-dānavaḥ mādatha vṛikta-barhishaḥ.

Where do ye rejoice now, you gods for whom the altar is trimmed?

Otherwise, *vṛikta-barhishaḥ* might, with a change of accent, supply an accusative to *dadhidhve*: 'Will you take the worshippers in your arms?' This, though decidedly better, is not absolutely necessary, because to take by the hand may be used as a neuter verb.

WILSON: Maruts, who are fond of praise, and for whom the sacred grass is trimmed, when will you take us by both hands as a father does his son?

BENFEY: Wo weilt ihr gern? was habt ihr jetzt—gleichwie ein Vater seinen Sohn—in Händen, da das Opfer harrt?

Verse 2.

Note 1. The idea of the first verse, that the Maruts should not be detained by other pursuits, is carried on in the second. The poet asks, what they have to do in the sky, instead of coming down to the earth. The last sentence seems to mean 'where tarry your herds?' viz. the clouds. *Sâyana* translates: 'Where do worshippers, like lowing cows, praise you?' Wilson: 'Where do they who worship you cry to you, like cattle?' Benfey: 'Wo jauchzt man euch, gleich wie Stiere? (Ihre Verehrer brüllen vor Freude über ihre Gegenwart, wie Stiere.)' The verb *ranyati*, however, when followed by an accusative, means to love, to accept with pleasure. The gods accept the offerings and the prayers:

V, 18, 1. *visvāni yāḥ āmartyaḥ havyā mārteshu ranyati.*

The immortal who deigns to accept all offerings among mortals.

V, 74, 3. *kāsya brāhmāni ranyathaḥ.*

Whose prayers do ye accept?

Followed by a locative *raṇyati* means to delight in. Both the gods are said to delight in prayers (VIII, 12, 18; 33, 16), and prayers are said to delight in the gods (VIII, 16, 2). I therefore take *raṇyanti* in the sense of tarrying, disporting, and ná, if it is to be retained, in the sense of not; where do they not sport? meaning that they are to be found everywhere, except where the poet desires them to be. We thus get rid of the simile of singing poets and lowing cows, which, though not too bold for Vedic bards, would here come in too abruptly. It would be much better, however, if the negative particle could be omitted altogether. If we retain it, we must read: kvā vāḥ | gāvāḥ | na rān | yantí | . But the fact is that through the whole of the Rig-veda kvā has always to be pronounced as two syllables, kuva. There is only one passage, V, 61, 2, where, before a vowel, we have to read kva: kuva vo 'svāḥ, kvābhisavaḥ. In other passages, even before vowels, we always have to read kuva, e.g. I, 161, 4. kuvet=kva it; I, 105, 4. kuvartam=kva rītam. In I, 35, 7, we must read either kuvedānīm sūryaḥ, making sūryaḥ trisyllabic, or kuva idānīm, leaving a hiatus. In I, 168, 6, kvāvaram is kuvāvaram: Sākalya, forgetting this, and wishing to improve the metre, added na, thereby, in reality, destroying both the metre and the sense. Kva occurs as dissyllabic in the Rig-veda at least forty-one times.

Verse 3.

Note 1. The meanings of sumná in the first five *Mandalas* are well explained by Professor Aufrecht in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. iv, p. 274. As to suvitā in the plural, see X, 86, 21, and VIII, 93, 29, where Indra is said to bring all suvitas. It frequently occurs in the singular:

X, 148, 1. ā naḥ bhara suvitām yāsya kākān.

Verse 4.

Note 1. One might translate: 'If you, sons of *Prisni*, were mortals, the immortal would be your worshipper.' But this seems almost too deep and elaborate a compliment for a primitive age. Langlois translates: 'Quand vous ne

seriez pas immortels, (faites toutefois) que votre panégyriste jouisse d'une longue vie.' Wilson's translation is obscure : 'That you, sons of *Prisni*, may become mortals, and your panegyrist become immortal.' Sâyana translates : 'Though you, sons of *Prisni*, were mortal, yet your worshipper would be immortal.' Ludwig has, 'Wenn ihr, o kinder der *Prisni*, sterbliche wäret, der unsterbliche wäre euer sänger dann. Nicht werde euch unlieb der sänger, wie ein wildes tier auf der weide, nicht des Yama Pfad betrete er.' I think it best to connect the fourth and fifth verses, and I feel justified in so doing by other passages where the same or a similar idea is expressed, viz. that if the god were the poet and the poet the god, then the poet would be more liberal to the god than the god is to him. Whether syât should have the udâtta, I cannot tell. Thus I translated a passage, VII, 32, 18, in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 545 : 'If I were lord of as much as thou, I should support the sacred bard, thou scatterer of wealth, I should not abandon him to misery. I should award wealth day by day to him who magnifies, I should award it to whosoever it be.' Another parallel passage is pointed out by Mr. J. Muir, (On the Interpretation of the Veda, p. 79 ; see also Sanskrit Texts, V, 303.) VIII, 19, 25 : 'If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I were an immortal, I should not abandon thee to malediction or to wretchedness ; my worshipper should not be miserable or distressed.' Still more to the point is another passage, VIII, 44, 23 : 'If I were thou, and thou wert I, then thy wishes should be fulfilled.' See also VIII, 14, 1, 2.

As to the metre it is clear that we ought to read *martāsaḥ syātāna*.

Verse 5.

Note 1. *Mā*, though it seems to stand for *nā*, retains its prohibitive sense.

Note 2. *Yávasa* is explained by Sâyana as grass, and Wilson's Dictionary, too, gives to it the meaning of meadow or pasture grass, whereas *yava* is barley. The Greek *ζῆα* or *ζεία* is likewise explained as barley or rye, fodder for horses. See I, 91, 13. *gāvaḥ ná yāvaseshu*, like cows in meadows.

Note 3. The path of Yama can only be the path first followed by Yama, or that leads to Yama, as the ruler of the departed.

X, 14, 8. sám gakkhasva pitṛī-bhiḥ sám yaména.

Meet with the fathers, meet with Yama (X, 14, 10; 15, 8).

X, 14, 7. yamám paryâsi várūnam ka devám.

Thou wilt see (there) Yama and the divine Varuna.

X, 165, 4. tásmāi yamāya námaḥ astu mrityáve.

Adoration to that Yama, to Death!

WILSON: Never may your worshipper be indifferent to you, as a deer (is never indifferent) to pasture, so that he may not tread the path of Yama.

BENFEY: Wer euch besingt, der sei euch nicht gleichgültig, wie das Wild im Gras, nicht wandl' er auf des Yama Pfad.

Āgoshya is translated insatiable by Professor Goldstücker.

Verse 6.

Note 1. One of the meanings of *nīrrīti* is sin. It is derived from the same root which yielded *ritá*, in the sense of right. *Nīrrīti* was conceived, it would seem, as going away from the path of right, the German *Vergehen*. *Nīrrīti* was personified as a power of evil and destruction.

VII, 104, 9. áhaye vā tñ pra-dádātu sómaḥ ā vā dadhātu *nīh-riteḥ upá-sthe*.

May Soma hand them over to Ahi, or place them in the lap of *Nīrrīti*.

I, 117, 5. *susupvāmsam ná nīh-riteḥ upá-sthe*.

Like one who sleeps in the lap of *Nīrrīti*.

Here Sāyana explains *Nīrrīti* as earth, and he attaches the same meaning to the word in other places which will have to be considered hereafter. Cf. Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p. 562.

Wilson treats *Nīrrīti* as a male deity, and translates the last words, 'let him perish with our evil desires.'

Note 2. *Padīśhtá* is formed as an optative of the *Ātmanepada*, but with the additional *s* before the *t*, which, in the ordinary Sanskrit, is restricted to the so-called benedictive (Grammar, § 385; Bopp, *Kritische Grammatik*, ed. 1834,

§ 329, note). Pad means originally to go. Thus RV. IX, 73, 9, átra kartám áva padâti áprabhuḥ, may the impotent go down into the pit. In certain constructions it gradually assumed the meaning of to perish, and native commentators are inclined to explain it by pat, to fall. One can watch the transition of meaning from going into perishing in such phrases as VS. XI, 46, mâ pâdy áyushaḥ purâ, literally, 'may he not go before the time,' but really intended for 'may he not die before the time.' In the Rig-veda padîshṭâ is generally qualified by some words to show that it is to be taken in malam partem. Thus in our passage, and in III, 53, 21; VII, 104, 16; 17. In I, 79, 11, however, padîshṭâ sâḥ is by itself used in a maledictory sense, pereat, may he perish! In another, VI, 20, 5, pâdi by itself conveys the idea of perishing. This may have some weight in determining the origin of the Latin pestis (Corssen, Kritische Beiträge, p. 396), for it shows that, even without prepositions, such as â or vi, pad may have an ill-omened meaning. In the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa VII, 14 (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 471), pad, as applied to a child's teeth, means to go, to fall out. With sam, however, pad has always a good meaning, and this shows that originally its meaning was neutral. Another translation, suggested by Ludwig, might be: 'Let not one dreadful Nirriti (sin) after another strike us.'

Verse 7.

Note 1. The only difficult word is avâtām. Sâyana explains it, 'without wind.' But it is hardly possible to understand how the Maruts, themselves the gods of the storm, the sons of Rudra, could be said to bring clouds without wind. Langlois, it is true, translates without any misgivings: 'Ces dieux peuvent sur un sol desséché faire tomber la pluie sans l'accompagner de vent.' Wilson: 'They send down rain without wind upon the desert.' Benfey saw the incongruous character of the epithet, and explained it away by saying that the winds bring rain, and after they have brought it, they moderate their violence in order not to drive it away again; hence rain without wind. Yet even

this explanation, though ingenious, and, as I am told, particularly truthful in an eastern climate, is somewhat too artificial. If we changed the accent, *ávâtâm*, unchecked, unconquered, would be better than *avâtām*, windless. But *ávâta*, unconquered, does not occur in the Rig-veda, except as applied to persons. It occurs most frequently in the phrase *vanván ávâtáḥ*, which *Sâyana* explains well by *himsan ahimsitáḥ*, hurting, but not hurt: (VI, 16, 20; 18, 1; IX, 89, 7.) In IX, 96, 8, we read *prít-sú vanván ávâtáḥ*, in battles attacking, but not attacked, which renders the meaning of *ávâta* perfectly clear. In VI, 64, 5, where it is applied to Ushas, it may be translated by unconquerable, intact.

There are several passages, however, where *avâta* occurs with the accent on the last syllable, and where it is accordingly explained as a *Bahuvrihi*, meaning either windless or motionless, from *vâta*, wind, or from *vâta*, going (I, 62, 10). In some of these passages we can hardly doubt that the accent ought to be changed, and that we ought to read *ávâta*. Thus in VI, 64, 4, *avâte* is clearly a vocative applied to Ushas, who is called *ávâtâ*, unconquerable, in the verse immediately following. In I, 52, 4, the Maruts are called *avâtáḥ*, which can only be *ávâtáḥ*, unconquerable; nor can we hesitate in VIII, 79, 7, to change *avâtáḥ* into *ávâtáḥ*, as an epithet applied to Soma, and preceded by *ádriptakratuḥ*, of unimpaired strength, unconquerable.

But even then we find no evidence that *ávâta*, unconquered, could be applied to rain or to a cloud, and I therefore propose another explanation, though equally founded on the supposition that the accent of *avâtâm* in our passage should be on the first syllable.

I take *vâta* as a Vedic form instead of the later *vâna*, the past participle of *vai*, to wither. Similarly we find in the Veda *gîta*, instead of *gîna*, the latter form being sanctioned by *Pânini*. *Vâ* means to get dry, to flag, to get exhausted; *ávâta* therefore, as applied to a cloud, would mean not dry, not withered, as applied to rain, not dried up, but remaining on the ground. It is important to remark that in one passage, VI, 67, 7, *Sâyana*, too, explains *ávâta*, as applied to rivers, by *asushka*, not dry; and the same meaning would

be applicable to *avâtām* in I, 62, 10. In this sense of not withered, not dry, *avâtām* in our passage would form a perfectly appropriate epithet of the rain, while neither windless nor unconquered would yield an appropriate sense. In the famous passage, X, 129, 2, *ānīt avâtām svadháyâ tát ékam*, that only One breathed breathless by itself, *avâtām* might be taken, in accordance with its accent, as windless or breathless, and the poet may have wished to give this antithetical point to his verse. But *avâtām*, as an adverb, would here be equally appropriate, and we should then have to translate, 'that only One breathed freely by itself.' Ludwig translates, 'Als treue die blendenden, die stürmenden Rudriya auf öder fläche sogar, als brunnen die wolke schaffen.' This presupposes the conjectural reading *ava-tām*.

Verse 8.

Note 1. The peculiar structure of the metre in the seventh and eighth verses should be noted. Though we may scan

-----*u**ú*--- | ---*u*---*ú*--- | *u*-----*u**ú*--- |
 ---*u*---*ú*--- | ---*u*---*ú*--- | *u*-----*u**ú*---

by throwing the accent on the short antepenultimate, yet the movement of the metre becomes far more natural by throwing the accent on the long penultimate, thus reading

-*ú*-*ú**ú**ú*- | -*ú**ú**ú**ú*- | *u**ú*-*ú**ú**ú*-
 -*ú**ú**ú*-*u**ú*- | -*ú**ú**ú*-*u*--- | *u**ú*-*ú**ú**ú*-

SÂYANA : Like a cow the lightning roars, (the lightning) attends (on the Maruts) as the mother cow on her calf, because their rain is let loose at the time of lightning and thunder.

WILSON : The lightning roars like a parent cow that bellows for its calf, and hence the rain is set free by the Maruts.

BENFEY : Es blitzt—wie eine Kuh brüllt es—die Mutter folgt dem Kalb gleichsam—wenn ihr Regen losgelassen. (Der Donner folgt dem Blitz, wie eine Kuh ihrem Kalbe.)

Vāsrá as a masculine means a bull, and it is used as a name of the Maruts in some passages, VIII, 7, 3 ; 7. As

a feminine it means a cow, particularly a cow with a calf, a milch cow. Hence also a mother, X, 119, 4. The lowing of the lightning must be intended for the distant thunder, and the idea that the lightning goes near or looks for the rain is not foreign to the Vedic poets. See I, 39, 9: 'Come to us, Maruts, with your entire help, as lightnings (come to, i. e. seek for) the rain!'

Verse 9.

Note 1. That *pargánya* here and in other places means cloud has been well illustrated by Dr. Bühler, *Orient und Occident*, vol. i, p. 221. It is interesting to watch the personifying process which is very palpable in this word, and by which *Parganya* becomes at last a friend and companion of Indra. See now, 'India, what can it teach us?' p. 183 seq.

Verse 10.

Note 1. *Sádma*, as a neuter, means originally a seat, and is frequently used in the sense of altar: IV, 9, 3. *sáh sádma pári niyate hótâ*; VII, 18, 22. *hótâ-iva sádma pári emi rébhan*. It soon, however, assumed the more general meaning of place, as

X, 1, 1. *agnih bhânúnâ rúsatâ vísvâ sádmâni aprâh*.

Agni with brilliant light thou filledst all places.

It is lastly used with special reference to heaven and earth, the two *sádmanî*, I, 185, 6; III, 55, 2. In our passage *sádma pârthivam* is the same as *pârthive sádane* in VIII, 97, 5. Here the earth is mentioned together with heaven, the sea, and the sky. *Sâyana* takes *sádma* as 'dwelling,' so do Wilson and Langlois. Benfey translates 'der Erde Sitz,' and makes it the subject of the sentence, which may be right: 'From the roaring of the Maruts the seat of the earth trembles, and all men tremble.' *Sadman*, with the accent on the last syllable, is also used as a masculine in the *Rig-veda*, I, 173, 1; VI, 51, 12. *sadmānam divyām*.

Verse 11.

Note 1. I have translated *vi/ṛu-pān/ibhih*, as if it were *vi/ṛupānibhih*, for this is the right accent of a *Bahuvrīhi*

compound. Thus the first member retains its own accent in *prithú-pâni*, *bhūri-pâni*, *vṛsha-pâni*, &c. It is possible that the accent may have been changed in our passage, because the compound is used, not as an adjective, but as a kind of substantive, as the name of a horse. *Pâni*, hand, means, as applied to horses, hoof :

II, 31, 2. *prithivyāḥ sánau gáṅghananta pâní-bhiḥ*.

When they strike with their hoofs on the summit of the earth.

This meaning appears still more clearly in such compounds as *dravát-pâni* :

VIII, 5, 35. *híran̐yáyena ráthena dravátpâni-bhiḥ ásvaiḥ*.

On a golden chariot, on quick-hoofed horses.

The horses of the Maruts, which in our verse are called *vīu-pâní*, strong-hoofed, are called VIII, 7, 27. *híran̐ya-pâni*, golden-hoofed :

ásvaiḥ híran̐yapâni-bhiḥ dévāsaḥ úpa gantana.

On your golden-hoofed horses come hither, O gods.

Those who retain the accent of the MSS. ought to translate, 'Maruts, with your strong hands go after the clouds.'

Note 2. *Ródhasvatí* is explained by *Sâyana* as river. It does not occur again in the *Rig-veda*. *Ródhas* is enclosure or fence, the bank of a river ; but it does not follow that *ródhasvat*, having enclosures or banks, was applicable to rivers only. II, 15, 8, it is said that he emptied or opened the artificial enclosures of Bala, these being the clouds conquered by Indra. Hence I take *ródhasvatí* in the sense of a cloud yet unopened, which is followed or driven on by the Maruts.

Kitrá, bright or many-coloured, is applied to the clouds, V, 63, 3. *kitrébhiḥ abhráḥ*.

Note 3. Roth and Ludwig take *ákhidrayāman* for a name of horse, which seems right. The word does not occur again in the *Rig-veda*.

WILSON: Maruts, with strong hands, come along the beautifully-embanked rivers with unobstructed progress.

BENFEY: Mit euren starken Händen folgt den hehren eingeschlossnen nach in unermüd'tem Gang, Maruts.

Verse 12.

Note 1. Abhîsu, rein, does not mean finger in the Rig-veda, though Sâyana frequently explains it so, misled by Yâska, who gives abhîsu among the names of finger. Wilson: 'May your fingers be well skilled (to hold the reins).'

Verse 13.

Note 1. Agni is frequently invoked together with the Maruts, and is even called marût-sakhâ, the friend of the Maruts, VIII, 92, 14. It seems better, therefore, to refer brâhmanas pátim to Agni, than, with Sâyana, to the host of the Maruts (marúdganam). Brâhmanaspáti and Br̥has-páti are both varieties of Agni, the priest and purohita of gods and men, and as such he is invoked together with the Maruts in other passages, I, 40, 1. Tánâ is an adverb, meaning constantly, always, for ever. Cf. II, 2, 1; VIII, 40, 7.

WILSON: Declare in our presence (priests), with voice attuned to praise Brahmanaspati, Agni, and the beautiful Mitra.

BENFEY: Lass schallen immerfort das Lied zu grüssen Brahmanaspati, Agni, Mitra, den herrlichen.

Note 2. Mitra is never, as far as I know, invoked together with the Maruts, and it is better to take mitráam as friend. Besides ná cannot be left here untranslated. Ludwig translates, 'beautiful like Mitra,' that is, bright like the sun.

Verse 14.

Note 1. The second sentence is obscure. Sâyana translates: 'Let the choir of priests make a hymn of praise, let them utter or expand it, like as a cloud sends forth rain.' Wilson similarly: 'Utter the verse that is in your mouth, spread it out like a cloud spreading rain.' Benfey: 'Ein Preislied schaffe in dem Mund, ertöne dem Parganya gleich.' He takes Parganya for the god of thunder, and supposes the hymn of praise to be compared to it on account of its loudness. Tatanañ can only be the second person singular of the conjunctive of the reduplicated perfect, of which we

have also tatánat, tatánâma, tatánan, and tatánanta. *Tatana* can be addressed either to the host of the Maruts, or to the poet. I take it in the latter sense, for a similar verse occurs VIII, 21, 18. It is said there of a patron that he alone is a king, that all others about the river Sarasvatî are only small kings, and the poet adds: 'May he spread like a cloud with the rain,' giving hundreds and thousands (*par-gányah-iva tatánat hí vṛishṭyā*). Ludwig takes *tan* in the sense of thundering; thunder like *Parganya*!

Verse 15.

Note 1. It is difficult to find an appropriate rendering for *arkín*. It means praising, celebrating, singing, and it is in the last sense only that it is applicable to the Maruts. Wilson translates, 'entitled to adoration'; Benfey, 'flaming.' Boehtlingk and Roth admit the sense of flaming in one passage, but give to *arkín* in this place the meaning of praising. If it simply meant, possessed of *arká*, i. e. songs of praise, it would be a very lame epithet after *panasyú*. But other passages, like I, 19, 4; 52, 15, show that the conception of the Maruts as singers was most familiar to the Vedic *Rishis* (I, 64, 10; Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, vol. i, p. 521, note); and *arká* is the very name applied to their songs (I, 19, 4). In the Edda, too, 'storm and thunder are represented as a lay, as the wondrous music of the wild hunt. The dwarfs and Elbs sing the so-called *Alb-leich* which carries off everything, trees and mountains.' See Justí in *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 62; Genthe, *Windgottheiten*, p. 4; 11. There is no doubt therefore that *arkín* here means musician, and that the *arká* of the Maruts is the music of the winds.

Note 2. *Vṛiddhá*, literally grown, is used in the Veda as an honorific epithet, with the meaning of mighty, great, or magnified:

III, 32, 7. *yágâma* it námasâ *vṛiddhám* índram
bṛihántam *rishvám* *agáram* *yúvânam*.

We worship with praise the mighty Indra, the great, the exalted, the immortal, the vigorous.

Here neither is *vṛiddhá* intended to express old age,

nor yúvan young age, but both are meant as laudatory epithets. See Darmesteter, Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 91 seq.

Asan is the so-called *Let* of as, to be. This *Let* is properly an imperative, which gradually sinks down to a mere subjunctive, and is generally called so. Of as, we find the following *Let* forms: belonging to the present, we have *ásasi*, II, 26, 2; *ásati*, VI, 23, 9; *ásathaḥ*, VI, 63, 1; and *ásatha*, V, 61, 4: belonging to the imperfect, *ásaḥ*, VIII, 100, 2; *ásat*, I, 9, 5; *ásâma*, I, 173, 9; *ásan*, I, 89, 1. *Ásam*, a form quoted by Roth from Rig-veda X, 27, 4, is really *ásam*.

We find, for instance, *ásaḥ*, with an imperative or optative meaning, in

VIII, 100, 2. *ásaḥ ka tvám dakshinatáḥ sákhâ me
ádha vritráṇi gaṅghanâva bhûri.*

And be thou my friend on my right hand, and we shall kill many enemies.

Here we see the transition of meaning from an imperative to the conditional. In English, too, we may say, 'Do this and you shall live,' which means nearly the same as, 'If you do this, you will live.' Thus we may translate this passage: 'And if thou be my friend on my right side, then we shall kill many enemies.'

X, 124, 1. *imám naḥ agne úpa yagñám â ihi—
ásaḥ havya-vât utá naḥ purah-gâḥ.*

Here we have the imperative *ihi* and the *Let* *ásaḥ* used in the same sense.

Far more frequently, however, *ásaḥ* is used in relative sentences, such as,

VI, 36, 5. *ásaḥ yáthâ naḥ sávasâ kakánâḥ.*

That thou mayest be ours, delighting in strength.

VII, 24, 1. *ásaḥ yáthâ naḥ avitâ vridhé ka.*

That thou mayest be our helper and for our increase.

See also X, 44, 4; 85, 26; 36.

WILSON: May they be exalted by this our worship.

BENFEY: Mögen die Hohen hier bei uns sein.

MANDALA I, HYMN 39.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 8, VARGA 18-19.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. When you thus from afar cast forwards your measure¹, like a blast of fire, through whose wisdom is it, through whose design²? To whom do you go, to whom, ye shakers (of the earth)?

2. May your weapons be firm to attack, strong also to withstand. May yours be the more glorious power, nor that of the deceitful mortal.

3. When you overthrow what is firm, O ye men, and whirl about what is heavy, you pass¹ through the trees of the earth, through the clefts of the rocks².

4. No real foe of yours is known in heaven, nor on earth, ye devourers of foes! May power be yours, together with your race¹! O Rudras, can it be defied²?

5. They make the rocks tremble, they tear asunder the kings of the forest¹. Come on, Maruts, like madmen, ye gods, with your whole tribe.

6. You have harnessed the spotted deer to your chariots, a red one draws as leader¹; even the earth listened² at your approach, and men were frightened,

7. O Rudras, we quickly desire your help for our race. Come now to us with help, as of yore; thus now for the sake of the frightened *Kaṇva*¹.

8. Whatever fiend, roused by you or roused by men, attacks us, deprive him of power, of strength, and of your favours¹.

9. For you, chasing and wise Maruts, have wholly

protected¹ Kanva. Come to us, Maruts, with your whole favours, as lightnings² (go in quest of) the rain.

10. Bounteous givers, you carry whole strength, whole power, ye shakers (of the world). Send, O Maruts, against the wrathful enemy of the poets an enemy, like an arrow¹.

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to *Kaṁva*, the son of *Ghora*. The metre varies between *Bṛihatî* and *Satobṛihatî*, the odd verses being composed in the former, the even verses in the latter metre. Each couple of such verses is called a *Bârhata Pragâtha*. The *Bṛihatî* consists of $8+8+12+8$, the *Satobṛihatî* of $12+8+12+8$ syllables. No verse of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., AV.; verse 5=TB. II, 4, 4, 3.

Verse 1.

Note 1. *Māna*, which I translate by measure, is explained by *Sâyana* as meaning strength. Wilson: 'When you direct your awful vigour downwards from afar, as light (descends from heaven).' Benfey: 'Wenn ihr aus weiter Ferne so wie Strahlen schleudert euren Stolz (das worauf ihr stolz seid: euren Blitz).' Langlois: 'Lorsque vous lancez votre souffle puissant.' I doubt whether *māna* is ever used in the *Rig-veda* in the sense of pride, which no doubt it has, as a masculine, in later Sanskrit: cf. *Halâ-yudha*, ed. Aufrecht, iv, 37. *Māna*, as a masculine, means frequently a poet in the *Rig-veda*, viz. a measurer, a thinker or maker; as a neuter it means a measure, or what is measured or made. Thus V, 85, 5, we read:

mānena-iva tasthi-vān antárikshe ví yáḥ mamé prithivīm sūryena.

He (*Varuṇa*) who standing in the welkin has measured the earth with the sun, as with a measure.

In this passage, as well as in ours, we must take measure, not in the abstract sense, but as a measuring line, which is cast forward to measure the distance of an object,—a simile, perfectly applicable to the *Maruts*, who seem with their weapons to strike the trees and mountains when they themselves are still far off. Another explanation might be given, if *māna* could be taken in the sense of measure, i. e. shape or form, but this is doubtful.

Note 2. Várpas, which has generally been translated by body or form, is here explained by praise. Benfey puts Werk (i.e. Gesang, Gebet); Langlois, maison. Várpas, which, without much reason, has been compared to Latin corpus, must here be taken in a more general sense. Thus VI, 44, 14, asyá máde purú várpāmsi vidvān, is applied to Indra as knowing many schemes, many thoughts, many things, when he is inspired by the Soma-juice; see I, 19, 5.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Benfey takes ví yāthana in a causative sense, you destroy, you cause the trees to go asunder. But even without assigning to yā a causative meaning, to go through, to pierce, would convey the idea of destruction. In some passages, however, vi-yā is certainly used in the simple sense of passing through, without involving the idea of destruction:

VIII, 73, 13. ráthaḥ viyāti ródasi (íti).

Your chariot which passes through or between heaven and earth.

In other passages the mere passing across implies conquest and destruction:

I, 116, 20. vi-bhindúnā . . . ráthena ví párvatān . . . ayātam.

On your dissevering chariot you went across, or, you rent, the mountains (the clouds).

In other passages, however, a causative meaning seems equally, and even more applicable:

VIII, 7, 23. ví vṛitrám parva-sáḥ yayuḥ ví párvatān.

They passed through Vṛitra piecemeal, they passed through the mountains (the clouds); or, they destroyed Vṛitra, cutting him to pieces, they destroyed the clouds.

Likewise I, 86, 10. ví yāta vīsvam atrīnam.

Walk athwart every evil spirit, or destroy every evil spirit! See before, I, 19, 7; 37, 7.

We must scan ví yāthana vanināḥ prīthivyāḥ.

Note 2. It might seem preferable to translate āsāḥ párvatānām by the spaces of the clouds, for párvata means clouds in many places. Yet here, and still more clearly in verse 5, where párvata occurs again, the object of the poet

is to show the strength of the Maruts. In that case the mere shaking or bursting of the clouds would sound very tame by the side of the shaking and breaking of the forest trees. Vedic poets do not shrink from the conception that the Maruts shake even mountains, and Indra is even said to have cut off the mountain tops : IV, 19, 4. *áva abhinat kakú-bhaḥ párvatânām*. In the later literature, too, the same idea occurs : Mahābh. Vana-parva, ver. 10974, *dyauḥ svit patati kim bhūmir dīryate parvato nu kim*, does the sky fall? is the earth torn asunder, or the mountain?

Verse 4.

Note 1. Sāyana was evidently without an authoritative explanation of *tánā yugā*. He tries to explain it by 'through the union of you may strength to resist be quickly extended.' Wilson : 'May your collective strength be quickly exerted.' Benfey takes *tánā* as adverb and leaves out *yugā* : 'Zu allen Zeiten, O Furchtbare!—sei im Nu zu überwält'gen euch die Macht.' *Yugā*, an instrumental, if used together with another instrumental, becomes in the Veda a mere preposition : cf. VII, 43, 5; 95, 4. *rāyā yugā*; X, 83, 3. *tápasā yugā*; X, 102, 12. *vádhriṇā yugā*; VII, 32, 20. *púram-dhyā yugā*; VI, 56, 2. *sákhyā yugā*; VIII, 68, 9. *tvā yugā*. As to the meaning of *tán*, see B. R. s. v., where *tán* in our passage is explained as continuation. The offspring or race of the Maruts is mentioned again in the next verse.

Note 2. I take *nú kit á-dhr̥she* as an abrupt interrogative sentence, viz. Can it be defied? Can it be resisted? See V, 87, 2 :

tát vaḥ marutaḥ ná á-dhr̥she sávaḥ.

Your strength, O Maruts, is not to be defied.

Verse 5.

Note 1. Large trees of the forest are called the kings or lords of the forest. Instead of *pró ārata*, the Taitt. Br. II, 4, 4, 2, reads *pró varata*, which Sāyana explains by *pro*, *prakarsheṇa*, *avārata dhāvata*.

Verse 6.

Note 1. *Práshñi* is explained by *Sâyana* as a sort of yoke in the middle, when three horses or other animals are harnessed to a car; *róhita* as a kind of red deer. Hence Wilson remarks that the sense may be, 'The red deer yoked between them aids to drag the car.' But he adds that the construction of the original is obscure, and apparently rude and ungrammatical. Benfey translates, 'Sie führt ein flammenrothes Joch,' and remarks against Wilson that *Sâyana*'s definition of *práshñi* as yoke is right, but that of *róhita* as deer, wrong. If *Sâyana*'s authority is to be invoked at all, one might appeal from *Sâyana* in this place to *Sâyana* VIII, 7, 28, where *práshñi* is explained by him either by quick or by *pramukhe yugyamānaḥ*, harnessed in front. The verse is

yát eshām *prishatīḥ* ráthe *práshñīḥ* váhati *róhitaḥ*.

When the red leader draws or leads their spotted deer in the chariot.

VI, 47, 24. *práshñīḥ* is explained as *tripada ádhāraḥ*; *tadvad vahantīti prashñayo=svāḥ*. In I, 100, 17, *práshñibhiḥ*, as applied to men, means friends or supporters, or, as *Sâyana* explains, *pārsvasthair anyair rishibhiḥ*.

Ludwig (IV, ad 25, 8) adds some useful information. He quotes from the comm. on Taitt. S. I, 7, 8; *vāmadakshinayor asvayor madhya íshādvayam prasārya tayor madhye saptyākhyagātivisheshopetam asvam yuñgyát*. The right horse is said to be the *arvā*, the left *vāgī*, the middle *saptīḥ*. *Lātyāyana* II, 7, 23, calls the two side-horses *prashñi*. According to *Sâyana* (Taitt. S. I, 7, 8, p. 1024) *prashñi* means originally a tripod for holding a pot (see above), and afterwards a chariot with three horses. In that case we should have to translate, the red chariot moves along.

Note 2. Aufrecht derives *asrot* from *sru*, to shake, without necessity, however; see Muir's Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 494.

Ludwig also remarks that *asrot* might be translated by the earth trembled or vibrated. Similar passages occur RV. I, 127, 3. *vílú kīṭ yásya sám-ritau srúvat vánā-iva yát sthírām*, at whose approach even what is firm and strong

will shake, like the forests. Roth translates, the earth yielded, got out of your way.

Verse 7.

Note 1. Kaṇva, the author of the hymn.

Verse 8.

Note 1. The abhva, fiend, or, as Benfey translates it very happily, Ungethüm, may have been sent by the Maruts themselves, or by some mortal. With reference to yushmé-shita it is said afterwards that the Maruts are to withdraw their help from him. I have adopted Wilson's and Ludwig's interpretation of vi yuyota, with the instrumental.

Verse 9.

Note 1. The verb dadá is the second pers. plur. of the perfect of dā, and is used here in the sense of to keep, to protect, as is well shown by B. and R. s. v. dā 4, base dad. Śāyana did not understand the word, and took it for an irregular imperative; yet he assigned to the verb the proper sense of to keep, instead of to give. Hence Wilson: 'Uphold the sacrificer Kaṇva.' Benfey, less correctly, 'Den Kaṇva gabt ihr,' as if Kaṇva had been the highest gift of the Maruts.

Note 2. The simile, as lightnings go to the rain, is not very telling. It may have been suggested by the idea that the lightnings run about to find the rain, or the tertium comparationis may simply be the quickness of lightning. Wilson: 'As the lightnings bring the rain.' Benfey: '(So schnell) gleichwie der Blitz zum Regen kömmt.' Lightning precedes the rain, and may therefore be represented as looking about for the rain. Ludwig proposes some bold conjectures. He would change káṇvam to raṇvam, and take the words from asāmibhiḥ to ganta as a parenthesis. He translates: 'For nothing imperfect, you highly to be revered Maruts, no, something delightful you gave—(with perfect aids, Maruts, come to us)—as lightnings give rain.'

Verse 10.

Note 1. Wilson: 'Let loose your anger.' Śāyana: 'Let loose a murderer who hates.'

Pari-manyú, which occurs but once in the Rig-veda, corresponds as nearly as possible to the Greek *περίθυμος*. Manyú, like *θυμός*, means courage, spirit, anger; and in the compound parimanyú, as in *περίθυμος*, the preposition pári seems to strengthen the simple notion of the word. That pári is used in that sense in later Sanskrit is well known; for instance, in parilaghu, perlevis, parikshâma, withered away: see Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, second edition, vol. i, p. 487. How pári, originally meaning round about, came to mean excessive, is difficult to explain with certainty. It may have been, because what surrounds exceeds, but it may also have been because what is done all around a thing is done thoroughly. See Curtius, *Grundzüge*, fifth edition, p. 274. Thus we find in the Veda, VIII, 75, 9, pári-dveshas, lit. one who hates all around, then a great hater:

mā naḥ . . . pári-dveshasaḥ amhatíḥ, ūrmíḥ ná nāvam ā vadhīt.

May the grasp of the violent hater strike us not, as the wave strikes a ship.

Again, pari-sprídh means literally one who strives round about, then an eager enemy, a rival (fem.):

IX, 53, 1. nudásva yāḥ pari-sprídhah.

Drive away those who are rivals.

Pari-krosá means originally one who shouts at one from every side, who abuses one roundly, then an angry reviler. This word, though not mentioned in B. R.'s Dictionary, occurs in

I, 29, 7. sárvam pari-krosám gahi.

Kill every reviler!

The same idea which is here expressed by pari-krosá, is in other places expressed by pari-ráp, lit. one who shouts round about, who defies on every side, a calumniator, an enemy, one who 'be-rattles.'

II, 23, 3. ā vi-bādhya pari-rápah.

Having struck down the enemies.

II, 23, 14. ví pari-rápah ardaya.

Destroy the enemies.

In the same way as the words meaning to hate, to

oppose, to attack, are strengthened by this preposition, which conveys the idea of round about, we also find words expressive of love strengthened by the same preposition. Thus from *prítāḥ*, loved, we have *pári-prītaḥ*, lit. loved all round, then loved very much: I, 190, 6. *pári-prītaḥ ná mitráḥ*; cf. X, 27, 12. We also find IX, 72, 1. *pari-prīyaḥ*, those who love fully or all around, which may mean great lovers, or surrounding friends.

In all these cases the intensifying power of *pári* arises from representing the action of the verb as taking place on every side, thoroughly, excessively; but in other cases, mentioned by Professor Pott, particularly where this preposition is joined to a noun which implies some definite limit, its magnifying power is no doubt due to the fact that what is around, is outside, and therefore beyond. Thus in Greek *περίμετρος* expresses the same idea as *ὑπέρμετρος* (loc. cit. p. 488), but I doubt whether *pári* ever occurs in that sense in Sanskrit compounds.

MANDALA I, HYMN 64.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 5, VARGA 6-8.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. For the manly host, the joyful, the wise, for the Maruts bring thou, O Nodhas¹, a pure offering². I prepare songs, like as a handy priest³, wise in his mind, prepares the water, mighty at sacrifices.

2. They are born, the tall bulls of Dyū¹ (heaven), the manly youths² of Rudra, the divine, the blameless, pure, and bright like suns; scattering rain-drops, full of terrible designs, like giants³.

3. The youthful Rudras, they who never grow old, the slayers of the demon¹, have grown irresistible like mountains. They throw down with their strength all beings, even the strongest, on earth and in heaven.

4. They deck themselves with glittering ornaments¹ for a marvellous show; on their chests they fastened gold (chains) for beauty²; the spears on their shoulders pound to pieces³; they were born together by themselves⁴, the men of Dyū.

5. They who confer power¹, the roarers², the devourers of foes, they made winds and lightnings by their powers. The shakers milk the heavenly udders (clouds), they sprinkle the earth all round with milk (rain).

6. The bounteous¹ Maruts pour forth² water, mighty at sacrifices, the fat milk (of the clouds). They seem to lead³ about the powerful horse, the cloud, to make it rain; they milk the thundering, unceasing spring⁴.

7. Mighty they are, powerful, of beautiful splendour, strong in themselves¹ like mountains, (yet) swiftly gliding along;—you chew up forests, like wild elephants², when you have assumed your powers among the red flames³.

8. Like lions they roar, the wise Maruts, they are handsome like gazelles¹, the all-knowing. By night² with their spotted deer (rain-clouds) and with their spears (lightnings) they rouse the companions together, they whose ire through strength is like the ire of serpents.

9. You who march in companies, the friends of man, heroes, whose ire through strength is like the ire of serpents¹, salute heaven and earth²! On the seats on your chariots, O Maruts, the lightning stands, visible like light³.

10. All-knowing, surrounded with wealth, endowed with powers, singers¹, men of endless prowess, armed with strong rings², they, the archers, have taken the arrow in their fists.

11. The Maruts who with the golden tires of their wheels increase the rain, stir up the clouds like wanderers on the road. They are brisk, indefatigable¹, they move by themselves; they throw down what is firm, the Maruts with their brilliant spears make (everything) to reel².

12. We invoke with prayer¹ the offspring of Rudra, the brisk, the pure, the worshipful², the active. Cling³ for happiness-sake to the strong company of the Maruts, the chasers of the sky⁴, the powerful, the impetuous⁵.

13. The mortal whom ye, Maruts, protected, he indeed surpasses people in strength through your protection. He carries off booty with his horses,

treasures with his men; he acquires honourable¹ wisdom, and he prospers².

14. Give, O Maruts, to our lords strength glorious, invincible in battle, brilliant, wealth-acquiring, praiseworthy, known to all men¹. Let us foster our kith and kin during a hundred winters.

15. Will¹ you then, O Maruts, grant unto us wealth, durable, rich in men, defying all onslaughts²?—wealth a hundred and a thousand-fold, always increasing?—May he who is rich in prayers³ (the host of the Maruts) come early and soon!

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Nodhas, of the family of Gotama. No verse of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., AV.; but verse 6=TS. III, I, 11, 7.

Verse 1.

Note 1. The first line is addressed by the poet to himself.

Note 2. *Suvṛikṭi* is generally explained by a hymn of praise, and it cannot be denied that in this place, as in most others, that meaning would be quite satisfactory. Etymologically, however, *suvṛikṭi* means the cleaning and trimming of the grass on which, as on a small altar, the oblation is offered: cf. *vṛikṭabarhis*, I, 38, 1, note 2, page 84. Hence, although the same word might be metaphorically applied to a carefully trimmed, pure, and holy hymn of praise, yet wherever in the Veda the primary meaning is applicable, it seems safer to retain it: cf. III, 61, 5; VI, 11, 5.

Prof. Roth, in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vii, p. 612, calls the derivation, which he himself discovered, a 'Columbus-Egg.' He derives *suvṛikṭi* from *su* + *vṛikṭi*, and translates it by excellent praise. He supports the insertion of *v*, by the analogy of *su-v-ita*, for *su-ita*. This derivation is certainly very ingenious, but there are some difficulties which have still to be accounted for. That the substantive *vṛikṭi* does not occur by itself would not be fatal, because other words in the Veda occur as *uttarapadas* only. But there is the compound *námovṛikṭi* in X, 131, 2, which shows that *vṛikṭi* existed as a substantive, though it is true that the *Vāgasaneyins* (X, 32) read *namaukti* instead. *Taitt. S. I*, 8, 21; *Taitt. Br. II*, 6, 1, 3; and *Ath. V. XX*, 125, 2, have all *namovṛikṭi*. There is also the compound *svāvṛikṭi* in RV. X, 21, 1. Are these to be separated from *su-vṛikṭi*, and ought we not to take into consideration also the *Zend hvarsta*, as pointed out by M. Darmesteter (*Ormazd*,

p. 10, note), meaning well performed, perfect in a liturgical sense?

Note 3. Apás, with the accent on the last syllable, is the accusative plural of ap, water, and it is so explained by Sáyana. He translates: 'I show forth these hymns of praise, like water, i. e. everywhere, as Parganya sends down rain at once in every place.' Benfey explains: 'I make these hymns smooth like water, i. e. so that they run smooth like water.' He compares ῥυθμός, as derived from ῥέω. Ludwig translates: 'Als ein kunstfertiger das werk im geiste, auch geschickt mit der hand mach ich schön die in der opferversammlungen mächtig wirkenden lieder.' I thought formerly that we ought either to change the accent, and read ápaḥ, or the last vowel, and read apāḥ. In the former case the meaning would be, 'As one wise in mind and clever performs his work, so do I compose these hymns.' In the second case we should translate: 'Like a workman, wise in mind and handy, I put together these hymns.'

Still there is one point which has hitherto been overlooked by all translators, namely, that apāḥ vidátheshu ábhúvaḥ, occurring in the first and sixth verses, ought to be taken in the same sense in both passages. Now apāḥ vidátheshu ábhúvaḥ seems to mean water efficacious at sacrifices. In the sixth verse I now translate: 'The bounteous Maruts pour down water, mighty or efficacious at sacrifices, the fat milk (of the clouds).' Hence in the first verse I should now like to translate: 'I prepare my songs, like as a handy priest, wise in his mind, prepares the water mighty or efficacious at sacrifices.' Roth assigns to vidátha a too exclusively political meaning. Vidátha may be an assembly, a public meeting, a witenagemot, or an ἐκκλησία, but public meetings at that time had always a religious character, so that vidátha must often be translated by sacrifice.

Verse 2.

Note 1. It is difficult to say in passages like this, whether Dyū should be taken as heaven or as a personified deity. When the Maruts are called Rudrásya máryāḥ, the boys of

Rudra (VII, 56, 1), the personification is always preserved. Hence if the same beings are called *Diváh máryáh*, this too, I think, should be translated the boys of Dyu (III, 54, 13; V, 59, 6), not the sons of heaven. The bulls of Dyu is a more primitive and more vigorous expression for what we should call the fertilising winds of heaven.

Note 2. *Márya* is a male, particularly a young male, a young man, a bridegroom (I, 115, 2; III, 33, 10; IV, 20, 5; V, 61, 4, with *vira*).

The Maruts have grown strong like well-grown manly youths. See also V, 59, 3.

V, 59, 5. *máryáh-iva su-vrídhaḥ vavridhuḥ nárah*.

The men have grown strong like well-grown stallions.

In some passages it has simply the meaning of man :

I, 91, 13. *máryáh-iva své okyě*.

Like a man in his own house.

Note 3. The simile, like giants, is not quite clear. *Sátvan* means a strong man, but it seems intended here to convey the idea of supernatural strength. Benfey translates, 'like brave warriors;' Wilson, 'like evil spirits.' *Ghorávarpas* is an adjective belonging to the Maruts rather than to the giants, and may mean of awful aspect, I, 19, 5, or of cruel mind; cf. I, 39, 1, note 2.

Verse 3.

Note 1. *Abhog-ghánaḥ*, the slayers of the demon, are the slayers of the clouds, viz. of such clouds as do not yield rain. *Abhog*, not nurturing, seems to be a name of the rainless cloud, like *Námuḥi* (na-muḥ, not delivering rain), the name of another demon, killed by Indra; see Benfey, Glossar, s. v. The cloud which sends rain is called *bhugmán* :

VIII, 50, 2. *girlḥ ná bhugmāḥ maghávāt-su pinvate*.

Like a feeding cloud he showers his gifts on the worshippers.

Verse 4.

Note 1. The ornaments of the Maruts are best described V, 54, 11 :

āmseshu vah rishtāyah pat-sú khādāyah vākshah-su rukmāh.

On your shoulders are the spears, on your feet rings, on your chests gold ornaments. See also I, 166, 10, &c.

Rukmā as a masc. plur. is frequently used for ornaments which are worn on the breast by the Maruts. The Maruts are actually called rukmāvākshasaḥ, gold-breasted (II, 34, 2; V, 55, 1; 57, 5). In the Āsval. Srauta-sūtra IX, 4, rukma is mentioned as an ornament to be given to the Hotri priest; it is said to be round.

Note 2. Vāpushe and subhé, as parallel expressions, occur also VI, 63, 6. Cf. Delbrück, K. Z. xviii, 96.

Note 3. Ní mimrikshur does not occur again in the Rig-veda, and Roth has suggested to read ní mimikshur instead; see ní + marg. He does not, however, give our passage under myaḥ, but under mraksh, and this seems indeed preferable. No doubt, there is ample analogy for mimikshuḥ, and the meaning would be, their spears stick firm to their shoulders. But as the MSS. give mimrikshuḥ, and as it is possible to find a meaning for this, I do not propose to alter the text. The question is only, what does mimrikshuḥ mean? Mraksh means to grind, to rub, and Roth proposes to render our passage by 'the spears rub together on our shoulders.' The objections to this translation are the preposition ní, and the active voice of the verb. I take mraksh in the sense of grinding, pounding, destroying, which is likewise appropriate to mraksha-kṛtvān (VIII, 61, 10), and tuvi-mrakshá (VI, 18, 2), and I translate, 'the spears on their shoulders pound to pieces.'

Note 4. The idea that the Maruts owe everything, if not their birth, at least their strength (svá-tavasaḥ, svá-bhānavah, sva-sṛtaḥ), to themselves is of frequent occurrence in these hymns. See verse 7, note 1.

Verse 5.

Note 1. They are themselves compared to kings (I, 85, 8), and called iśáná, lords (I, 87, 4).

Note 2. Dhúni is connected with root dhvan, to dun or

to *din*. *Sāyana* explains it by bending or shaking, and *Benfey*, too, translates it by *Erschütterer*. *Roth* gives the right meaning.

Verse 6.

Note 1. I translate *sudānavaḥ* by bounteous, or good givers, for, if we have to choose between the two meanings of bounteous or endowed with liquid drops or dew, the former is the more appropriate in most passages. We might, of course, admit two words, one meaning, possessed of good water, the other, bounteous; the former derived from *dānu*, neuter, water, or rain, the other from *dānú*, giving. It cannot be denied, for instance, that whenever the *Maruts* are called *sudānavaḥ*, the meaning, possessed of good rain, would be applicable: I, 40, 1; 44, 14; 64, 6; 85, 10; II, 34, 8; III, 26, 5; V, 52, 5; 53, 6; 57, 5; VIII, 20, 18; X, 78, 5; I, 15, 2; 23, 9; 39, 10. Yet, even in these passages, while *sudānavaḥ* in the sense of possessed of good rain is possible throughout, that of good giver would sometimes be preferable, for instance, I, 15, 2, as compared with I, 15, 3. Though *sudānu*, in the sense of possessed of good water, sounds as strange as would *suvrishṭi* in the sense of possessed of good rain, or *sumegha*, possessed of good clouds, yet it is difficult to separate *sudānavaḥ* and *gīrādānavaḥ*, both epithets of the *Maruts*.

When the same word is applied to *Indra*, VII, 31, 2; X, 23, 6; to *Vishṇu*, VIII, 25, 12; to the *Asvins*, I, 112, 11; to *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, V, 62, 9; to *Indra* and *Varuṇa*, IV, 41, 8, the meaning of giver of good rain might still seem natural. But with *Agni*, VI, 2, 4; the *Ādityas*, V, 67, 4; VIII, 18, 12; 19, 34; 67, 16; the *Vasus*, I, 106, 1; X, 66, 12; the *Viśve*, X, 65, 11, such an epithet would not be appropriate, while *sudānavaḥ*, in the sense of bounteous givers, is applicable to all. The objection that *dānu*, giver, does not occur in the *Veda*, is of no force, for many words occur at the end of compounds only, and we shall see passages where *sudānu* must be translated by good giver. Nor would the accent of *dānú*, giver, be an obstacle, considering that the author of the *Unādi-sūtras* had no Vedic

authority to guide him in the determination of the accent of *dānú*. Several words in *nu* have the accent on the first syllable. But one might go even a step further, and find a more appropriate meaning for *sudānu* by identifying it with the Zend *hudānu*, which means, not a good giver, but a good knower, wise. True, this root *dā*, to know, does not occur in the ordinary Sanskrit; and Hübschmann (*Ein Zoroastrisches Lied*, 1872, p. 48) tries to prove that the root *dā*, to know, does not exist in Zend either. But even thus we might have the derivation in Sanskrit and Zend, while the root was kept alive in Greek only (*δάημι*, *δαίς*). This, however, is only a conjecture; what is certain is this, that apart from the passages where *sudānu* is thus applied to various deities, in the sense of bounteous or wise, it also occurs as applied to the sacrificer, where it can only mean giver. This is clear from the following passages:

I, 47, 8. *su-kr̥te su-dānave*.

To him who acts well and gives well.

VII, 96, 4. *gani-yántaḥ nú ágravaḥ putri-yántaḥ su-dāna-vaḥ, sárasvantam havāmahe*.

We, being unmarried, and wishing for wives and wishing for sons, offering sacrifices, call now upon Sarasvat.

VIII, 103, 7. *su-dānavaḥ deva-yávaḥ*.

Offering sacrifices, and longing for the gods. Cf. X, 172, 2; 3; VI, 16, 8.

IV, 4, 7. *sáḥ ít agne astu su-bhágaḥ su-dānuḥ yáḥ tvā nītyena havíṣhā yáḥ ukthaḥ píprīṣhati*.

O Agni, let the liberal sacrificer be happy, who wishes to please thee by perpetual offerings and hymns. See also VI, 16, 8; 68, 5; X, 172, 2, 3.

It must be confessed that even the meaning of *dānu* is by no means quite clear. It is clear enough where it means demon, II, 11, 18; 12, 11; IV, 30, 7; X, 120, 6, the seven demons. In I, 32, 9; III, 30, 8, *dānu*, demon, is applied to the mother of *Vṛtra*, the dark cloud. From this *dānu* we have the derivative *dānavá*, meaning again demon. Why the demons, conquered by Indra, were called *dānu*, is not clear, unless they were conceived originally as dark clouds, like *Dānu*, the mother of Indra. *Dānu* might mean wise,

or even powerful, for this meaning also is ascribed to *dānu* by the author of the *Unādi-sūtras*. If the latter meaning is authentic, and not only deduced *ex post* from the name of *Dānu* and *Dānava*, it might throw light on the Celtic *dána*, *fortis*, from which Zeuss derives the name of the Danube.

Sometimes *dānu*, as a neuter, is explained as Soma :

X, 43, 7. *āpaḥ nā śindhum abhī yāt sam-āksharan sómāsaḥ*
īndram kulyāḥ-iva hradām, vārdhanti viprāḥ mahaḥ asya
sādane yāvam nā vṛishṭīḥ divyēna dānunā.

When the Somas run together to Indra, like water to the river, like channels to the lake, then the priests increase his greatness in the sanctuary, as rain the corn, by the heavenly Soma-juice, or by heavenly moisture.

In the next verse *gīrādānu* is explained as the sacrificer whose Soma is always alive, always ready.

In VI, 50, 13, however, *dānu pāpriḥ* is doubtful. As an epithet to *Apām nāpāt*, it may mean he who wishes for Soma, or he who grants Soma ; but in neither case is there any tangible sense, unless Soma is taken as a name of the fertilising rain or dew. Again, VIII, 25, 5, *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* are called *sriprā-dānū*, which may mean possessed of flowing rain. And in the next verse, *sām yā dānūni yemāthuḥ* may be rendered by *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, who brought together rain.

The fact that *Mitra-Varuṇau* and the *Asvins* are called *dānunaspatī* does not throw much more light on the subject, and the one passage where *dānu* occurs as a feminine, I, 54, 7, *dānuḥ asmai úparā pivate divāḥ*, may be translated by rain pours forth for him, below the sky, but the translation is by no means certain.

Dānuḥitra, applied to the dawn, the water of the clouds, and the three worlds (V, 59, 8 ; 31, 6 ; I, 174, 7), means most likely bright with dew or rain ; and *dānumat vāsu*, the treasure conquered by *Indra* from the clouds, can be translated by the treasure of rain. Taking all the evidence together, we can hardly doubt that *dānu* existed in the sense of liquid, rain, dew, and also Soma ; yet it is equally certain that *dānu* existed in the sense of giver, if not of gift, and that from this, in certain passages, at all events,

sudānu must be derived, as a synonym of sudāvan, sudāman, &c.

Spiegel admits two words dānu in the Veda and Avesta, the one meaning enemy, the other river. Darmesteter (Ormazd, p. 220) takes dānu as a cloud, water, or river. Ludwig translates sudānu by possessed of excellent gifts.

Note 2. I thought formerly that pinvanti was here construed with two accusatives, in the sense of 'they fill the water (with) fat milk.'

Cf. VI, 63, 8. dhenúm naḥ ísham pinvatam ásakrām.

You filled our cow (with) constant food.

Similarly duh, to milk, to extract, is construed with two accusatives : Pāṇ. I, 4, 51. gām dogdhi payaḥ, he milks the cow milk.

RV. IX, 107, 5. duhánáḥ ūdhaḥ divyám mádhu priyám.

Milking the heavenly udder (and extracting from it) the precious sweet, i.e. the rain.

But I now prefer to translate pínvanti apáḥ by they pour out water, and I take páyaḥ ghrítavat as a description of the water, namely, the fat milk of the clouds. After that parenthesis, vidátheshu ábhúvaḥ is again an epithet of apáḥ, as it was in the first verse.

Note 3. The leading about of the clouds is intended, like the leading about of horses, to tame them, and make them obedient to the wishes of their riders, the Maruts. Átyaḥ vâgī is a strong horse, possibly a stallion; but this horse is here meant to signify the clouds. Thus we read :

V, 83, 6. diváḥ naḥ vrishṭīm marutaḥ raridhvam prá pinvata vrishnaḥ ásvasya dhārāḥ.

Give us, O Maruts, the rain of heaven, pour forth the streams of the stallion (the cloud).

In the original the simile is quite clear, and no one required to be told that the átyaḥ vâgī was meant for the cloud. Vâgīn by itself means a horse, as I, 66, 2; 69, 3. vâgī ná prítáḥ, like a favourite horse; I, 116, 6. paidváḥ vâgī, the horse of Pedu. But being derived from vâga, strength, vâgīn retained always something of its etymological meaning, and was therefore easily and naturally transferred to the cloud, the giver of strength, the source

of food. Even without the ná, i. e. as if, the simile would have been understood in Sanskrit, while in English it is hardly intelligible without a commentary. Benfey discovers some additional idea in support of the poet's comparison: 'Ich bin kein Pferdekennner,' he says, 'aber ich glaube bemerkt zu haben, dass man Pferde, welche rasch gelaufen sind, zum Uriniren zu bewegen sucht. So lassen hier die Maruts die durch ihren Sturm rasch fortgetriebenen Wolken Wasser herab strömen.'

Note 4. Útsa, well, is meant again for cloud, though we should hardly be justified in classing it as a name of cloud, because the original meaning of útsa, spring, is really retained, as much as that of avatá, well, in I, 85, 10-11. The adjectives *stanáyantam* and *ákshitam* seem more applicable to cloud, yet they may be applied also to a spring. Yáska derives utsa from ut-sar, to go forth; ut-sad, to go out; ut-syand, to well out; or from ud, to wet. In V, 32, 2, the wells shut up by the seasons are identified with the udder of the cloud.

Verse 7.

Note 1. Svátavas means really having their own independent strength, a strength not derived from the support of others. The yet which I have added in brackets seems to have been in the poet's mind, though it is not expressed. In I, 87, 4, the Maruts are called *sva-srít*, going by themselves, i. e. moving freely, independently, wherever they list. See I, 64, 4, note 4.

Note 2. *Mrigāh* *hastínah*, wild animals with a hand or a trunk, must be meant for elephants, although it has been doubted whether the poets of the Veda were acquainted with that animal. *Hastín* is the received name for elephant in the later Sanskrit, and it is hardly applicable to any other animal. If they are said to eat the forests, this may be understood in the sense of crushing or chewing, as well as of eating.

Note 3. The chief difficulty of the last sentence has been pointed out in B. and R.'s Dictionary, s. v. *āruṇi*. *Āruṇi* does not occur again in the whole of the Rig-veda. If we take it with *Sáyana* as a various reading of *aruṇi*, then the

Arūṇīs could only be the ruddy cows of the dawn or of Indra, with whom the Maruts, in this passage, can have no concern. Nor would it be intelligible why they should be called āruṇī in this one place only. If, as suggested by B. and R., the original text had been yadā aruṇīshu, it would be difficult to understand how so simple a reading could have been corrupted.

Another difficulty is the verb áyugdhvam, which is not found again in the Ríg-veda together with távishī. Távishī, vigour, is construed with dhâ, to take strength, V, 32, 2. adhatthâh; V, 55, 2. dadhivhe; X, 102, 8. adhâtta; also with vas, IV, 16, 14; with pat, X, 113, 5, &c. But it is not likely that to put vigour into the cows could be expressed in Sanskrit by 'you join vigour in the cows.' If távishī must be taken in the sense which it seems always to possess, viz. vigour, it would be least objectionable to translate, 'when you joined vigour, i. e. when you assumed vigour, while being among the Āruṇīs.' The Āruṇīs being the cows of the dawn, āruṇīshu might simply mean in the morning. Considering, however, that the Maruts are said to eat up forests, āruṇī, in this place, is best taken in the sense of red flames, viz. of fire or forest-fire (dāvāgni), so that the sense would be, 'When you, Storms, assume vigour among the flames, you eat up forests, like elephants.' Benfey: 'Wenn mit den rothen eure Kraft ihr angeschirrt. Die rothen sind die Antilopen, das Vehikel der Maruts, wegen der Schnelligkeit derselben.'

Verse 8.

Note 1. As píśā does not occur again in the Ríg-veda, and as Sáyana, without attempting any etymological arguments, simply gives it as a name of deer, it seems best to adopt that sense till something better can be discovered. Supís, too, does not occur again. In VII, 18, 2, píś is explained by gold, &c.; VII, 57, 3, the Maruts are called visvapís.

Note 2. Kshápaḥ can only be the accusative plural, used in a temporal sense. It is so used in the expression kshápaḥ usráḥ ka, by night and by day, lit. nights and days (VII, 15, 8). In VI, 52, 15, we find kshápaḥ usráḥ in the same sense.

IV, 53, 7. *kshapābhiḥ āha-bhiḥ*, by night and by day. I, 44, 8, the loc. plur. *vyúshṭishu*, in the mornings, is followed by *kshāpāḥ*, the acc. plur., by night, and here the genitive *kshapāḥ* would certainly be preferable, in the sense of at the brightening up of the night. The acc. plur. occurs again in I, 116, 4, where *tisráḥ* is used as an accusative (II, 2, 2; VIII, 41, 3). *Kshapāḥ*, with the accent on the last, must be taken as a *genitivus temporalis*, like the German *Nachts* (I, 79, 6). In VIII, 19, 31. *kshapāḥ vástushu* means at the brightening up of the night, i. e. in the morning. Thus, in III, 50, 4, Indra is called *kshapām vastā ganitā sūryasya*, the lighter up of nights, the parent of the sun. In VIII, 26, 3, *āti kshapāḥ*, the genitive may be governed by *āti*. In IV, 16, 19, however, the accusative *kshāpāḥ* would be more natural, nor do I see how a genitive could here be accounted for:

dyāvaḥ ná dyumnāḥ abhi sántaḥ aryāḥ kshapāḥ madema sarādaḥ ka pūrvīḥ.

May we rejoice many years, overcoming our enemies as the days overcome the nights by splendour.

The same applies to I, 70, 4, where *kshapāḥ* occurs with the accent on the last syllable, whereas we expect *kshāpāḥ* as nom. or acc. plural. Here B. and R. in the Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *kshap*, rightly, I believe, suppose it to be a nom. plur. in spite of the accent.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Āhimanyu* comes very near to *Angra-mainyu*; cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 94.

Note 2. *Ródasī*, a dual, though frequently followed by *ubhé* (I, 10, 8; 33, 9; 54, 2), means heaven and earth, excluding the *antáriksha* or the air between the two. Hence, if this is to be included, it has to be added: I, 73, 8. *āpāpri-vān ródasī antáriksham*. Cf. V, 85, 3. We must scan *ródasī*. See Kuhn, *Beiträge*, vol. iv, p. 193. Should *rodasī* stand for *rodasīm*, as elsewhere? She is certainly intended by what follows in the next line.

Note 3. The comparison is not quite distinct. *Amāti* means originally impetus, then power, e. g. V, 69, 1:

vavṛidhānāu amátim kshatríyasya.

Increasing the might of the warrior.

But it is most frequently used of the effulgence of the sun, (III, 38, 8; V, 45, 2; 62, 5; VII, 38, 1; 2; 45, 3.) See also V, 56, 8, where the same companion of the Maruts is called Rodasī. The comparative particle ná is used twice.

Verse 10.

Note 1. See I, 38, 14, p. 95.

Note 2. In *vṛśha-khâdi* the meaning of *khâdi* is by no means clear. *Sâyana* evidently guesses, and proposes two meanings, weapon or food. In several passages where *khâdi* occurs, it seems to be an ornament rather than a weapon, yet if derived from *khad*, to bite, it may originally have signified some kind of weapon. Roth translates it by ring, and it is certain that these *khâdis* were to be seen not only on the arms and shoulders, but likewise on the feet of the Maruts. There is a famous weapon in India, the *kakra* or quoit, a ring with sharp edges, which is thrown from a great distance with fatal effect. Bollensen (*Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 46) suggests for *vṛśhan* the meaning of hole in the ear, and then translates the compound as having earrings in the hole of the ear. But *vṛśhan* does not mean the hole in the lap of the ear, nor has *vṛśhabhá* that meaning either in the Veda or elsewhere. Wilson gives for *vṛśhabha*, not for *vṛśhan*, the meaning of orifice of the ear, but this is very different from the hole in the lap of the ear. Benfey suggests that the *khâdis* were made of the teeth of wild animals, and hence their name of biters. *Vṛśhan* conveys the meaning of strong, though possibly with the implied idea of rain-producing, fertilising. See p. 138. In RV. V, 87, 1, Osthoff translates *sukhādāye* by *jucunde praeibenti*, Benfey by *schönverzehrendem*; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, IV, 70, has the right rendering. Cf. note to I, 166, 9.

Verse 11.

Note 1. Formerly explained as 'zum Kampfe wandelnd.' See Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, vol. iv, p. 19.

Note 2. WILSON: Augmenters of rain, they drive, with golden wheels, the clouds asunder; as elephants (in a herd, break down the trees in their way). They are honoured with sacrifices, visitants of the hall of offering, spontaneous assailers (of their foes), subverters of what are stable, immovable themselves, and wearers of shining weapons.

BENFEY: Weghemmnissen gleich schleudern die Fluthmehrer mit den goldnen Felgen das Gewölk empor, die nie müden Kämpfer, frei schreitend-festesstürzenden, die schweres thu'nden, lanzenstrahlenden Maruts.

Verse 12.

Note 1. Havásá, instead of what one should expect, hávasá, occurs but once more in another Marut hymn, VI, 66, 11.

Note 2. Vanín does not occur again as an epithet of the Maruts. It is explained by Sâyana as a possessive adjective derived from vana, water, and Benfey accordingly translates it by fluthversehn. This, however, is not confirmed by any authoritative passages. Vanín, unless it means connected with the forest, a tree, in which sense it occurs frequently, is only applied to the worshippers or priests in the sense of venerating or adoring (cf. venero, venustus, &c.):

III, 40, 7. abhí dyumnāni vanínah índram sakante ákshitā.

The inexhaustible treasures of the worshipper go towards Indra.

VIII, 3, 5. índram vanínah havāmahe.

We, the worshippers, call Indra.

Unless it can be proved by independent evidence that vanín means possessed of water, we must restrict vanín to its two meanings, of which the only one here applicable, though weak, is adoring. The Maruts are frequently represented as singers and priests, yet the epithets here applied to them stand much in need of some definite explanation, as the poet could hardly have meant to string a number of vague and ill-connected epithets together. If one might conjecture, svānínām instead of vanínām would be an improvement. It is a scarce word, and occurs but once more

in the Veda, III, 26, 5, where it is used of the Maruts, in the sense of noisy, turbulent.

Note 3. *Saskata*, which I have here translated literally by to cling, is often used in the sense of following or revering (colere):

II, 1, 13. *tvām rāti-sākaḥ adhvarēshu saskire.*

The gods who are fond of offerings cling to thee, follow thee, at the sacrifices.

The Soma libation is said to reach the god :

II, 22, 1. *sāḥ enam saskat devāḥ devām.* The gods too are said to cling to their worshippers, i. e. to love and protect them : III, 16, 2 ; VII, 18, 25. The horses are said to follow their drivers : VI, 36, 3 ; VII, 90, 3, &c. It is used very much like the Greek *ἀπείχω*.

Note 4. *Ragastūḥ* may mean rousing the dust of the earth, a very appropriate epithet of the Maruts. *Sāyana* explains it thus, and most translators have adopted his explanation. But as the epithets here are not simply descriptive, but laudatory, it seems preferable, in this place, to retain the usual meaning of *rāgas*, sky. When Soma is called *ragastūḥ*, IX, 108, 7, *Sāyana* too explains it by *tegasām prerakam*, and IX, 48, 4, by *udakasya prerakam*.

Note 5. *Rigishín*, derived from *rigisha*. *Rigisha* is what remains of the Soma-plant after it has once been squeezed, and what is used again for the third libation. Now as the Maruts are invoked at the third libation, they were called *rigishín*, as drinking at their later libation the juice made of the *rigisha*. This, at least, is the opinion of the Indian commentators. But it is much more likely that the Maruts were invoked at the third libation, because originally they had been called *rigishín* by the Vedic poets, this *rigishín* being derived from *rigisha*, and *rigisha* from *rig*, to strive, to yearn, like *purisha* from *pr̥t*, *manishā* from *man* ; (see *Unādi-sūtras*, p. 273.) This *rig* is the same root which we have in *ῥέγειν*, to reach, *ῥογή*, emotion, and *ῥογία*, furious transports of worshippers. Thus the Maruts from being called *rigishín*, impetuous, came to be taken for drinkers of *rigisha*, the fermenting and overflowing Soma, and were assigned accordingly to the third libation at sacrifices.

Rigishín, as an epithet, is not confined to the Maruts; it is given to Indra, with whom it could not have had a purely ceremonial meaning (VIII, 76, 5).

Verse 13.

Note 1. *Âprikkhya*, literally, to be asked for, to be inquired for, to be greeted and honoured. A word of an apparently modern character, but occurring again in the *Rig-veda* as applied to a prince, and to the vessel containing the Soma.

Note 2. *Púshyati* might be joined with *krátu* and taken in a transitive sense, he increases his strength. But *púshyati* is also used as an intransitive, and means he prospers :

I, 83, 3. *ásam-yatah vraté te ksheti púshyati.*

Without let he dwells in thy service and prospers.

Roth reads *asamyattah*, against the authority of the MSS.

Verse 14.

Note 1. The difficulty of this verse arises from the uncertainty whether the epithets *dhanasprítam*, *ukthyām*, and *visvákarshanim* belong to *súshma*, strength, or to *toká*, kith and kin. Roth and Benfey connect them with *toká*. Now *dhanasprít* is applicable to *toká*, yet it never occurs joined with *toká* again, while it is used with *súshma*, VI, 19, 8. *Ukthyā*, literally, to be praised with hymns, is not used again as an epithet of *toká*, though it is quite appropriate to any gift of the gods. Lastly, *visvákarshani* is never applied to *toká*, while it is an epithet used, if not exactly of the strength, *súshma*, given by the gods, yet of the fame given by them :

X, 93, 10. *dhátam víréshu visvá-karshani srávah.*

Give to these men world-wide glory. Cf. III, 2, 15.

The next difficulty is the exact meaning of *visvá-karshani*, and such cognate words as *visvá-krishñi*, *visvá-manusha*. The only intelligible meaning I can suggest for these words is, known to all men; originally, belonging to, reaching to all men; as we say, world-wide or European fame, meaning by it fame extending over the whole of Europe, or over the whole world. If Indra, Agni, and the Maruts are called by

these names, they mean, as far as I can judge, known, worshipped by all men. Benfey translates *allverständig*.

Verse 15.

NOTE 1. *Riti*, the first element of *riti-sāham*, never occurs by itself in the *Rig-veda*. It comes from the root *ar*, to hurt, which was mentioned before (p. 65) in connection with *ār-van*, hurting, *ārus*, wound, and *āri*, enemy. *Sām-riti* occurs I, 32, 6. *Riti* therefore means hurting, and *riti-sāh* means one who can stand an attack. In our passage *rayīm virā-vantam riti-sāham* means really wealth consisting in men who are able to withstand all onslaughts.

The word is used in a similar sense, VI, 14, 4 :

agnih apsam riti-sāham viram dadāti sāt-patim, yasya trāsanti sāvasaḥ sam-kākshi sāt-ravaḥ bhiyā.

Agni gives a strong son who is able to withstand all onslaughts, from fear of whose strength the enemies tremble when they see him.

In other passages *riti-sāh* is applied to Indra :

VIII, 45, 35. *bibhāya hī tvā-vataḥ ugrāt abhi-prabhaṅgī-naḥ dasmāt ahām riti-sāhaḥ.*

For I stand in fear of a powerful man like thee, of one who crushes his enemies, who is strong and withstands all onslaughts.

VIII, 68, 1. *tuvi-kūrmīm riti-sāham indra sāvishtha sāt-pate.*

Thee, O most powerful Indra, of mighty strength, able to withstand all onslaughts.

VIII, 88, 1. *tām vaḥ dasmām riti-sāham—īndram gih-bhīḥ navāmahe.*

We call Indra the strong, the resisting, with our songs.

NOTE 2. The last sentence finishes six of the hymns ascribed to Nodhas. It is more appropriate in a hymn addressed to single deities, such as Agni or Indra, than in a hymn to the Maruts. We must supply *sardha*, in order to get a collective word in the masculine singular.

Nū, as usual, should be scanned *nū*.

NOTE 3. *Dhiyā-vasu*, as an epithet of the gods, means rich in prayers, i. e. invoked by many worshippers. It does

not occur frequently. Besides the hymns of Nodhas, it only occurs independently in I, 3, 10 (Śarasvatī), III, 3, 2, III, 28, 1 (Agni), these hymns being all ascribed to the family of Visvāmitra. In the last verse, which forms the burden of the hymns of Nodhas, it may have been intended to mean, he who is rich through the hymn just recited, or he who rejoices in the hymn, the god to whom it is addressed.

Nodhas, the poet, belongs, according to the Anukramanī, to the family of Gotama, and in the hymns which are ascribed to him, I, 58-64, the Gotamas are mentioned several times :

I, 60, 5. *tām tvā vayām pátim agne rayínām prá samsā-
maḥ matī-bhiḥ gótamāsaḥ.*

We, the Gotamas, praise thee with hymns, Agni, the lord of treasures.

I, 61, 16. *evā te hāri-yogana su-vṛiktī indra bráhmāṇi
gótamāsaḥ akran.*

Truly the Gotamas made holy prayers for thee, O Indra with brilliant horses! See also I, 63, 9.

In one passage Nodhas himself is called Gotama :

I, 62, 13. *sanā-yaté gótamaḥ indra návyam
átakshat bráhma hari-yóganāya,
su-nīthāya naḥ savasāna nodhāḥ—
prátāḥ makshú dhiyā-vasuḥ gagamyāt.*

Gotama made a new song for the old (god) with brilliant horses, O Indra! May Nodhas be a good leader to us, O powerful Indra! May he who is rich in prayers (Indra) come early and soon!

I feel justified therefore in following the Anukramanī and taking Nodhas as a proper name. It occurs so again in

I, 61, 14. *sadyāḥ bhuvat víryāya nodhāḥ.*

May Nodhas quickly attain to power!

In I, 124, 4. *nodhāḥ-iva* may mean like Nodhas, but more likely it has the general meaning of poet.

MANDALA I, HYMN 85.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 6, VARGA 9-10.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Those who glance forth like wives and yoke-fellows¹, the powerful sons of Rudra on their way, they, the Maruts, have indeed made heaven and earth to grow²; they, the strong and wild, delight in the sacrifices.

2. When grown up¹, they attained to greatness; the Rudras have established their seat in the sky. While singing their song and increasing their vigour, the sons of *Prisni* have clothed themselves in beauty².

3. When these sons of the cow (*Prisni*)¹ adorn themselves with glittering ornaments, the brilliant² ones put bright weapons on their bodies³. They drive away every adversary⁴; fatness (rain) streams along their paths;—

4. When you¹, the powerful, who shine with your spears, shaking even what is unshakable by strength,—when you, O Maruts, the manly hosts², had yoked the spotted deer, swift as thought, to your chariots;—

5. When you had yoked the spotted deer before your chariots, hurling¹ the stone (thunderbolt) in the fight, then the streams of the red-(horse)² rush forth : like a skin³ with water they water the earth.

6. May the swiftly-gliding, swift-winged horses carry you hither! Come forth with your arms¹! Sit down on the grass-pile; a wide seat has been made for you. Rejoice, O Maruts, in the sweet food².

7. Strong in themselves, they grew¹ with might; they stepped to the firmament, they made their seat wide. When Vishṇu² saved the enrapturing Soma, the Maruts sat down like birds on their beloved altar.

8. Like¹ heroes indeed thirsting for fight they rush about; like combatants eager for glory they have striven in battles. All beings are afraid of the Maruts; they are men terrible to behold, like kings.

9. When the clever Tvashṭar¹ had turned the well-made, golden, thousand-edged thunderbolt, Indra takes it to perform his manly deeds²; he slew Vṛitra, he forced out the stream of water.

10. By their power they pushed the well¹ aloft, they clove asunder the rock (cloud), however strong. Blowing forth their voice² the bounteous Maruts performed, while drunk of Soma, their glorious deeds.

11. They pushed the well (cloud) athwart this way, they poured out the spring to the thirsty Gotama. The Maruts with beautiful splendour approach him with help, they in their own ways satisfied the desire of the sage.

12. The shelters which you have for him who praises you, grant them threefold¹ to the man who gives! Extend the same to us, O Maruts! Give us, ye heroes², wealth with valiant offspring!

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. No verse of this hymn occurs in SV., VS.; verse 6=AV. XX, 13, 2; verse 7=TS. IV, 1, 11, 3; verse 12=TS. I, 5, 11, 5; TB. II, 8, 5, 6.

Verse 1.

Note 1. The phrase *gánayaḥ ná sáptayaḥ* is obscure. As *gáni* has always the meaning of wife, and *sápti* in the singular, dual, and plural means horse, it might be supposed that *gánayaḥ* could be connected with *sáptayaḥ*, so as to signify mares. But although *gáni* is coupled with *patnî*, I, 62, 10, in the sense of mother-wife, and though *sápti* is most commonly joined with some other name for horse, yet *gánayaḥ sáptayaḥ* never occurs, for the simple reason that it would be too elaborate and almost absurd an expression for *vaḍavâḥ*. We find *sápti* joined with *vâgîn*, I, 162, 1; with *ráthya*, II, 31, 7; *átyam ná sáptim*, III, 22, 1; *sáptî hári*, III, 35, 2; *ásvâ sáptî-iva*, VI, 59, 3.

We might then suppose the thought of the poet to have been this: What appears before us like race-horses, viz. the storms coursing through the sky, that is really the host of the Maruts. But then *gánayaḥ* remains unexplained, and it is impossible to take *gánayaḥ ná sáptayaḥ* as two similes, like unto horses, like unto wives.

I believe, therefore, that we must here take *sápti* in its original etymological sense, which would be *ju-mentum*, a yoked animal, a beast of draught, or rather a follower, a horse that will follow. *Sápti*, therefore, could never be a wild horse, but always a tamed horse, a horse that will go in harness. Cf. IX, 21, 4. *hitāḥ ná sáptayaḥ ráthe*, like horses put to the chariot; or in the singular, IX, 70, 10. *hitāḥ ná sáptiḥ*, like a harnessed horse. The root is *sap*, which in the Veda means to follow, to attend on, to worship. But if *sápti* means originally animals that will go

together, it may in our passage have retained the sense of yoke-fellow (*σύνυγος*), and be intended as an adjective to *gánayaḥ*, wives. There is at least one other passage where this meaning would seem to be more appropriate, viz.

VIII, 20, 23. *yûyám sakhâyaḥ saptayaḥ*.

You (Maruts), friends and followers! or you, friends and comrades!

Here it is hardly possible to assign to *sápti* the sense of horse, for the Maruts, though likened to horses, are never thus barely invoked as *saptayaḥ*!

If then we translate, 'Those who glance forth like wives and yoke-fellows,' i.e. like wives of the same husband, the question still recurs how the simile holds good, and how the Maruts rushing forth together in all their beauty can be compared to wives. In answer to this we have to bear in mind that the idea of many wives belonging to one husband (*sapatnī*) is familiar to the Vedic poet, and that their impetuously rushing into the arms of their husbands, and appearing before them in all their beauty, are frequent images in their poetry. In such phrases as *pátim ná gánayaḥ* and *gánayaḥ ná gárbbham*, the *ganis*, the wives or mothers, are represented as running together after their husbands or children. This impetuous approach the poet may have wished to allude to in our passage also, but though it might have been understood at once by his hearers, it is almost impossible to convey this implied idea in any other language.

Wilson translates: 'The Maruts, who are going forth, decorate themselves like females: they are gliders (through the air), the sons of Rudra, and the doers of good works, by which they promote the welfare of earth and heaven. Heroes, who grind (the solid rocks), they delight in sacrifices.'

Ludwig translates: 'Die ganz besonders sich schmücken wie frauen, die renner, zu ihrem zuge,' &c. This is possible, yet the simile sounds somewhat forced.

Note 2. The meaning of this phrase, which occurs very frequently, was originally that the storms by driving away the dark clouds, made the earth and the sky to appear

larger and wider. It afterwards takes a more general sense of increasing, strengthening, blessing.

Verse 2.

Note 1. Ukshita is here a participle of vaksh or uksh, to grow, to wax; not of uksh, to sprinkle, to anoint, to inaugurate, as explained by Sāyana. Thus it is said of the Maruts, V, 55, 3. sākām gātāh—sākām ukshitāh, born together, and grown up together.

Note 2. The same expression occurs VIII, 28, 5. saptó (iti) ādhi srīyāh dhire. See also I, 116, 17; IX, 68, 1.

Verse 3.

Note 1. Gó-mātri, like gó-gāta, a name of the Maruts, who are also called prīṣni-mātaraḥ, sīndhu-mātaraḥ.

Note 2. Subhrā is applied to the Maruts, I, 19, 5. Otherwise, no doubt, it might refer, as Ludwig remarks, to virúk-mataḥ, always supposing that virúkmat is a feminine. Whether tanúshu subhrāḥ can stand for tanúshu subhrāsu is more doubtful.

Note 3. Virúkматаḥ must be an accusative plural. It occurs I, 127, 3, as an epithet of ógas; VI, 49, 5, as an epithet of the chariot of the Asvins. In our place, however, it must be taken as a substantive, signifying something which the Maruts wear, probably armour or weapons. This follows chiefly from X, 138, 4. sátrūn asrināt virúkmatā, Indra tore his enemies with the bright weapon. In VIII, 20, 11, where rukmā occurs as a masculine plural, ví bhrāgante rukmāsaḥ ādhi bāhúshu, their bright things shine on their arms, it seems likewise to be meant for weapons; according to Sāyana, for chains. In V, 55, 3; X, 78, 3, the Maruts are called vi-rokināḥ, bright like the rays of the sun or the tongues of fire.

Note 4. Observe the short syllable in the tenth syllable of this Pāda; Benfey, Védica, p. 124; Lanman, Noun-Inflection, pp. 378, 543.

Verse 4.

Note 1. The sudden transition from the third to the second person is not unusual in the Vedic hymns, the fact

being that where we in a relative sentence should use the same person as that of the principal verb, the Vedic poets frequently use the third.

Note 2. *Vṛsha-vrāta* is untranslatable for reasons stated p. 138 seq.; it means consisting of companies of *vṛshans*, in whatever sense that word be taken. Wilson in his translation mistakes *ákyutā* for *ákyutāḥ*, and *vrāta* for *vrata*. He translates the former by 'incapable of being overthrown,' the latter by 'entrusted with the duty of sending rain,' both against the authority of *Sāyana*. *Vṛsha-vrāta* occurs twice in the *Rig-veda* as an epithet of *Soma* only, IX, 62, 11; 64, 1.

Verse 5.

Note 1. If we take *ádri* for cloud, then *ramh* might have the meaning of stirring up.

V, 32, 2. *tvám útsán rítú-bhiḥ badbadhânñ áramhaḥ*.

Thou madest the springs to run that had been shut up by the seasons.

VIII, 19, 6. *tásya ít árvantaḥ ramhayante áśávaḥ*.

His horses only run quick.

But *ádri* often means stone, in the sense of weapon, or bolt (cf. *adrivaḥ*, voc., wielder of the thunderbolt), and *ramhayati* would then have the meaning of hurling. This is the meaning adopted by Benfey and Ludwig.

Note 2. The red may be the dark red cloud, but *arushá* has almost become a proper name, and its original meaning of redness is forgotten. Nay, it is possible that *arushá*, as applied to the same power of darkness which is best known by the names of *Vṛitra*, *Dasyu*, &c., may never have had the sense of redness, but been formed straight from *ar*, to hurt, from which *arvan*, *arus*, &c. (see p. 65 seq.). It would then mean simply the hurter, the enemy. It is possible also to take *arushá* in the sense of the red horse, the leader between the two *Haris*, when we ought to remember that the *Maruts* pour forth the streams of the stallion, RV. V, 83, 6. *prá pinvata vṛishnaḥ ásvasya dhāráḥ*, and that they lead about the horse to make it rain, RV. I, 64, 6. *átyam ná mihé ví nayanti vâgínam*.

NOTE 3. Sāyana explains: 'They moisten the whole earth like a hide,' a hide representing a small surface which is watered without great effort. Wilson: 'They moisten the earth, like a hide, with water.' Langlois: 'Alors les gouttes d'eau, perçant comme la peau de ce (nuage) bien-faisant viennent inonder la terre.' Benfey: 'Dann stürzen reichlich aus der rothen (Gewitterwolke) Tropfen, mit Fluth wie eine Haut die Erde netzend. (Dass die Erde so durchnässt wird, wie durchgeregnetes Leder.)' If the poet had intended to compare the earth, before it is moistened by rain, to a hide, he might have had in his mind the dryness of a tanned skin, or, as Professor Benfey says, of leather. If, on the contrary, the simile refers to the streams of water, then *kārma-iva*, like a skin, might either be taken in the technical acceptation of the skin through which, at the preparation of the Soma, the streams (*dhârâh*) of that beverage are squeezed and distilled, or we may take the word in the more general sense of water-skin. In that case the comparison, though not very pointedly expressed, as it would have been by later Sanskrit poets, would still be complete. The streams of the red-(horse), i. e. of the cloud, rush forth, and they, whether the streams liberated by the Maruts, or the Maruts themselves, moisten the earth with water, like a skin, i. e. like a skin in which water is kept and from which it is poured out. The cloud itself being called a skin by Vedic poets (I, 129, 3) makes the comparison still more natural.

One other explanation might suggest itself, if the singular of *kārma* should be considered objectionable on account of the plural of the verb. Vedic poets speak of the skin of the earth. Thus:

X, 68, 4. *bhūmyâh udnâ-iva ví tvákam bibheda.*

He (*Br̥haspati*) having driven the cows from the cave, cut the skin of the earth, as it were, with water, i. e. saturated it with rain.

The construction, however, if we took *kārma* in the sense of surface, would be very irregular, and we should have to translate: They moisten the earth with water like a skin, i. e. skin-deep.

We ought to scan *kārmēvōdābhīḥ vī ūdāntī bhūmā*, for *kārmēvā ūdābhīḥ vyūdāntī bhūmā* would give an unusual cæsure.

Verse 6.

Note 1. AV. XX, 13, 2. With your arms, i. e. according to Sāyana, with armfuls of gifts. Though this expression does not occur again so baldly, we read I, 166, 10, of the Maruts, that there are many gifts in their strong arms, *bhūrīni bhadra nāryeshu bāhūshu*; nor does *bāhū*, as used in the plural, as far as I am able to judge, ever convey any meaning but that of arms. The idea that the Maruts are carried along by their arms as by wings, does not rest on Vedic authority, otherwise we might join *raghupátvānaḥ* with *bāhūbhiḥ*, come forth swiftly flying on your arms! As it is, and with the accent on the antepenultimate, we must refer *raghupátvānaḥ* to *sáptayaḥ*, horses.

Note 2. The sweet food is Soma.

Verse 7.

Note 1. The initial 'a' of *avardhanta* must be elided, or 'té a' be pronounced as two short syllables equal to one long.

Note 2. Taitt. S. IV, 1, 11, 3. *Vishṇu*, 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. Like the Maruts, he assisted Indra in his battle against *Vṛitra* and the conquest of the clouds. When Indra was forsaken by all the gods, *Vishṇu* came to his help.

IV, 18, 11. *utā mātā mahishám ānu avenat amī (īti) tvā gahati putra devāḥ*,

ātha abravīt vṛitrām índraḥ hanishyān sákhe vishṇo (īti) vi-tarám ví kramasva.

The mother also called after the bull, these gods forsake thee, O son; then, when going to kill *Vṛitra*, Indra said, Friend, *Vishṇu*, step forward!

This stepping of *Vishṇu* is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and setting of the sun; and in VIII, 12, 27,

Vishṇu is said to perform it through the power of Indra. In VI, 20, 2, Indra is said to have killed Vṛitra, assisted by Vishṇu (vishṇunā saśānāḥ). Vishṇu is therefore invoked together with Indra, VI, 69, 8; VII, 99; with the Maruts, V, 87; VII, 36, 9. In VII, 93, 8, Indra, Vishṇu, and the Maruts are called upon together. Nay, māruta, belonging to the Maruts, becomes actually an epithet of Vishṇu, V, 46, 2. māruta utā vishṇo (īti); and in I, 156, 4. mārutasya vedhāsaḥ has been pointed out by Roth as an appellation of Vishṇu. The mention of Vishṇu 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.

The translations of Wilson, Benfey, and others have not rendered the sense which the poet intends to describe at all clear. Wilson says: 'May they for whom Vishṇu defends (the sacrifice), that bestows all desires and confers delight, come (quickly) like birds, and sit down upon the pleasant and sacred grass.' Benfey: 'Wenn Vishṇu schützt den rauschtriefenden tropfenden (Soma), sitzen wie Vögel sie auf der geliebten Streu.' Langlois: 'Quand Vichnou vient prendre sa part de nos enivrantes libations, eux, comme des oiseaux, arrivent aussi sur le couda qui leur est cher.' Ludwig: 'Als Vishṇu half dem zum rauschtrank eilenden stiere, setzten sie sich wie vögel aufs liebe barhis.'

Whence all these varieties? First, because āvat may mean, he defended or protected, but likewise, it is supposed, he descried, became aware. Secondly, because vṛtshan is one of the most vague and hence most difficult words in the Veda, and may mean Indra, Soma, or the cloud: (see the note on Vṛtshan, p. 138.) Thirdly, because the adjective belonging to vṛtshan, which generally helps us to determine which vṛtshan is meant, is here itself of doubtful import, and certainly applicable to Indra as well as to Soma and the Asvins, possibly even to the cloud. Mada-kyút is readily explained by the commentators as bringing down pride, a meaning which the word might well have in modern Sanskrit, but which it clearly has not in

the Veda. Even where the thunderbolt of Indra is called *mada-kyút*, and where the meaning of 'bringing down pride' would seem most appropriate, we ought to translate 'wildly rushing down.'

VIII, 96, 5. *ā yát vágram bāhvóh indra dhátse mada-kyútam áhaye hántavaí ūm (íti).*

When thou tookest the wildly rushing thunderbolt in thy arms in order to slay Ahi.

When applied to the gods, the meaning of *mada-kyút* is by no means certain. It might mean rushing about fiercely, reeling with delight, this delight being produced by the Soma, but it may also mean sending down delight, i. e. rain or Soma. The root *kyu* is particularly applicable to the sending down of rain; cf. Taitt. Samh. II, 4, 9, 2; 10, 3; III, 3, 4, 1; and Indra and his horses, to whom this epithet is chiefly applied, are frequently asked to send down rain. However, *mada-kyút* is also applied to real horses (I, 126, 4) where givers of rain would be an inappropriate epithet. I should therefore translate *mada-kyút*, when applied to Indra, to his horses, to the Asvins, or to horses in general by furiously or wildly moving about, as if 'made or madena *kyavate*,' he moves in a state of delight, or in a state of intoxication, such as was not incompatible with the character of the ancient gods. Here again the difficulty of rendering Vedic thought in English, or any other modern language, becomes apparent, for we have no poetical word to express a high state of mental excitement produced by drinking the intoxicating juice of the Soma or other plants, which has not something opprobrious mixed up with it, while in ancient times that state of excitement was celebrated as a blessing of the gods, as not unworthy of the gods themselves, nay, as a state in which both the warrior and the poet would perform their highest achievements. The German Rausch is the nearest approach to the Sanskrit *mada*.

VIII, 1, 21. *vśveshām tarutāram mada-kyútam máde hí sma dádāti nah.*

Indra, the conqueror of all, who rushes about in rapture, for in rapture he bestows gifts upon us. Cf. I, 51, 2.

The horses of Indra are called *mada-kyút*, I, 81, 3; VIII, 33, 18; 34, 9. Ordinary horses, I, 126, 4.

It is more surprising to see this epithet applied to the *Asvins*, who are generally represented as moving about with exemplary steadiness. However we read:

VIII, 22, 16. *mánaḥ-gavasā vrishanā mada-kyutā*.

Ye two *Asvins*, quick as thought, powerful, wildly moving; or, as *Sâyana* proposes, liberal givers, humblers of your enemies. See also VIII, 35, 19.

Most frequently *mada-kyút* is applied to *Soma*, X, 30, 9; IX, 32, 1; 53, 4; 79, 2; 108, 11; where particularly the last passage deserves attention, in which *Soma* is called *mada-kyútam saḥsra-dhâram vrishabhâm*.

Lastly, even the wealth itself which the *Maruts* are asked to send down from heaven, most likely rain, is called, VIII, 7, 13, *rayīm mada-kyútam puru-kshúm visvá-dhâyasam*.

In all these passages we must translate *mada-kyút* by bringing delight, showering down delight.

We have thus arrived at the conclusion that *vrishanam mada-kyútam*, as used in our passage I, 85, 7, might be meant either for *Indra* or for *Soma*. If the *Asvins* can be called *vrishanau mada-kyutā*, the same expression would be even more applicable to *Indra*. On the other hand, if *Soma* is called *vrishabhāḥ mada-kyút*, the same *Soma* may legitimately be called *vrishā mada-kyút*. In deciding whether *Indra* or *Soma* be meant, we must now have recourse to other hymns, in which the relations of the *Maruts* with *Vishnu*, *Soma*, and *Indra* are alluded to.

If *Indra* were intended, and if the first words meant 'When *Vishnu* perceived the approach of *Indra*,' we should expect, not that the *Maruts* sat down on the sacrificial pile, but that they rushed to the battle. The idea that the *Maruts* come to the sacrifice, like birds, is common enough:

VIII, 20, 10. *vrishanasvéna marutaḥ vrishā-psunā ráthena vrishā-nābhinā, ā syenāsaḥ ná pakshínāḥ vrithā naraḥ havyā naḥ vítāye gata*.

Come ye *Maruts* together, to eat our offerings, on your

strong-horsed, strong-shaped, strong-naved chariot, like winged hawks!

But when the Maruts thus come to a sacrifice it is to participate in it, and particularly in the Soma that is offered by the sacrificer. This Soma, it is said in other hymns, was prepared by Vishnu for Indra (II, 22, 1), and Vishnu is said to have brought the Soma for Indra (X, 113, 2). If we keep these and similar passages in mind, and consider that in the preceding verse the Maruts have been invited to sit down on the sacrificial pile and to rejoice in the sweet food, we shall see that the same train of thought is carried on in our verse, the only new idea being that the saving or, possibly, the descrying of the Soma is ascribed to Vishnu. See, however, Bergaigne, *Journ. Asiat.* 1884, p. 472.

Verse 8.

Note 1. On *na* and *iva* together, see Bollensen, *Orient und Occident*, II, 470.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Tváshṭar*, the workman of the gods, frequently also the fashioner and creator.

Note 2. *Nári*, the loc. sing. of *nri*, but, if so, with a wrong accent, occurs only in this phrase as used here, and as repeated in VIII, 96, 19. *nári ápāmsi kártā sáh vṛitra-hā*. Its meaning is not clear. It can hardly mean 'on man,' without some more definite application. If *nri* could be used as a name of *Vṛitra* or any other enemy, it would mean, to do his deeds against the man, on the enemy. *Nri*, however, is ordinarily an honorific term, chiefly applied to Indra, IV, 25, 4. *náre náryāya nri-tamáya nṛinām*, and hence its application to *Vṛitra* would be objectionable. *Sâyana* explains it in the sense of battle. I believe that *nári* stands for *náryá*, the acc. plur. neut. of *nárya*, manly, and the frequent epithet of *ápas*, and I have translated accordingly. Indra is called *nárya-apas*, VIII, 93, 1. See also Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxv, p. 601.

Verse 10.

Note 1. *Avatá*, a well, here meant for cloud, like *útsa*, I, 64, 6.

Note 2. *Dhámantaḥ vānám* is translated by *Sâyana* as playing on the lyre, by *Benfey* as blowing the flute. Such a rendering, particularly the latter, would be very appropriate, but there is no authority for *vānā* meaning either lyre or flute in the *Veda*. *Vānā* occurs five times only. In one passage, VIII, 20, 8. *góbhiḥ vānāḥ agyate*, it means arrow; the arrow is sent forth from the bow-strings. The same meaning seems applicable to IX, 50, 1. *vānāsya kodaya pavīm*. In another passage, IX, 97, 8. *prá vadanti vānám*, they send forth their voice, is applied to the *Maruts*, as in our passage; in IV, 24, 9, the sense is doubtful, but here too *vānā* clearly does not mean a musical instrument. See III, 30, 10. *Spiegel* compares the *Huzvareh* and *Armenian vāng* (Pers. *bānig*), voice. *M. Senart* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 281) is in favour of taking *vāna* for flute.

Verse 12.

Note 1. In the *Taitt. S.* I, 5, 11, we have *sasamānāya*, and in the *Taitt. Br.* II, 8, 5, 6, *samsamānāya*, but *Sâyana* explains *sasamānāya*, *samsanam* kurvate. He explains *tridhâtûni* by *asanam*, *pānam*, *khâdanam*.

Vṛśhan.

Note 2. In *vṛśhan* we have one of those words which it is almost impossible to translate accurately. It occurs over and over again in the *Vedic hymns*, and if we once know the various ideas which it either expresses or implies, we have little difficulty in understanding its import in a vague and general way, though we look in vain for corresponding terms in any modern language. In the *Veda*, and in ancient languages generally, one and the same word is frequently made to do service for many. Words retain their general meaning, though at the same time they are evidently used with a definite purpose. This is not only a peculiar phase of language, but a peculiar phase of thought, and as to us this phase has become strange and unreal, it is very difficult to transport ourselves back into it, still more to translate the pregnant terms of the *Vedic poets* into the definite languages which we have to use. Let us imagine a state of

thought and speech in which *virtus* still meant manliness, though it might also be applied to the virtue of a woman ; or let us try to speak and think a language which expressed the bright and the divine, the brilliant and the beautiful, the straight and the right, the bull and the hero, the shepherd and the king by the same terms, and we shall see how difficult it would be to translate such terms without losing either the key-note that was still sounding, or the harmonics which were set vibrating by it in the minds of the poets and their listeners.

I. *Vṛiṣhan*, male.

Vṛiṣhan, being derived from a root *vrish*, spargere, meant no doubt originally the male, whether applied to animals or men. In this sense *vrīṣhan* occurs frequently in the Veda, either as determining the sex of the animal which is mentioned, or as standing by itself and meaning the male. In either case, however, it implies the idea of strength and eminence, which we lose whether we translate it by man or male.

Thus *ásva* is horse, but VII, 69, 1, we read :

ā vām ráthak—*vrīṣha*-bhiḥ yātu ásvaiḥ.

May your chariot come near with powerful horses, i. e. with stallions.

The *Háris*, the horses of Indra, are frequently called *vrīṣhanā* :

I, 177, 1. yuktvā hári (iti) *vrīṣhanā*.

Having yoked the bay stallions.

Vṛishabhá, though itself originally meaning the male animal, had become fixed as the name of the bull, and in this process it had lost so much of its etymological import that the Vedic poet did not hesitate to define *vrīshabhá* itself by the addition of *vrīṣhan*. Thus we find :

VIII, 93, 7. *sák vrīshá vrīshabhák* bhuvat.

May he (Indra) be a strong bull.

I, 54, 2. *vrīshá vrīsha*-tvā *vrīshabhák*.

Indra by his strength a strong bull ; but, literally, Indra by his manliness a male bull.

Even *vrīshabhá* loses again its definite meaning ; and as

bull in bull-calf means simply male, or in bull-trout, large, so *vrishabhá* is added to *átya*, horse, to convey the meaning of large or powerful :

I, 177, 2. *yé te vrishanah vrishabhāsaḥ indra—átyāḥ.*

Thy strong and powerful horses ; literally, thy male bull-horses.

When *vrishan* and *vrishabhá* are used as adjectives, for instance with *súshma*, strength, they hardly differ in meaning :

VI, 19, 8. *ā naḥ bhara vrishanam súshmam indra.*

Bring us thy manly strength, O Indra.

And in the next verse :

VI, 19, 9. *ā te súshmaḥ vrishabhāḥ etu.*

May thy manly strength come near.

Vámsaga, too, which is clearly the name for bull, is defined by *vrishan*, I, 7, 8 :

vrishā yúthā-iva vámsagaḥ.

As the strong bull scares the herds.

The same applies to *varāha*, which, though by itself meaning boar, is determined again by *vrishan* :

X, 67, 7. *vrisha-bhiḥ varāhaiḥ.*

With strong boars.

In III, 2, 11, we read :

vrishā—nānadat ná simhāḥ.

Like a roaring lion.

If used by itself, *vrishan*, at least in the *Rig-veda*, can hardly be said to be the name of any special animal, though in later Sanskrit it may mean bull or horse. Thus if we read, X, 43, 8, *vrishā ná kruddhāḥ*, we can only translate like an angry male, though, no doubt, like a wild bull, would seem more appropriate.

I, 186, 5. *yéna nāpātam apām guṇāma manah-gúvaḥ vrishanah yám váhanti.*

That we may excite the son of the water (*Agni*), whom the males, quick as thought, carry along.

Here the males are no doubt the horses or stallions of *Agni*. But, though this follows from the context, it would be wrong to say that *vrishan* by itself means horse.

If used by itself, *vr̥shan* most frequently means man, and chiefly in his sexual character. Thus :

I, 140, 6. *vr̥shā-iva pātnīh abhī eti rōruvat*.

Agni comes roaring like a husband to his wives.

I, 179, 1. *āpi ūm (īti) nū pātnīh vr̥shanah gagamyuh*.

Will the husbands now come to their wives?

II, 16, 8. *sakrīt sū te sumatī-bhih—sām pātnībhih nā vr̥shanah nasīmahi*.

May we for once cling firmly to thy blessings, as husbands cling to their wives.

V, 47, 6. *upa-prakshē vr̥shanah mōdamānāh divāh pathā vadhvāh yanti ākkha*.

The exulting men come for the embrace on the path of heaven towards their wives.

In one or two passages *vr̥shan* would seem to have a still more definite meaning, particularly in the formula *sūrah dr̥śike vr̥shanah ka paúmsye*, which occurs IV, 41, 6; X, 92, 7. See also I, 179, 1.

In all the passages which we have hitherto examined *vr̥shan* clearly retained its etymological meaning, though even then it was not always possible to translate it by male.

The same meaning has been retained in other languages in which this word can be traced. Thus, in Zend, *arshan* (the later *gushan*) is used to express the sex of animals in such expressions as *aspahē arshnō*, gen. a male horse; *varāzahe arshnō*, gen. a male boar; *géus arshnō*, gen. a male ox; but likewise in the sense of man or hero, as *arsha husrava*, the hero *Husrava*. In Greek we find *ἀρσην* and *ἀρρήν* used in the same way to distinguish the sex of animals, as *ἀρσενες ἵπποι, βούν ἀρσενα*. In Latin the same word may be recognised in the proper name *Varro*, and in *vāro* and *bāro*.

We now come to another class of passages in which *vr̥shan* is clearly intended to express more than merely the masculine gender. In some of them the etymological meaning of *spargere*, to pour forth, seems to come out again, and it is well known that Indian commentators are very fond of explaining *vr̥shan* by giver of rain, giver of

good gifts, bounteous. The first of these meanings may indeed be admitted in certain passages, but in others it is more than doubtful.

II. *Vṛśhan*, fertilising.

I, 181, 8. *vṛśhā vām meghāḥ* may be translated, your raining cloud.

I, 129, 3. *dasmāḥ hī sma vṛśhanam pīnvasi tvākam*.

Thou art strong, thou fillest the rainy skin, i. e. the cloud.

See also IV, 22, 6; and possibly V, 83, 6.

It may be that, when applied to Soma too, *vṛśhan* retained something of its etymological meaning, that it meant gushing forth, poured out, though in many places it is impossible to render *vṛśhan*, as applied to Soma, by anything but strong. All we can admit is that *vṛśhan*, if translated by strong, means also strengthening and invigorating, an idea not entirely absent even in our expression, a strong drink.

III. *Vṛśhan*, strong.

I, 80, 2. *sāḥ tvā amadat vṛśhā madaḥ, sōmah—sutāḥ*.

This strong draught inspirited thee, the poured out Soma-juice.

I, 91, 2. *tvām vṛśhā vṛsha-tvébhiḥ*.

Thou, Soma, art strong by strength.

I, 175, 1. *vṛśhā te vṛśhne induh vāgī sahasra-sātamaḥ*.

For thee, the strong one, there is strong drink, powerful, omnipotent.

In the ninth *Mandala*, specially dedicated to the praises of Soma, the inspiriting beverage of gods and men, the repetition of *vṛśhan*, as applied to the juice and to the god who drinks it, is constant. Indo *vṛśhā* or *vṛśhā indo* are incessant invocations, and become at last perfectly meaningless.

IV. *Vṛśhan*, epitheton ornans.

There can be no doubt, in fact, that already in the hymns of the Veda, *vṛśhan* had dwindled away to a mere epitheton ornans, and that in order to understand it correctly, we must, as much as possible, forget its etymological

colouring, and render it by hero or strong. Indra, Agni, the Āsvins, Vishṇu, the R̥ibhus (IV, 35, 6), all are *vr̥tshan*, which means no longer male, but manly, strong.

In the following passages *vr̥tshan* is thus applied to Indra :

I, 54, 2. *yáḥ dhr̥ishṇúnā sávasā ródasī (íti) ubhé (íti) vr̥tshā vr̥tsha-tvā vr̥tshabhāḥ ni-r̥iṅgáte.*

(Praise Indra) who by his daring strength conquers both heaven and earth, a bull, strong in strength.

I, 100, 1. *sáḥ yáḥ vr̥tshā vr̥tsh̥nyebhiḥ sám-okāḥ mahāḥ divāḥ pr̥ithivyāḥ ka sam-r̥āt satínā-satvá hávyah bháreshu marútvān naḥ bhavatu índrah ūtī.*

He who is strong, wedded to strength, who is the king of the great sky and the earth, of mighty might, to be invoked in battles,—may Indra with the Maruts come to our help!

I, 16, 1. *ā tvā vahantu hárayah vr̥tshanam sóma-pítaye, índra tvā sūra-ḥakshasaḥ.*

May the bays bring thee hither, the strong one, to the Soma-draught, may the sunny-eyed horses (bring) thee, O Indra!

IV, 16, 20. *evā ít índrāya vr̥tshabhāya vr̥tsh̥ne bráhma akarma bhr̥t̥gavaḥ ná rátham.*

Thus we have made a hymn for Indra, the strong bull, as the Bhr̥igus make a chariot.

X, 153, 2. *tvām vr̥tshan vr̥tshā ít asi.*

Thou, O hero, art indeed a hero; and not, Thou, O male, art indeed a male; still less, Thou, O bull, art indeed a bull.

I, 101, 1. *avasyávaḥ vr̥tshanam vágra-dakshinam marút-vantam sakhyāya havāmahe.*

Longing for help we call as our friend the hero who wields the thunderbolt, who is accompanied by the Maruts.

VIII, 6, 14. *ní sūsh̥ne índra dharmas̥m vágram gaghantha dāsyavi, vr̥tshā hí ugra sr̥invishé.*

Thou, O Indra, hast struck the strong thunderbolt against Sush̥na, the fiend; for, terrible one, thou art called hero!

VIII, 6, 40. *vavridhánāḥ úpa dyāvi vr̥tshā vagrī aroravít vr̥itra-hā soma-pātamaḥ.*

Growing up by day, the hero with the thunderbolt has roared, the *Vṛitra*-killer, the great Soma-drinker.

V, 35, 4. *vṛīshā hī āsi rādhase gagñishé vṛīshni te sávak.*

Thou (Indra) art a hero, thou wast born to be bounteous ; in thee, the hero, there is might.

V. *Vārshishtā*, strongest, best, oldest.

It is curious to watch the last stage of the meaning of *vṛīshan* in the comparative and superlative *vārshiyas* and *vārshishtā*. In the Veda, *vārshishtā* still means excellent, but in later Sanskrit it is considered as the superlative of *vṛiddha*, old, so that we see *vṛīshan*, from meaning originally manly, vigorous, young, assuming in the end the meaning of old. (M. M., Sanskrit Grammar, § 252.)

Yet even thus, when *vṛīshan* means simply strong or hero, its sexual sense is not always forgotten, and it breaks out, for instance, in such passages as,

I, 32, 7. *vṛīshnah vādhriḥ prati-mānam búbhūshan puru-trā vṛitrāḥ asayat ví-astah.*

Vṛitra, the eunuch, trying to be like unto a man (like unto Indra), was lying, broken to many pieces.

The next passages show *vṛīshan* as applied to Agni :

III, 27, 15. *vṛīshanam tvā vayám vṛīshan vṛīshanah sám idhimahi.*

O, strong one, let us the strong ones kindle thee, the strong !

V, 1, 12. *ávokāma kaváye médhyāya vātak vandāru vṛīshabhāya vṛīshne.*

We have spoken an adoring speech for the worshipful poet, for the strong bull (Agni).

Vishnu is called *vṛīshan*, I, 154, 3 :

prá víshnave sūshám etu mánma giri-kshíte uru-gâyāya vṛīshne.

May this hymn go forth to *Vishnu*, he who dwells in the mountain (cloud), who strides wide, the hero !

Rudra is called *vṛīshan* :

II, 34, 2. *rudráh yát vah marutah rukma-vakshasah vṛīshā ágani prīsnýáh sukré ūdhani.*

When *Rudra*, the strong man, begat you, O Maruts with

bright ornaments on your chests, in the bright lap of *Prisni*.

That the Maruts, the sons of Rudra, are called *vr̥ṣhan*, we have seen before, and shall see frequently again (I, 165, 1; II, 33, 13; VII, 56, 20; 21; 58, 6). The whole company of the Maruts is called *vr̥ṣhā gaṇāḥ*, the strong or manly host, i. e. the host of the Maruts, without any further qualification.

VI. *Vr̥ṣhan*, name of various deities.

Here lies, indeed, the chief difficulty which is raised by the common use of *vr̥ṣhan* in the Veda, that when it occurs by itself, it often remains doubtful who is meant by it, Indra, or Soma, or the Maruts, or some other deity. We shall examine a few of these passages, and first some where *vr̥ṣhan* refers to Indra :

IV, 30, 10. *āpa ushāḥ ānasaḥ sarat sám-pishāt āha mibhyúshī, ní yát sīm sīmáthat vr̥ṣhā*.

Ushas went away from her broken chariot, fearing lest the hero should do her violence.

Here *vr̥ṣhan* is clearly meant for Indra, who, as we learn from the preceding verse, was trying to conquer Ushas, as Apollo did Daphne; and it should be observed that the word itself, by which Indra is here designated, is particularly appropriate to the circumstances.

I, 103, 6. *bhūri-karmane vr̥ṣhabhāya vr̥ṣhne satyá-sushmāya sunavāma sómam, yáḥ ā-dr̥ṣtya paripanthī-iva sūrah āyagvanah vi-bhāgan éti védah*.

Let us pour out the Soma for the strong bull, the performer of many exploits, whose strength is true, the hero who, watching like a footpad, comes to us dividing the wealth of the infidel.

Here it is clear again from the context that Indra only can be meant.

But in other passages this is more doubtful :

III, 61, 7. *ritásya budhné ushásām ishanyán vr̥ṣhā mahī (īti) ródasī (īti) ā vivesa*.

The hero in the depth of the heaven, yearning for the dawns, has entered the great sky and the earth.

The hero who yearns for the dawns, is generally Indra; here, however, considering that Agni is mentioned in the preceding verse, it is more likely that this god, as the light of the morning, may have been meant by the poet. That Agni, too, may be called *vr̥ṣhan*, without any other epithet to show that he is meant rather than any other god, is clear from such passages as,

VI, 3, 7. *vr̥ṣhā ruksháh óshadhīshu nūnot.*

He the wild hero shouted among the plants.

In VII, 60, 9, *vr̥ṣhanau*, the dual, is meant for Mitra and Varuna; in the next verse, *vr̥ṣhanah*, the plural, must mean the same gods and their companions.

That Soma is called simply *vr̥ṣhan*, not only in the ninth Mandala, but elsewhere, too, we see from such passages as,

III, 43, 7. *īndra p̥ība vr̥ṣha-dhūtasya vr̥ṣnah (ā yām te syenáh usatē gabhāra), yāsya mādē kyaváyasi prā krishāh yāsya mādē āpa gotrā vavārtha.*

Indra drink of the male (the strong Soma), bruised by the males (the heavy stones), inspirited by whom thou makest the people fall down, inspirited by whom thou hast opened the stables.

Here Sāyana, too, sees rightly that 'the male bruised by the males' is the Soma-plant, which, in order to yield the intoxicating juice, has to be bruised by stones, which stones are again likened to two males. But unless the words, enclosed in brackets, had stood in the text, words which clearly point to Soma, I doubt whether Sāyana would have so readily admitted the definite meaning of *vr̥ṣhan* as Soma.

I, 109, 3. *mā k̥hedma rasmīn iti n̥dhamānāh pitr̥nām saktīh anu-yākkhamānāh, indrāgnī-bhyām kām vr̥ṣhanah madanti tā hī ādrī (īti) dhishānāyāh upā-sthe.*

We pray, let us not break the cords (which, by means of the sacrifices offered by each generation of our forefathers, unite us with the gods); we strive after the powers of our fathers. The Somas rejoice for Indra and Agni; for the two stones are in the lap of the vessel.

First, as to the construction, the fact that participles are thus used as finite verbs, and particularly when the subject changes in the next sentence, is proved by other passages,

such as II, 11, 4. The sense is that the new generation does not break the sacrificial succession, but offers Soma, like their fathers. The Soma-plants are ready, and, when pressed by two stones, their juice flows into the Soma-vessel. There may be a double entendre in *dhishānāyāh upā-sthe*, which Sanskrit scholars will easily perceive.

When *vrīshan* is thus used by itself, we must be chiefly guided by the adjectives or other indications before we determine on the most plausible translation. Thus we read :

I, 55, 4. *sáh ít váne namasyú-bhih vakasyate káru gáneshu pra-bruvānāh indriyám, vrīshā khānduh bhavati haryatáh vrīshā kshémēna dhénām maghá-vā yát ínvati.*

In the first verse the subject may be Indra or Soma : 'He alone is praised by worshippers in the forest (or in the wooden vessel), he who shows forth among men his fair power.' But who is meant to be the subject of the next verse? Even *Sāyana* is doubtful. He translates first : 'The bounteous excites the man who wishes to sacrifice; when the sacrificer, the rich, by the protection of Indra, stirs up his voice.' But he allows an optional translation for the last sentences : 'when the powerful male, Indra, by his enduring mind reaches the praise offered by the sacrificer.'

According to these suggestions, *WILSON* translated : He (Indra) is the granter of their wishes (to those who solicit him); he is the encourager of those who desire to worship (him), when the wealthy offerer of oblations, enjoying his protection, recites his praise.

BENFEY : The bull becomes friendly, the bull becomes desirable, when the sacrificer kindly advances praise.

LANGLOIS : When the noble Maghavan receives the homage of our hymns, his heart is flattered, and he responds to the wishes of his servant by his gifts.

As far as I know, the adjective *khāndu* does not occur again, and can therefore give us no hint. But *haryatá*, which is applied to *vrīshan* in our verse, is the standing epithet of Soma. It means delicious, and occurs very frequently in the ninth *Mandala*. It is likewise applied to Agni, *Pūshan*, the *Haris*, the thunderbolt, but wherever

it occurs our first thought is of Soma. Thus, without quoting from the Soma-Mandala, we read, X, 96, 1, haryatám mādām, the delicious draught, i. e. Soma.

X, 96, 9. pítvā mādasya haryatāsyā āndhasaḥ, means having drunk of the draught of the delicious Soma.

VIII, 72, 18. padām haryatāsyā ni-dhānyām, means the place where the delicious Soma resides.

III, 44, 1. haryatāḥ sōmaḥ.

Delicious Soma.

II, 21, 1. bhara īndrāya sōmam yagatāya haryatām.

Bring delicious Soma for the holy Indra.

I, 130, 2. mādāya haryatāya te tuvíḥ-tamāya dhāyase.

That thou mayest drink the delicious and most powerful draught, i. e. the Soma.

If, then, we know that *vr̥ṣhan* by itself is used in the sense of Soma, haryatā *vr̥ṣhan* can hardly be anything else. *Vaḥasyate* also is peculiar to Soma in the sense of murmuring, or as it were talking, and never occurs as a passive. I therefore should prefer to assign the whole verse to Soma, and translate: He indeed, when in the wooden vessel, talks with his worshippers, proclaiming his fair power among men; the strong Soma is pleasing, the strong Soma is delicious, when the sacrificer safely brings the cow, i. e. the milk to be mixed with the Soma.

That Indra was thirsting for Soma had been said in the second verse, and he is again called the Soma-drinker in the seventh verse. A verse dedicated to Soma therefore seems to come in quite naturally, though the *Anukramanī* does not sanction it.

That the Maruts are called *vr̥ṣhan*, without further explanations, will appear from the following passages:

I, 85, 12. rayīm naḥ dhatta *vr̥ṣhanāḥ* su-vīram.

Give us wealth, ye heroes, consisting of good offspring.

VIII, 96, 14. śhyāmi vaḥ *vr̥ṣhanāḥ* yúdhyaata āgaú.

I wish for you, heroes (Maruts), fight in the race!

In all the passages which we have hitherto examined, *vr̥ṣhan* was always applied to living beings, whether animals, men, or gods. But as, in Greek, ἀσπην means at last simply strong, and is applied, for instance, to the

crash of the sea, *κρύπος ὄρησιν πόντου*, so in the Veda *vr̥śhan* is applied to the roaring of the storms and similar objects.

V, 87, 5. *svanáḥ vr̥śhā*.

Your powerful sound (O Maruts).

X, 47, 1. *gagrībhṃá te dákshinam indra hástam vasu-yávaḥ vasu-pate vásūnām, vidmá hí tvā gó-patim sūra gónām asmábhyam kītrám vr̥śhanam rayīm dāḥ*.

We have taken thy right hand, O Indra, wishing for treasures, treasurer of treasures, for we know thee, O hero, to be the lord of cattle; give us bright and strong wealth.

Should *kītrá* here refer to treasures, and *vr̥śhan* to cattle?

X, 89, 9. *ní amítreshu vadhám indra túmram vr̥śhan vr̥śhānam arushám sīsihi*.

Whet, O hero, the heavy strong red weapon against the enemies.

The long *ā* in *vr̥śhānam* is certainly startling, but it occurs once more, IX, 34, 3, where there can be no doubt that it is the accusative of *vr̥śhan*. Professor Roth takes *vr̥śhan* here in the sense of bull (s. v. *tumra*), but he does not translate the whole passage.

III, 29, 9. *krinóta dhūmám vr̥śhanam sakhāyaḥ*.

Make a mighty smoke, O friends!

Strength itself is called *vr̥śhan*, if I am right in translating the phrase *vr̥śhanam sūshmam* by manly strength. It occurs,

IV, 24, 7. *tásmin dadhat vr̥śhanam sūshmam indraḥ*.

Indra may give to him manly strength.

VI, 19, 8. *ā naḥ bhara vr̥śhanam sūshmam indra*.

Bring to us, O Indra, manly strength.

VII, 24, 4. *asmé (iti) dádhat vr̥śhanam sūshmam indra*.

Giving to us, O Indra, manly strength.

See also VI, 19, 9, *sūshmaḥ vr̥śhabháḥ*, used in the same sense.

VII. *Vr̥śhan*, general and empty term of praise.

This constant play on the word *vr̥śhan*, which we have observed in the passages hitherto examined, and which give by no means a full idea of the real frequency of its

occurrence in the Veda, has evidently had its influence on the Vedic *Rīshis*, who occasionally seem to delight in the most silly and unmeaning repetitions of this word, and its compounds and derivatives. Here no language can supply any adequate translation ; for though we may translate words which express thoughts, it is useless to attempt to render mere idle play with words. I shall give a few instances :

I, 177, 3. *ā tishtha rátham vrīshanam vrīshā te sutāh sōmah pári-siktā mádhūni, yuktvá vrīsha-bhyām vrīshabha kshitínām hári-bhyām yāhi pra-vátā úpa madrik.*

Mount the strong car, the strong Soma is poured out for thee, sweets are sprinkled round ; come down towards us, thou bull of men, with the strong bays, having yoked them.

But this is nothing yet compared to other passages, when the poet cannot get enough of *vrīshan* and *vrīshabhā*.

II, 16, 6. *vrīshā te vágrah utá te vrīshā ráthah vrīshanā hári (iti) vrīshabhāni āyudhá, vrīshnah mādasya vrīshabha tvám isishe índra sómasya vrīshabhásya trīpmuhi.*

Thy thunderbolt is strong, and thy car is strong, strong are the bays, the weapons are powerful, thou, bull, art lord of the strong draught, Indra rejoice in the powerful Soma !

V, 36, 5. *vrīshā tvā vrīshanam vardhatu dyaúh vrīshā vrīsha-bhyām vahase hári-bhyām, sáh nah vrīshā vrīsha-rathah su-sipra vrīsha-krato (iti) vrīshā vagrin bhāre dhāh.*

May the strong sky increase thee, the strong ; a strong one thou art, carried by two strong bays ; do thou who art strong, with a strong car, O thou of strong night, strong holder of the thunderbolt, keep us in battle !

V, 40, 2-3. *vrīshā grāvā vrīshā mādah vrīshā sōmah ayám sutāh, vrīshan indra vrīsha-bhih vritrahan-tama, vrīshā tvā vrīshanam huve.*

The stone is strong, the draught is strong, this Soma that has been poured out is strong, O thou strong Indra, who killest *Vritra* with the strong ones (the Maruts), I, the strong, call thee, the strong.

VIII, 13, 31-33. *vrīshā ayám indra te ráthah utó (iti) te*

vr̥ṣhanā hārī (īti), *vr̥ṣhā tvām sata-krato* (īti) *vr̥ṣhā hāvah*. *vr̥ṣhā grāvā vr̥ṣhā mādah vr̥ṣhā sōmah ayām sutāh*, *vr̥ṣhā yagnāh yām īnvasi vr̥ṣhā hāvah*. *vr̥ṣhā tvā vr̥ṣhanam* huve *vāgrin kitrābhih ūtī-bhih*, *vavānthā hī prāti-stutim vr̥ṣhā hāvah*.

This thy car is strong, O Indra, and thy bays are strong; thou art strong, O omnipotent, our call is strong. The stone is strong, the draught is strong, the Soma is strong, which is here poured out; the sacrifice which thou orderest is strong, our call is strong. I, the strong, call thee, the strong, thou holder of the thunderbolt, with manifold blessings; for thou hast desired our praise; our call is strong.

There are other passages of the same kind, but they are too tedious to be here repeated. The commentator, throughout, gives to each *vr̥ṣhan* its full meaning either of showering down or bounteous, or male or bull; but a word which can thus be used at random has clearly lost its definite power, and cannot call forth any definite ideas in the mind of the listener. It cannot be denied that here and there the original meaning of *vr̥ṣhan* would be appropriate even where the poet is only pouring out a stream of majestic sound, but we are not called upon to impart sense to what are *verba et praeterquam nihil*. When we read, I, 122, 3, *vātah apām vr̥ṣhan-vân*, we are justified, no doubt, in translating, 'the wind who pours forth water;' and X, 93, 5, *apām vr̥ṣhan-vasû* (īti) *sūryāmāsā*, means 'Sun and Moon, givers of water.' But even in some passages where *vr̥ṣhan* is followed by the word *vr̥ṣh*, it is curious to observe that *vr̥ṣh* is not necessarily used in the sense of raining or pouring forth, but rather in the sense of drinking.

VI, 68, 11. *īndrāvarunā mādhumat-tamasya vr̥ṣhnaḥ sōmasya vr̥ṣhanā* * ā *vr̥ṣhethām*.

* The dual *vr̥ṣhanau* occurs only when the next word begins with a vowel. Before an initial a, ā, i, the au is always changed into āv in the *Samhitā* (I, 108, 7-12; 116, 21; 117, 19; 153, 2; 157, 5; 158, 1; 180, 7; VII, 61, 5). Before u the preceding au becomes ā in the *Samhitā*, but the Pada gives au, in order to show that no Sandhi can take place between the two vowels (VII, 60, 9;

Indra and Varuṇa, you strong ones, may you drink of the sweetest strong Soma.

That *â-vrîsh* means to drink or to eat, was known to Sâyana and to the author of the Satapatha-brâhmana, who paraphrases *â vrîshâyadhvam* by *asnîta*, eat.

The same phrase occurs I, 108, 3.

I, 104, 9. *uru-vyâkâḥ gathâre â vrîshasva*.

Thou of vast extent, drink (the Soma) in thy stomach.

The same phrase occurs X, 96, 13.

VIII, 61, 3. *â vrîshasva—sutâsya indra ândhasaḥ*.

Drink, Indra, of the Soma that is poured out.

In conclusion, a few passages may be pointed out in which *vrîshan* seems to be the proper name of a pious worshipper :

I, 36, 10. *yâm tvâ devâsaḥ mânave dadhûḥ ihâ yâgishtham havya-vâhana, yâm kâṇvaḥ médhya-atithiḥ dhana-sprîtam yâm vrîshâ yâm upa-stutâḥ*.

Thee, O Agni, whom the gods placed here for man, the most worthy of worship, O carrier of oblations, thee whom *Kaṇva*, thee whom *Medhyâtithi* placed, as the giver of wealth, thee whom *Vrîshan* placed and *Upastuta*.

Here the commentator takes *Vrîshan* as *Indra*, but this would break the symmetry of the sentence. That *Upa-stutâḥ* is here to be taken as a proper name, as *Upastuta*, the son of *Vrîshṭihavya*, is clear from verse 17 :

agnîḥ pra âvat mitrâ utâ médhya-atithim agnîḥ sâtâ upa-stutâm.

Agni protected also the two friends, *Medhyâtithi* and *Upastuta*, in battle.

The fact is that whenever *upastutâ* has the accent on the last syllable, it is intended as a proper name, while, if used as a participle, in the sense of praised, it has the accent on the first.

X, 66, 7). Before consonants the dual always ends in *â*, both in the *Samhitâ* and *Pada*. But there are a few passages where the final *â* occurs before initial vowels, and where the two vowels are allowed to form one syllable. In four passages this happens before an initial *â* (I, 108, 3 ; VI, 68, 11 ; I, 177, 1 ; II, 16, 5). Once, and once only, it happens before *u*, in VIII, 22, 12.

VIII, 5, 25. yáthā *kit kánvam āvatam priyá-medham* upa-stutám.

As you have protected *Kanva*, *Priyamedha*, *Upastutá*. Cf. I, 112, 15.

VIII, 103, 8. prá mámhishthāya gāyata—úpa-stutāsa*h* agnáye (accent of the vocative).

Sing, O *Upastutás*, to the worthiest, to *Agni* !

X, 115, 9. *Iti tvā agne vrishī-hávyasya putráh* upa-stutāsa*h* *rishaya*h** avo*kan*.

By these names, O *Agni*, did the sons of *Vrishihavya*, the *Upastutás*, the *Rishis*, speak to you.

Vrishan occurs once more as a proper name in VI, 16, 14 and 15 :

tám ūm (*Iti*) tvā dadhya*ñ* *rishi*h** putrá*h* idhe átharva*na*h**, *vritra-hánam puram-darám*.

tám ūm (*Iti*) tvā páthya*h* *vrishá sám* idhe dasyuhán-tamam, dhanam-gayám ráne-rane.

Thee, O *Agni*, did *Dadhyak* kindle, the *Rishi*, the son of *Atharvan*, thee the killer of *Vritra*, the destroyer of towns ;

Thee, O *Agni*, did *Vrishan* *Páthya* kindle, thee the best killer of enemies, the conqueror of wealth in every battle.

Here the context can leave no doubt that *Dadhyak* and *Vrishan* were both intended as proper names. Yet as early as the composition of the *Satapatha-bráhma*na**, this was entirely misunderstood. *Dadhyak*, the son of *Atharvan*, is explained as speech, *Vrishan* *Páthya* as mind (*Sat. Br.* VI, 3, 3, 4). On this *Mahidhara*, in his remarks on *Vág. Samh.* XI, 34, improves still further. For though he allows his personality to *Dadhyak*, the son of *Atharvan*, he says that *Páthya* comes from *pathin*, path, and means he who moves on the right path ; or it comes from *páthas*, which means sky, and is here used in the sense of the sky of the heart. He then takes *vrishan* as mind, and translates the mind of the heart. Such is a small chapter in the history of the rise and fall of the Indian mind !

MANDALA I, HYMN 86.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 6, VARGA 11-12.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. O Maruts, that man in whose dwelling you drink (the Soma), ye mighty (sons) of heaven, he indeed has the best guardians¹.

2. You who are propitiated¹ either by sacrifices or from the prayers of the sage, hear the call, O Maruts!

3. Aye, the powerful man to whom you have granted a sage, he will live in a stable rich in cattle¹.

4. On the altar of this strong man (here)¹ Soma is poured out in daily sacrifices; praise and joy are sung.

5. To him let the mighty¹ Maruts listen, to him who surpasses all men, as the flowing rain-clouds² pass over the sun.

6. For we, O Maruts, have sacrificed at many harvests, through the mercies¹ of the swift gods (the storm-gods).

7. May that mortal be blessed, O chasing Maruts, whose offerings you carry off¹.

8. You take notice either of the sweat of him who praises you, ye men of true strength, or of the desire of the suppliant¹.

9. O ye of true strength, make this manifest with might! strike the fiend¹ with your lightning!

10. Hide the hideous darkness, destroy¹ every tusk² fiend. Make the light which we long for!

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama.

Verse 1=VS. VIII, 31; AV. XX, 1, 2; TS. IV, 2, 11, 1.

Verse 2=TS. IV, 2, 11, 2.

Verse 6=TS. IV, 3, 13, 5.

Verse 8=SV. II, 944.

Verse 1.

Note 1. *Vímahas* occurs only once more as an epithet of the Maruts, V, 87, 4. Being an adjective derived from *máhas*, strength, it means very strong. The strong ones of heaven is an expression analogous to I, 64, 2. *diváh rish-vāsaḥ ukshánah*; I, 64, 4. *diváh nárah*. The Ait. Brāhmaṇa VI, 10, takes *gopā*, guardian, as Indra.

Verse 2.

Note 1. The construction of this verse is not clear. *Yagnā-vāhas* has two meanings in the Veda. It is applied to the priest who carries or performs the sacrifice:

III, 8, 3, and 24, 1. *várkaḥ dhāḥ yagnā-vāhase*.

Grant splendour to the sacrificer!

But it is also used of the gods who carry off the sacrifice, and in that case it means hardly more than worshipped or propitiated; I, 15, 11 (*Asvinau*); IV, 47, 4 (*Indra and Vāyu*); VIII, 12, 20 (*Indra*). In our verse it is used in the latter sense, and it is properly construed with the instrumental *yagnāḥ*. The difficulty is the gen. plur. *matīnām*, instead of *matībhiḥ*. The sense, however, seems to allow of but one construction, and we may suppose that the genitive depends on the *yagnā* in *yagnāvāhas*, 'accepting the worship of the prayers of the priest.' Benfey refers *yagnāḥ* to the preceding verse, and joins *hávam* to *víprasya matīnām*: 'Durch Opfer—Opferfördrer ihr!—oder ihr hört—Maruts—den Ruf der Lieder, die der Priester schuf.'

The *Samhitā* text lengthens the last syllable of *srinutá*, as suggested by the metre.

If the accent allowed *yagñavâhasaḥ* to be taken as a genitive, the translation, as suggested by Ludwig, might be, 'Either for the sake of the sacrifices of the sacrificer, or because of the prayers of the sage, O Maruts, hear the call.'

Verse 3.

Note 1. The genitive *yâsya vâgīnaḥ* depends on *vīpra*. Anu-taksh, like anu-grah, anu-*gñā*, seems to convey the meaning of doing in behalf or for the benefit of a person. Gántā might also be translated in a hostile sense, he will go into, he will conquer many a stable full of cows.

Verse 4.

Note 1. Ludwig has pointed out that *asyā* may refer to the present sacrificer.

Verse 5.

Note 1. I have altered *ā bhúvaḥ* into *ābhúvaḥ*, for I do not think that *bhúvaḥ*, the second pers. sing., even if it were *bhúvat*, the third pers., could be joined with the relative pronoun *yáḥ* in the second pada. The phrase *vīsvāḥ yáḥ karshanīḥ abhí* occurs more than once, and is never preceded by the verb *bhuvah* or *bhuvat*. *Ābhúvaḥ*, on the contrary, is applied to the Maruts, I, 64, 6, *vidātheshu ābhúvaḥ*; and as there can be no doubt who are the deities invoked, *ābhúvaḥ*, the strong ones, is as appropriate an epithet as *vīmahas* in the first verse.

Note 2. *Sasrúshiḥ śshaḥ*, as connected with *sūra*, the sun, can only be meant for the flowing waters, the rain-clouds, the givers of *ish* or vigour. They are called *divyāḥ śshaḥ* :

VIII, 5, 21. *utá naḥ divyāḥ śshaḥ utá śīndhūn varshathaḥ*.

You rain down on us the heavenly waters and the rivers.

WILSON translates: May the Maruts, victorious over all men, hear (the praises) of this (their worshipper); and may (abundant) food be obtained by him who praises them.

BENFEY: Ihn, der ob allen Menschen ragt, sollen hören die Labungen, und nahn, die irgend Weisen nahn.

LUDWIG: Hören sollen von ihm, der über allen menschen ist, die erden, seine bis zur sonne gelangten kräfte. In his

notes he would prefer: Von ihm sollen sie gegenwärtig hören, von ihm der alle menschen übertrifft (und die in die sonne weggegangen), die darbringungen.

Sroshantu does not occur again; but we find sróshan, I, 68, 5; sróshamāna, III, 8, 10; VII, 51, 1; VII, 7, 6.

Verse 6.

Note 1. The expression ávobhiḥ, with the help, the blessings, the mercies, is generally used with reference to divine assistance; (I, 117, 19; 167, 2; 185, 10; 11; IV, 22, 7; 41, 6; V, 74, 6; VI, 47, 12; VII, 20, 1; 35, 1, &c.) It seems best therefore to take *karshaní* as a name or epithet of the Maruts, although, after the invocation of the Maruts by name, this repetition is somewhat unusual. I should have preferred, 'with the help of our men, of our active and busy companions,' for *karshaní* is used in that sense also. Only ávobhiḥ would not be in its right place then. The same applies to the various reading in TS. IV, 3, 13, 5, where instead of ávobhiḥ we find máhobhiḥ. This too is used with reference to gods, and particularly to the Maruts; see I, 165, 5, note.

Verse 7.

Note 1. Par, with ati, means to carry over (I, 97, 8; 99, 1; 174, 9; III, 15, 3; 20, 4; IV, 39, 1; V, 25, 9; 73, 8; VII, 40, 4; 97, 4; VIII, 26, 5; 67, 2, &c.); with apa, to remove (I, 129, 5); with niḥ, to throw down. Hence, if used by itself, unless it means to overrun, as frequently, it can only have the general sense of carrying, taking, accepting, or accomplishing.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Vidá as second pers. plur. perf. is frequent, generally with the final 'a' long in the Samhitā, I, 156, 3; V, 41, 13; 55, 2.

Verse 9.

Note 1. Observe the long penultimate in rákshaḥ, instead of the usual short syllable. Cf. I, 12, 5, and see Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii, p. 456.

Verse 10.

Note 1. See note 1 to I, 39, 3.

Note 2. *Atrín*, which stands for *attrín*, is one of the many names assigned to the powers of darkness and mischief. It is derived from *atrá*, which means tooth or jaw, and therefore meant originally an ogre with large teeth or jaws, a devourer. Besides *atrá*, we also find in the Veda *átra*, with the accent on the first syllable, and meaning what serves for eating, or food :

X, 79, 2. *átrāni asmai pat-bhīk sám bharanti.*

They bring together food for him (Agni) with their feet.

With the accent on the last syllable, *atrá* in one passage means an eater or an ogre, like *atrín* :

V, 32, 8. *apādam atrām—mṛidhrā-vākam.*

Indra killed the footless ogre, the babbler.

It means tooth or jaw :

I, 129, 8. *svayám sā rishayādhyai yā naḥ upa-īshé atrāḥ.*

May she herself go to destruction who attacks us with her teeth.

It is probably from *atrá* in the sense of tooth (cf. *δδόντες* = *ēdóntes*) that *atrín* is derived, meaning ogre or a devouring devil. In the later Sanskrit, too, the Asuras are represented as having large tusks, *Mahābh. V, 3572, damshīrino bhīmavegās ka.*

Thus we read I, 21, 5, that Indra and Agni destroy the Rakshas, and the poet continues :

āpragāḥ santu atrīnaḥ.

May the ogres be without offspring !

IX, 86, 48. *gahí vísvān rakshásāḥ indo (īti) atrīnaḥ.*

Kill, O Soma, all the tusky Rakshas. Cf. IX, 104, 6; 105, 6.

VI, 51, 14. *gahí ní atrīnam pañim.*

Kill, O Soma, the tusky Pani.

I, 94, 9. *vadhaḥ duk-sāmsān āpa duk-dhyāḥ gahí
dûré vā yé ānti vā ké kīṭ atrīnaḥ.*

Strike with thy blows, O Agni, the evil-spoken, evil-minded (spirits), the ogres, those who are far or who are near.

See also I, 36, 14; 20; VI, 16, 28; VII, 104, 1; 5; VIII, 12, 1; 19, 15; X, 36, 4; 118, 1.

MANDALA I, HYMN 87.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 6, VARGA 13.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Endowed with exceeding vigour and power, the singers, the never flinching, the immovable, the impetuous, the most beloved and most manly, have decked themselves with their glittering ornaments, a few only¹, like the heavens with the stars.

2. When you have seen your way through the clefts, like birds, O Maruts, on whatever road it be¹, then the casks (clouds) on your chariots trickle everywhere, and you pour out the honey-like fatness (the rain) for him who praises you.

3. At their racings the earth shakes, as if broken¹, when on the (heavenly) paths they harness (their deer) for victory². They the sportive, the roaring, with bright spears, the shakers (of the clouds) have themselves glorified their greatness.

4. That youthful company (of the Maruts), with their spotted horses¹, moves by itself; hence² it exercises lordship, invested with powers. Thou indeed art true, thou searchest out sin³, thou art without blemish. Therefore the manly host will help this prayer.

5. We speak after the kind of our old father, our tongue goes forth at the sight¹ of the Soma: when the singers (the Maruts) had joined Indra in deed², then only they took their holy names;—

6. These Maruts, armed with beautiful rings, obtained splendours for their glory¹, they obtained² rays, and men to celebrate them; nay, armed with daggers, speeding along, and fearless, they found the beloved domain of the Maruts³.

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. No verse in SV., VS., AV.

Verse 2 = TS. IV, 3, 13, 7.

Verse 3 = TS. IV, 3, 13, 7.

Verse 6 = TS. II, 1, 11, 2; IV, 2, 11, 2.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Ké *kit* refers to the Maruts, who are represented as gradually rising or just showing themselves, as yet only few in number, like the first stars in the sky. Ké *kit*, some, is opposed to *sarve*, all. The same expression occurs again, V, 52, 12, where the Maruts are compared to a few thieves. B. and R., and those who follow them, translate *usrāḥ iva strī-bhiḥ* by 'like cows marked with stars on their foreheads.' Such cows no doubt exist, but they can hardly be said to become visible by these frontal stars, as the Maruts by their ornaments. We must take *usrāḥ* here in the same sense as *dyāvaḥ*; II, 34, 2, it is said that the Maruts were perceived *dyāvaḥ ná strī-bhiḥ*, like the heavens with the stars.

I, 166, 11. *dûre-drīsaḥ yé divyāḥ-iva strī-bhiḥ*.

Who are visible far away, like the heavens (or heavenly beings) by the stars.

And the same is said of Agni, II, 2, 5. *dyaúḥ ná strī-bhiḥ kitayat ródasī (īti) ánu*. *Strībhiḥ* occurs I, 68, 5; IV, 7, 3; VI, 49, 3; 12. It always means stars, and the meaning of rays (*strahl*) rests, as yet, on etymological authority only. The evening sky would, no doubt, be more appropriate than *usrāḥ*, which applies chiefly to the dawn. But in the Indian mind, the two dawns, i. e. the dawn and the gloaming, are so closely united and identified, that their names, too, are frequently interchangeable.

Verse 2.

Note 1. I translate *yayī* not by a goer, a traveller, i. e. the

cloud (this is the explanation proposed by Sâyana, and adopted by Professor Benfey), but by path. Sâyana (TS. IV, 3, 13, 7) renders yayim by gatim. Etymologically yayí may mean either, and in some passages I feel doubtful as to which is the more appropriate meaning. But in parallel passages yayí is clearly replaced by yāma. Thus :

VIII, 7, 2. yát—yāmam subhrāh ákidhvam.

When you, bright Maruts, have seen your way.

See also VIII, 7, 4. yát yāmam yānti vāyú-bhih.

When they (the Maruts) go on their path with the winds.

VIII, 7, 14. ádhi-iva yát girīnām yāmam subhrāh ákidhvam.

When you, bright Maruts, had seen your way, as it were, from above the mountains.

The same phrase occurs, even without yāma or yayí, in

V, 55, 7. ná párvatāh ná nadyāh varanta vah yātra ákidhvam marutah gákkhata ít u tát.

Not mountains, not rivers, keep you back ; where you have seen (your way), there you go.

Though yayí does not occur frequently in the Rig-veda, the meaning of path seems throughout more applicable than that of traveller.

V, 87, 5. tveshāh yayíh.

Your path, O Maruts, is blazing.

V, 73, 7. ugrāh vām kakuhāh yayíh.

Fearful is your pass on high.

I, 51, 11. ugrāh yayīm níh apāh srótasā asrigat.

The fearful Indra sent the waters forth on their way streaming.

X, 92, 5. prá—yayínā yanti síndhavaḥ.

The waters go forth on their path.

Ludwig takes kósa as buckets on the chariots of the Maruts, which seems right.

Verse 3.

Note 1. Cf. I, 37, 8, page 75. There is no authority for Sâyana's explanation of vithurā-iva, the earth trembles like a widow. Vithurā occurs several times in the Rig-veda, but never in the sense of widow. Thus :

I, 168, 6. *yát kyaváyatha vithurā-iva sám-hitam.*

When you, Maruts, throw down what is compact, like brittle things.

I, 186, 2 ; VI, 25, 3 ; 46, 6 ; VIII, 96, 2 ; X, 77, 4 (*vi-thuryáti*). The Maruts themselves are called *ávithura* in verse 1. Spiegel compares the Zend *aiwithura*. As to *ágma* and *yāma*, see I, 37, 8, page 75.

Note 2. *Súbh* is one of those words to which it is very difficult always to assign a definite special meaning. Being derived from *subh*, to shine, the commentator has no difficulty in explaining it by splendour, beauty ; sometimes by water. But although *súbh* means originally splendour, and is used in that sense in many passages, yet there are others where so vague a meaning seems very inappropriate. In our verse *Sáyana* proposes two translations, either, 'When the Maruts harness the clouds,' or, 'When the Maruts harness their chariots, for the bright rain-water.' Now the idea that the Maruts harness their chariots in order to make the clouds yield their rain, can hardly be expressed by the simple word *subhé*, i. e. for brightness' sake. As the Maruts are frequently praised for their glittering ornaments, their splendour might be intended in this passage, as it certainly is in others. Thus :

I, 85, 3. *yát subháyante añgī-bhiḥ tanūshu subhrāḥ dadhire virúkmataḥ.*

When the Maruts adorn themselves with glittering ornaments, the brilliant ones put bright weapons on their bodies.

VII, 56, 6. *subhā sóbhishthāḥ, sriyā sám-mislāḥ, ógah-bhiḥ ugrāḥ.*

The most brilliant by their brilliancy, united with beauty, terrible by terrors.

In I, 64, 4, I have translated *vákshaḥ-su rukmān ádhi yetire subhé* by 'they fix gold (chains) on their chests for beauty.' And the same meaning is applicable to I, 117, 5, *subhé rukmám ná darsatám ní-khátam*, and other passages : IV, 51, 6 ; VI, 63, 6.

But in our verse and others which we shall examine, beauty and brilliancy would be very weak renderings for

subhé. 'When they harnessed their chariots or their deer for the sake of beauty,' means nothing, or, at least, very little. I take, therefore, subhé in this and similar phrases in the sense of triumph or glory or victory. 'When they harness their chariots for to conquer,' implies brilliancy, glory, victory, but it conveys at the same time a tangible meaning. Let us now see whether the same meaning is appropriate in other passages :

I, 23, 11. *gáyatām-iva tanyatúh marútām eti dhrishnu-yā yāt súbham yāthána naráh.*

The thundering voice of the Maruts comes fiercely, like that of conquerors, when you go to conquer, O men !

Sáyana : 'When you go to the brilliant place of sacrifice.'

Wilson : 'When you accept the auspicious (offering).'

Benfey : 'Wenn ihr euren Schmuck nehmt.'

V, 57, 2. *yāthána súbham*, you go to conquer. Cf. V, 55, 1.

Sáyana : 'For the sake of water, or, in a chariot.'

V, 52, 8. *sárdhah mārutam út samsa—utá sma té subhé naráh prá syandrāh yugata tmánā.*

Praise the host of the Maruts, whether they, the men, the quickly moving, have by themselves harnessed (the chariots) for conquest.

Sáyana : 'For the sake of water.' Cf. X, 105, 3.

V, 57, 3. *subhé yāt ugrāh prīshatīh áyugdhvam.*

When you have harnessed the deer for conquest.

Sáyana : 'For the sake of water.'

III, 26, 4. *subhé—prīshatīh ayukshata.*

They had harnessed the deer for victory.

Sáyana : 'They had harnessed in the water the deer together (with the fires).'

V, 63, 5. *rātham yuñgate marútaḥ subhé su-khám sūraḥ ná—gó-ishṛishu.*

The Maruts harness the chariot meet for conquest, like a hero in battles.

Sáyana : 'For the sake of water.'

I, 88, 2. *subhé kām yānti—ásvaiḥ.*

The Maruts go on their horses towards conquest.

Sáyana : 'In order to brighten the worshipper, or, for the sake of water.'

I, 119, 3. sám yát mitháḥ paspridhânāsaḥ ágmata subhé makhāḥ ámitāḥ gāyávaḥ ráne.

When striving with each other they came together, for the sake of glory, the brisk (Maruts), immeasurable (in strength), panting for victory in the fight.

Sâyana : 'For the sake of brilliant wealth.'

VII, 82, 5. marút-bhiḥ ugráh súbham anyáḥ íyate.

The other, the fearful (Indra), goes with the Maruts to glory.

Sâyana : 'He takes brilliant decoration.'

I, 167, 6. ā asthāpayanta yuvatīm yúvānaḥ subhé nímislām.

The Maruts, the youths, placed the maid (lightning on their chariot), their companion for victory (subhé nímislām).

Sâyana : 'For the sake of water, or, on the brilliant chariot.' Cf. I, 127, 6; 165, 1.

VI, 62, 4. súbham pr̥ksham ísham ūrgam váhantā.

The Arsvins bringing glory, wealth, drink, and food.

VIII, 26, 13. subhé kákrâte, you bring him to glory.

Subham-yāvan is an epithet of the Maruts, I, 89, 7; V, 61, 13. Cf. subhra-yāvāná, VIII, 26, 19 (Arvinau).

Subham-yā, of the wind, IV, 3, 6.

Subham-yú, of the rays of the dawn, X, 78, 7.

Verse 4.

Note 1. Sâyana : 'With spotted deer for their horses.' See I, 37, 2, note 1, page 70; as Pūshan is called agāśva, having goats for his horses, RV. V, 58, 2.

That the Maruts have not only pr̥ishatī, but horses for their chariots, we have seen before. In I, 88, 1, we have ásvaparnaiḥ ráthebhiḥ.

Note 2. Ayā is a word of very rare occurrence in the Rig-veda. It is the instrum. sing. of the feminine pronominal base ā or ī, and as a pronoun followed by a noun it is frequently to be met with; V, 45, 11. ayā dhiyā, &c. But in our verse it is irregular in form as not entering into Sandhi with íśanáḥ. This irregularity, however, which might have led us to suppose an original ayāḥ, indefatigable, corre-

sponding with the following ási, is vouched for by the Pada text, in such matters a better authority than the Samhitā text, and certainly in this case fully borne out by the Prātisākhya, I, 163, 10. Unless we read ayāh, we must take ayā as an adverb, in the sense of thus or hence; cf. VI, 66, 4. In some passages where ayā seems thus to be used as an adverb, it would be better to supply a noun from the preceding verse. Thus in II, 6, 2, ayā refers to samídham in II, 6, 1. In VI, 17, 15, a similar noun, samídghā or girā, should be supplied. But there are other passages where, unless we suppose that the verse was meant to illustrate a ceremonial act, such as the placing of a samídgh, and that ayā pointed to it, we must take it as a simple adverb, like the Greek τῷ: RV. III, 12, 2; IX, 53, 2; 106, 14. In X, 116, 9, the Pada reads áyāh-iva, not áyā, as given by Roth; in VI, 66, 4, áyā nú, the accent is likewise on the first.

Note 3. *Rina-yāvan* is well explained by B. and R. as going after debt, searching out sin. *Sāyana*, though he explains *rina-yāvan* by removing sin, derives it nevertheless correctly from *rina* and *yā*, and not from *yu*. The same formation is found in *subham-yāvan*, &c.; and as there is *rina-yā* besides *rina-yāvan*, so we find *subham-yā* besides *subham-yāvan*. Ludwig prefers the derivation from *yu*.

Verse 5.

Note 1. The Soma-juice inspires the poet with eloquence.

Note 2. *Sāmi* occurs again in II, 31, 6; III, 55, 3; VIII, 45, 27; X, 40, 1. Grassmann has shown that it may be taken as an instrum. of *sāmi*, meaning work, but with special reference to the toil of the battle-field or the sacrifice. It is used in the former sense in

VIII, 45, 27. *vī ānaṣ turvāne sāmi*.

He (Indra) was able to overcome, lit. he reached to, or he arrived at the overcoming or at victory by toil.

But, like other words which have the general meaning of working or toiling, *sāmi* is used both in a general sense, and in the more special sense of sacrifice.

X, 40, 1. *vāstoḥ-vastoḥ váhamānam dhiyā sāmi*.

Your chariot, O Asvins, driven along every morning by thought and deed.

II, 31, 6. *apām nāpāt āsu-hémā dhiyā sámī.*

Apām nāpāt (Agni) moving quickly by thought and deed.

In these two passages it might be possible, with a slight alteration of the accent, to read *dhiyā-sámī* as one word. *Dhiyā-sám* would mean the sacrificer who is engaged in prayer; cf. *dhiyā-gúr*, V, 43, 15. Thus we read:

VI, 2, 4. *yák te su-dānave dhiyā mártak sasámate.*

The mortal who toils for thee, the liberal god, with prayer.

There is no necessity, however, for such a change, and the authority of the MSS. is against it. See also IX, 74, 7.

In III, 55, 3, *sámī ákēha* *didye pūrvyāni*, Roth takes *sámī* as an acc. plur. neut., Lanman as an instrum., Grassmann as a locative.

I glance back at the former sacrifices. See B. R. s.v. *dī* and *sámī*.

In other passages the feminine *sámī* seems to mean work, sacrificial work, but, as far as we can see, not simply sacrifice. Thus the *R̥ibhus* and others are said to have acquired immortality by their work or works, *sámī* or *sámibhih*, I, 20, 2; 110, 4; III, 60, 3; IV, 33, 4. Cf. IV, 22, 8; 17, 18; V, 42, 10; 77, 4; VI, 52, 1; VIII, 75, 14; IX, 74, 7; X, 28, 12. In VI, 3, 2, we read:

igé yagnēbhih sasamé sámibhih.

I have sacrificed with sacrifices, I have worked with pious works.

Here the verb *sam* must be taken in the sense of working, or performing ceremonial worship, while in other places (III, 29, 16; V, 2, 7) it may be perhaps taken in the more special sense of singing songs of praise. The Greek *κᾶμ-νω*, to work, to labour, to tire (Sanskrit *sāmyati*), the Greek *κομιδή* and *κομίζω*, to labour for or take care of a person, and possibly even the Greek *κῶμος*, a song or a festival (not a village song), may all find their explanation in the Sanskrit root *sam*.

The idea that the Maruts did not originally enjoy divine

honours will occur again and again : cf. I, 6, 4 ; 72, 3. A similar expression is used of the *Ribhus*, I, 20, 8, &c. But while originally the expression of obtaining sacred names meant no more than obtaining a sacred or divine character, it was soon taken literally, and a number of names were invented for the Maruts which even in the *Vāgasan. Samhitā* XVII, 80–85 amount to 49, i.e. 7×7 . *Yagnīya*, properly 'worthy of sacrifice,' has the meaning of divine or sacred. The Greek *ἄγιος* has been compared with *yāgya*, sacrificio colendus, which is not a Vedic word.

Verse 6.

Note 1. *Sriyāse kām* seems to be the same as the more frequent *sriyé kām*. *Sriyāse* only occurs twice more, V, 59, 3. The chief irregularity consists in the absence of *Guna*, which is provided for by *Pāṇini's* *kasēn* (III, 4, 9). Similar infinitives, if they may so be called, are *bhiyāse*, V, 29, 4 ; *vridhāse*, V, 64, 5 ; *dhruvāse*, VII, 70, 1 ; *tugāse*, IV, 23, 7 ; *riñgāse*, VIII, 4, 17 ; *vriñgāse*, VIII, 76, 1 ; *rikāse*, VII, 61, 6. In VI, 39, 5, *rikāse* may be a dat. sing. of the masculine, to the praiser.

Note 2. *Mimikshire* from *myaksh*, to be united with. *Rasmī*, rays, after *bhānū*, splendour, may seem weak. It might be possible to assign to *rasmī* the meaning of reins, and take *rikvabhir* in the sense of sounding or tinkling. In V, 79, 8, *arṣī* is used in juxtaposition with *rasmī*.

Note 3. The bearing of this concluding verse is not quite clear, unless we take it as a continuation of the preceding verse. It was there said that the Maruts (the *ṛikvānah*) obtained their holy names after having joined Indra in his work, which means that they then and there became what they are. Having thus obtained their true character and a place among the gods, they may be said to have won at the same time splendour, and worshippers to sing their praises, and to have established themselves in what became afterwards known as their own domain, their own place among the gods who are invoked at the sacrifice. See VII, 58, 1.

The metre requires that we should read *dhāmanah*.

BENFEY translates : Gedeih'n zu spenden woll'n die schöngeschmücketen mit Lichtern, Strahlen mit Lobsängern regenen ; die brüllenden, furchtlosen, stürmischen, sie sind bekannt als Glieder des geliebten Marutstamms.

WILSON : Combining with the solar rays, they have willingly poured down (rain) for the welfare (of mankind), and, hymned by the priests, have been pleased partakers of the (sacrificial food). Addressed with praises, moving swiftly, and exempt from fear, they have become possessed of a station agreeable and suitable to the Maruts.

LUDWIG : Zu herlichkeit haben dise sich mit liechtglanz versehen, mit sausenden zügeln die schönberingten, schwertbewaffnet die kraftvollen, ohne furcht besitzen sie die freundliche Marutmacht.

MANDALA I, HYMN 88.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYÂYA 6, VARGA 14.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Come hither, Maruts, on your chariots charged with lightning, resounding with beautiful songs¹, stored with spears, and winged with horses! Fly³ to us like birds, with your best food², you mighty ones!

2. They come gloriously on their red, or, it may be, on their tawny horses which hasten their chariots. He who holds the axe¹ is brilliant like gold;—with the tire² of the chariot they have struck the earth.

3. On your bodies there are daggers for beauty; may they stir up our minds¹ as they stir up the forests. For yourselves, O well-born Maruts, the vigorous (among you) shake² the stone (for distilling Soma).

4. Days went round you and came back¹, O hawks, back to this prayer, and to this sacred rite; the Gotamas making prayer with songs, pushed up the lid of the well (the cloud) for to drink.

5. No such hymn¹ was ever known as this which Gotama sounded for you, O Maruts, when he saw you on golden wheels, wild boars² rushing about with iron tusks.

6. This comforting speech rushes sounding towards you, like the speech of a suppliant: it rushed freely from our hands as our speeches are wont to do.

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama, the son of Rahûgana. The metre varies. Verses 1 and 6 are put down as Prastâra-paṅkti, i. e. as 12 + 12 + 8 + 8. By merely counting the syllables, and dissolving semivowels, it is just possible to get twenty-four syllables in the first line of verses 1 and 6. The old metricians must have scanned verse 1 :

ā vīdyunmāt-bhīh mārūtāh sū-ārkaīh
rāthēbhīh yāta-rishmat-bhīh āsvā-pārnaīh.

Again verse 6 : ēshā syā vāh mārūtāh anū-bhārtrī
prātī stobhātī vāghātāh nā vānī.

But the general character of these lines shows that they were intended for hendecasyllabics, each ending in a bacchius, though even then they are not free from irregularities. The first verse would scan :

ā vīdyunmāt-bhīh mārūtāh sū-ārkaīh
rāthēbhīh yāta-rishmat-(bhīh) āsvā-pārnaīh.

And verse 6 : ēshā syā vāh mārūtāh-anū-bhārtrī
prātī stobhātī vāghātāh nā vānī.

Our only difficulty would be the termination bhīh of rishmat-bhīh. I cannot adopt Professor Kuhn's suggestion to drop the Visarga of bhīh and change i into y (Beiträge, vol. iv, p. 198), for this would be a license without any parallel. It is different with sah, originally sa, or with feminines in ih, where parallel forms in ī are intelligible. The simplest correction would be to read rāthēbhīh yāta-rishmat-māntāh-āsvā-pārnaīh. One might urge in support of this reading that in all other passages where rishmat occurs, it refers to the Maruts themselves, and never to their chariots. Yet the difficulty remains, how could so simple a reading have been replaced by a more difficult one?

In the two Gâyatrî pâdas which follow I feel equally reluctant to alter. I therefore scan

ā varshishāyā nā īshā vāyā nā pāptatā sū-māyāh,
taking the dactyl of paptata as representing a spondee, and admitting the exceptional bacchius instead of the amphimacer at the end of the line.

The last line of verse 6 should be scanned :

āstobhāyāt vrīthāśām ānū svādhām gābhāstyōh.

There are two other verses in this hymn where the metre is difficult. In the last pâda of verse 5 we have seven syllables instead of eleven. Again, I say, it would be most easy to insert one of the many tetrasyllabic epithets of the Maruts. But this would have been equally easy for the collectors of the Veda. Now the authors of the Anukramanis distinctly state that this fifth verse is virādrûpā, i. e. that one of its pâdas consists of eight syllables. How they would have made eight syllables out of vi-dhāvatah varāhûn does not appear, but at all events they knew that last pâda to be imperfect. The rhythm does not suffer by this omission, as long as we scan vī-dhāvātāh varāhûn.

Lastly, there is the third pâda of the second verse, rukmaḥ na kītraḥ svadhiti-vān. It would not be possible to get eleven syllables out of this, unless we admitted vyūha not only in svādhītivān or svādhītī-vān, but also in kītrāḥ. Kuhn (Beiträge, vol. iv, p. 192) proposes to scan rukmaū na kītarah svadhitivān. Nothing would be easier than to insert eshām after kītraḥ, but the question occurs again, how could eshām be lost, or why, if by some accident it had been lost, was not so obvious a correction made by Saunaka and Kātyāyana?

No verse of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB.

Verse 1

Note 1. Alluding to the music of the Maruts, and not to the splendour of the lightning which is mentioned before. See Wolf, Beiträge zur Deutschen Mythologie, vol. ii, p. 137. 'Das Ross und den Wagen des Gottes begleitet munterer Hörnerschall, entweder stösst er selbst ins Horn,

oder sein Gefolge. Oft vernimmt man auch eine liebliche Musik, der keine auf Erden gleich kommt (Müllenhof, 582). Das wird das Pfeifen und Heulen des Sturmes sein, nur in idealisirter Art.' Ibid. p. 158.

Note 2. *Várshishtā*, which is generally explained as the superlative of *vriddha*, old (*Pân.* VI, 4, 157), has in most passages of the *Rig-veda* the more general meaning of strong or excellent: VI, 47, 9. *isham ā vakshi ishām várshishtām*; III, 13, 7 (*vásu*); III, 26, 8 (*rátna*); III, 16, 3 (*raí*); IV, 31, 15; VIII, 46, 24 (*srávaḥ*); IV, 22, 9 (*nrímná*); V, 67, 1 (*kshatrá*); VI, 45, 31 (*mûrdhán*). In some passages, however, it may be taken in the sense of oldest (I, 37, 6; V, 7, 1), though by no means necessarily. *Várshishtā* is derived in reality from *vríshan*, in the sense of strong, excellent. See note to I, 85, 12, page 144.

Note 3. *Paptata*, the second person plural of the imperative of what is commonly, though without much reason, called the aorist of the causative of *pat*. It is curiously like the Greek *πίπτει*, but it has the meaning of flying rather than falling; see Curtius, *Grundzüge*, p. 190. Two other forms formed on the same principle occur in the *Rig-veda*, *paptaḥ* and *paptan*:

II, 31, 1. *prá yát váyaḥ ná páptan*.

That they may fly to us like birds.

VI, 63, 6. *prá vâm váyaḥ—ánu paptan*.

May your birds fly after you.

X, 95, 15. *púrûravaḥ mã mrithâḥ mã prá paptaḥ*.

Purûravas, do not die, do not go away!

Verse 2.

Note 1. Though *svadhiti-vân* does not occur again, it can only mean he who holds the axe, or, it may be, the sword or the thunderbolt, the latter particularly, if Indra is here intended. *Svadhiti* signifies axe:

III, 2, 10. *svá-dhitim ná tégase*.

They adorned Agni like an axe to shine or to cut.

The *svádhiti* is used by the butcher, I, 162, 9; 18; 20; and by the wood-cutter or carpenter, III, 8, 6; 11; X, 89, 7, &c. Roth (s.v.) takes *svadhiti* as meaning also a tree,

possibly the oak, and he translates svadhiti^{vān} in our passage by a chariot made of the wood of the Svadhiti tree. In RV. IX, 96, 6, svádhiti^r vānānām may well mean 'the strong axe among woods,' the axe being naturally made of the strongest wood. In V, 32, 10, a devī svádhiti^ḥ is mentioned, possibly the lightning, the companion of Indra and the Maruts.

Note 2. The tire of the chariot of the Maruts is frequently mentioned. It was considered not only as an essential part of their chariot, but likewise as useful for crushing the enemy :

V, 52, 9. utá pavyā^ḥ ráthānām ádrim bhindanti ógasā.

They cut the mountain (cloud) with the tire of their chariots.

I, 166, 10. pavíshu kshurā^ḥ ádhi.

On their tires are sharp edges.

In V, 31, 5, tires are mentioned without horses and chariot, which were turned by Indra against the Dasyus (I, 64, 11). I doubt, however, whether in India or elsewhere the tires or the wheels of chariots were ever used as weapons of attack, as detached from the chariot ; (see M. M., On Pavírava, in Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. iii, p. 447.) If we translate the figurative language of the Vedic poets into matter-of-fact terms, the tires of the chariots of the Maruts may be rendered by thunderbolts ; yet by the poets of the Veda, as by the ancient people of Germany, thunder was really supposed to be the noise of the chariot of a god, and it was but a continuation of the same belief that the sharp wheels of that chariot were supposed to cut and crush the clouds ; (see M. M., loc. cit., p. 444.)

Verse 3.

Note 1. That the vāśis are small weapons, knives or daggers, we saw before, p. 71. Sāyana here explains vāśi by a weapon commonly called āra, or an awl. In X, 101, 10, vāśis are mentioned, made of stone, asman-máyī.

The difficulty begins with the second half. Medhā, as here written in the Pada text, could only be a plural of

a neuter medhá, but such a neuter does nowhere exist in the Veda. We only find the masculine médha, sacrifice, which is out of the question here, on account of its accent. Hence the passage III, 58, 2, ūrdhvāḥ bhavanti pitārā-iva médhāḥ, is of no assistance, unless we alter the accent. The feminine medhā means will, thought, prayer: I, 18, 6; II, 34, 7; IV, 33, 10; V, 27, 4; 42, 13; VII, 104, 6; VIII, 6, 10; 52, 9; IX, 9, 9; 26, 3; 32, 6; 65, 16; 107, 25; X, 91, 8. The construction does not allow us to take medhā as a Vedic instrumental instead of medháyā, nor does such a form occur anywhere else in the Rig-veda. Nothing remains, I believe, but to have recourse to conjecture, and the addition of a single Visarga in the Pada would remove all difficulty. In the next line, if tuvi-dyum-nāsaḥ be the subject, it would signify the priests. This, however, is again without any warrant from the Rig-veda, where tuvi-dyumná is always used as an epithet of gods. I therefore take it as referring to the Maruts, as an adjective in the nominative, following the vocatives marutaḥ su-gātāḥ. The conception that the Maruts stir up the forests is not of unfrequent occurrence in the Rig-veda: cf. I, 171, 3. That ūrdhvā is used of the mind, in the sense of roused, may be seen in I, 119, 2; 134, 1; 144, 1; VII, 64, 4. The idea in the poet's mind seems to have been that the thunderbolts of the Maruts rouse up men to prayer as they stir the tops of the forest trees. Ludwig takes medha, masc., in the sense of lance, comparing it with Icelandic meidhr, but the two words cannot well be the same. Possibly vana may be meant for lances: 'May they raise our minds, like lances;' see note to I, 171, 3.

NOTE 2. On dhan in the sense of to agitate, see B. and R. s. v. The shaking of the stone may be the shaking of the stone for distilling the heavenly Soma or the rain; but adri may also be meant for the thunderbolt. I now take tuvidyumna for an adjective referring to the Maruts, because it is a divine rather than a human epithet. Still, the passage is doubtful.

Verse 4.

NOTE 1. The first question is, which is the subject, áhāni

or *gr̥dhṛāḥ*? If *gr̥dhṛāḥ* were the subject, then we should have to translate it by the eager poets, and take *áhāni* in the sense of *visvá ahāni*. The sense then might be: 'Day by day did the eager poets sing around you this prayer.' There would be several objections, however, to this rendering. First, *gr̥dhṛāḥ*, though metaphorically applicable to poets, never occurs again as signifying poets or priests. One passage only could be quoted in support, IX, 97, 57, *kaváyah ná gr̥dhṛāḥ* (not *gr̥dhṛāḥ*), like greedy poets. But even here, if indeed the translation is right, the adjective is explained by *kaví*, and does not stand by itself. Secondly, *áhāni* by itself is never used adverbially in the sense of day after day. The only similar passage that might be quoted is III, 34, 10, and that is very doubtful. To take *áhāni* as a totally different word, viz. as *á+hāni*, without ceasing, without wearying, would be too bold in the present state of Vedic interpretation. If then we take *áhāni* as the subject, *gr̥dhṛāḥ* would have to be taken as a vocative, and intended for the Maruts. Now, it is perfectly true, that by itself *gr̥dhra*, hawk, does not occur again as a name of the Maruts, but *syená*, hawk, and particularly a strong hawk (IX, 96, 6), is not only a common simile applied to the Maruts, but is actually used as one of their names:

VII, 56, 3. *abhí sva-pūbhiḥ mithāḥ vapanta vāta-svanasaḥ syenāḥ aspr̥dhran*.

They plucked each other with their beaks (?), the hawks, rushing like the wind, strove together.

Aguḥ might be the aorist of *gai*, to sing, or of *gā*, to go:

I, 174, 8. *sánā tã te indra návyāḥ ā aguḥ*.

New poets, O Indra, sang these thy old deeds.

III, 56, 2. *gāvaḥ ā aguḥ*.

The cows approached.

If then the sense of the first line is, 'Days went and came back to you,' the next question is whether we are to extend the construction to the next words, *imām dhíyam vārkáryām ka devīm*, or whether these words are to be joined to *kr̥invántaḥ*, like *br̥h̥ma*. The meaning of

vārkāryā is, of course, unknown. Sāyana's interpretation as 'what is to be made by means of water' is merely etymological, and does not help us much. It is true that the object of the hymn, which is addressed to the Maruts, is rain, and that literally vārkāryā might be explained as 'that the effect of which is rain.' But this is far too artificial a word for Vedic poets. Possibly there was some other word that had become unintelligible and which, by a slight change, was turned into vārkāryā, in order to give the meaning of rain-producing. It might have been *kārkārya*, glorious, or the song of a poet called Vārkara, or, as Ludwig suggests, *Vrikāri*. The most likely supposition is that vārkāryā was the name given to some famous hymn, some pæan or song of triumph belonging to the Gotamas, possibly to some verses of the very hymn before us. In this case the epithet devī would be quite appropriate, for it is frequently used for a sacred or sacrificial song: IV, 43, 1. devīm su-stutīm; III, 18, 3. imām dhīyam sata-séyāya devīm. See, however, the note to verse 6.

The purport of the whole line would then be that many days have gone for the Maruts as well as for the famous hymn once addressed to them by Gotama, or, in other words, that the Gotamas have long been devoted to the Maruts, an idea frequently recurring in the hymns of the Veda, and, in our case, carried on in the next verse, where it is said that the present hymn is like one that Gotama composed when he saw the Maruts or spoke of them as wild boars with iron tusks. The pushing up the lid of the well for to drink, means that they obtained rain from the cloud, which is here, as before, represented as a covered well.

See another explanation in Haug, *Über die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes Brahma*, 1868, p. 5.

Verse 5.

Note 1. Yógaṇa commonly means a chariot :

VI, 62, 6. areṇú-bhiḥ yógaṇebhiḥ bhugántā.

You who possess dustless chariots.

VIII, 72, 6. áśva-vat yógaṇam br̥hāt.

The great chariot with horses.

It then became the name for a distance to be accomplished without unharnessing the horses, just as the Latin *jugum*, a yoke, then a juger of land, 'quod uno jugo boum uno die exarari posset,' Pliny XVIII, 3, 3, 9.

In our passage, however, *yógana* means a hymn, lit. a composition, which is clearly its meaning in

VIII, 90, 3. *bráhma te indra girvanah kriyánte ánatidbhutá, imá gushasva hari-asva yóganá indra yá te ámanmahi.*

Unequalled prayers are made for thee, praiseworthy Indra; accept these hymns which we have devised for thee, O Indra with bright horses!

Note 2. *Varāhu* has here the same meaning as *varāhá*, wild boar (VIII, 77, 10; X, 28, 4). It occurs once more, I, 121, 11, as applied to *Vritra*, who is also called *varāhá*, I, 61, 7; X, 99, 6. In X, 67, 7, *vr̥sha-bhiḥ varāhaiḥ* (with the accent on the penultimate) is intended for the Maruts^a. Except in this passage, *varāha* has the accent on the last syllable. In IX, 97, 7, *varāhá* is applied to Soma.

Verse 6.

This last verse is almost unintelligible to me. I give, however, the various attempts that have been made to explain it.

WILSON: This is that praise, Maruts, which, suited (to your merits), glorifies every one of you. The speech of the priest has now glorified you, without difficulty, with sacred verses, since (you have placed) food in our hands.

BENFEY: Dies Lied—Maruts!—das hinter euch emporstrebt, es klingt zurück gleich eines Beters Stimme. Mühlos schuf solche Lieder er, entsprechend eurer Arme Kraft. (Note: Der zum Himmel schallende Lobgesang findet seinen Widerhall (wirklich, 'bebt zurück') in dem Sturm-

^a See Genthe, *Die Windgottheiten*, 1861, p. 14; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 689. Grimm mentions *eburðrung* (boar-throng) as a name of Orion, the star that betokens storm.

geheul der Maruts, welches mit dem Geheul des Betenden verglichen wird.)

LUDWIG: Dises lied, o Marut, euch unterstützend (aufnemen) als eines priesters braust euch entgegen, nachbrausen hat es gemacht ohne mühe in (die) der nähe die göttliche weise (ihrer) arme.

My own translation is to a great extent conjectural. It seems to me from verse 3, that the poet offers both a hymn of praise and a libation of Soma. Possibly *vârkâryâ* in verse 4 might be taken in the sense of Soma-juice, and be derived from *valkala*, which in later Sanskrit means the bark of trees. In that case verse 5 would again refer to the hymn of Gotama, and verse 6 to the libation which is to accompany it. *Anu-bhartrî* does not occur again, but it can only mean what supports or refreshes, and therefore would be applicable to a libation of Soma which supports the gods. The verb *stobhati* would well express the rushing sound of the Soma, as in I, 168, 8, it expresses the rushing noise of the waters against the felines of the chariots. The next line adds little beyond stating that this libation of Soma rushes forth freely from the hands, the *gabhastis* being specially mentioned in other passages where the crushing of the Soma-plant is described :

IX, 71, 3. *âdri-bhiḥ sutâḥ pavate gâbhastyoḥ*.

The Soma squeezed by the stones runs from the hands.

The translation would then be : O Maruts, this comforting draught (of Soma) rushes towards you, like the speech of a suppliant ; it rushed freely from our hands, as our draughts (of Soma) are wont to do.

On *svadhâ*, see p. 32.

MANDALA I, HYMN 165.

ASHTAKA II, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 24-26.

TO THE MARUTS AND INDRA.

The Prologue.

The sacrificer speaks :

1. To what splendour do the Maruts all equally¹ cling², they who are of the same age, and dwell in the same nest? With what thoughts?—from whence are they come³? Do these heroes sing forth their (own) strength⁴, wishing for wealth?

2. Whose prayers have the youths accepted? Who has turned the Maruts to his own sacrifice? By what strong desire¹ may we arrest them, they who float through the air like hawks?

The Dialogue.

The Maruts speak :

3. From whence¹, O Indra, dost thou come alone, thou who art mighty? O lord of men², what has thus happened to thee? Thou greetest (us)³ when thou comest together with (us), the bright (Maruts)⁴. Tell us then, thou with thy bay horses, what thou hast against us!

Indra speaks :

4. The sacred songs are mine, (mine are) the prayers¹; sweet² are the libations! My strength rises³, my thunderbolt is hurled forth. They call for me, the hymns yearn for me. Here are my horses, they carry me hither.

The Maruts speak :

5. From thence, in company with our strong

friends¹, having adorned our bodies, we now harness our fallow deer² with all our might³;—for, Indra, according to custom, thou hast come to be with us.

Indra speaks :

6. Where, O Maruts, was that custom with you, when you left me alone in the killing of Ahi? I indeed am terrible, powerful, strong,—I escaped from the blows of every enemy¹.

The Maruts speak :

7. Thou hast achieved much with us as companions¹. With equal valour, O hero! let us achieve then many things, O thou most powerful, O Indra! whatever we, O Maruts, wish with our mind².

Indra speaks :

8. I slew *Vṛitra*, O Maruts, with (Indra's) might, having grown powerful through my own vigour; I, who hold the thunderbolt in my arms, have made these all-brilliant waters to flow freely for man¹.

The Maruts speak :

9. Nothing, O mighty lord, is strong¹ before thee; no one is known among the gods² like unto thee. No one who is now born³ comes near, no one who has been born. Do what thou wilt do⁴, thou who art grown so strong.

Indra speaks :

10. Almighty strength be mine alone, whatever I may do, daring in my heart¹; for I indeed, O Maruts, am known as terrible: of all that I threw down, I, Indra, am the lord.

Indra speaks :

11. O Maruts, now your praise has pleased me, the glorious hymn which you have made for me, ye

men!—for me, for Indra, for the joyful hero, as friends for a friend, for your own sake, and by your own efforts¹.

Indra speaks:

12. Truly, there they are, shining towards me, bringing blameless glory, bringing food. O Maruts, wherever I have looked for you, you have appeared to me in bright splendour: appear to me also now!

The Epilogue.

The sacrificer speaks:

13. Who has magnified you here, O Maruts? Come hither, O friends, towards your friends. Ye brilliant Maruts, welcoming¹ these prayers, be mindful² of these my rites.

14. The wisdom of Mânya has brought us hither, that he should help as the poet helps the performer of a sacrifice¹: turn hither quickly²! Maruts, on to the sage! the singer has recited these prayers for you.

15. May this your praise, O Maruts, this song of Mândârya, the son of Mâna¹, the poet, bring offspring² for ourselves with food. May we have an invigorating autumn, with quickening rain³.

NOTES.

A critical examination of Professor von Roth's remarks on this hymn, together with some supplementary notes of my own, will be found in the Preface to this volume.

According to the *Anukramanikâ* this hymn is a dialogue between Agastya, the Maruts, and Indra. A careful consideration of the hymn would probably have led us to a similar conclusion, but I doubt whether it would have led us to adopt the same distribution of the verses among the poet, the Maruts, and Indra, as that adopted by the author of the *Anukramanikâ*. He assigns the first two verses to Indra, the third, fifth, seventh, and ninth to the Maruts, the fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth to Indra, and the three concluding verses to Agastya. I think that the two verses in the beginning, as well as the three concluding verses, belong certainly to Agastya or to whoever else the real performer of the sacrifice may have been. The two verses in the beginning cannot be ascribed to Indra, who, to judge from his language, would never say: 'By what strong desire may we arrest the Maruts?' It might seem, in fact, as if the three following verses too should be ascribed to the sacrificer, so that the dialogue between Indra and the Maruts would begin only with the sixth verse. The third verse might well be addressed to Indra by the sacrificer, and in the fourth verse we might see a description of all that he had done for Indra. What is against this view, however, is the phrase *prábhṛitaś me ádriḥ*. If used by the sacrificer, it might seem to mean, 'my stone, i.e. the stone used for squeezing the Soma, has been brought forth.' But though Professor Roth assigns this meaning to *prábhṛita* in our passage, I doubt whether, in connection with *ádri*, or with *vágra*, *prábhṛita* can mean anything but hurled. Thus we read:

I, 61, 12. *asmaí ít úm (íti) prá bhara—vritrāya vágram.*

Hurl thou, Indra, the thunderbolt against this *Vritra*.

V, 32, 7. *yát im vágrasya prá-bhṛitau dadābha.*

When Indra conquered him in the hurling of the thunderbolt.

I therefore suppose the dialogue to begin with verse 3, and I find that Langlois, though it may be from different reasons, arrived at the same conclusion.

There can be little doubt that the other verses, to verse 12, are rightly apportioned between Indra and the Maruts. Verse 12 might perhaps be attributed again to the worshipper of the Maruts, but as there is no absolute necessity for assigning it to him, it is better to follow the tradition and to take it as the last verse of Indra's speech. It would seem, in fact, as if these ten verses, from 3 to 12, formed an independent poem, which was intended to show the divine power of the Maruts. That their divine power was sometimes denied, and that Indra's occasional contempt of them was well known to the Vedic poets, will become evident from other hymns. This dialogue seems therefore to have been distinctly intended to show that, in spite of occasional misunderstandings between the Maruts and the all-powerful Indra, Indra himself had fully recognised their power and accepted their friendship. If we suppose that this dialogue was repeated at sacrifices in honour of the Maruts, or that possibly it was acted by two parties, one representing Indra, the other the Maruts and their followers, then the two verses in the beginning and the three at the end ought to be placed in the mouth of the actual sacrificer, whoever he was. He begins by asking, Who has attracted the Maruts to his sacrifice, and by what act of praise and worship can they be delighted? Then follows the dialogue in honour of the Maruts, and after it the sacrificer asks again, 'Who has magnified the Maruts, i.e. have not we magnified them?' and he implores them to grant him their friendship in recognition of his acts of worship. If then we suppose that the dialogue was the work of Mândārya Mānya, the fourteenth verse, too, would lose something of its obscurity. Coming from the mouth of the actual sacrificer, it would mean, 'the wisdom, or the poetical power, of Mānya has brought us to this, has induced us to do this, i.e. to perform this dialogue of Mānya, so that he, Mānya, should assist, as a poet assists the priest at a sacrifice.' Of course all this is and can only be guess-work.

We do not know the age of Mānya nor that of Agastya. We do not know whether they were contemporaries or not. But supposing that Mānya was present at the sacrifice, *vīpra* might be meant for Mānya; and in the last words, too, 'the singer has recited these prayers for you,' the singer (*garitā*) might again be Mānya, the powerful poet whose services the sacrificer had engaged, and whose famous dialogue between Indra and the Maruts was considered a safe means of winning their favour. It would be in keeping with all this, if in the last verse the sacrificer once more informed the Maruts that this hymn of praise was the work of the famous poet Māndārya, the son of Māna, and if he then concluded with the usual prayer for safety, food, and progeny.

No verse of this hymn occurs in the Sāma-veda; verse 3 = VS. XXXIII, 27; verse 4 = VS. XXXIII, 78; verse 6 = TB. II, 8, 3, 5; verse 8 = TB. II, 8, 3, 6; verse 9 = VS. XXXIII, 79.

Verse 1.

Note 1. As *saṁānī* occurs in the Veda as the feminine of *saṁāna* (cf. IV, 51, 9; X, 191, 3; 4), *saṁānyā* might, no doubt, be taken as an instrumental, belonging to *subhā*. We should then have to translate: 'With what equal splendour are the Maruts endowed?' Sāyana adopts the same explanation, while Wilson, who seems to have read *saṁānyāḥ*, translates 'of one dignity.' Professor Roth, s. v. *myaksh*, would seem to take *saṁānyā* as some kind of substantive, and he refers to another passage, I, 167, 4, *sādhāraṇyā-iva marútaḥ mimikshuḥ*, without, however, detailing his interpretation of these passages.

It cannot be said that Sāyana's explanation is objectionable, yet there is something awkward in qualifying by an adjective, however indefinite, what forms the subject of an interrogative sentence, and it would be possible to avoid this, by taking *saṁānyā* as an adverb. It is clearly used as an adverb in III, 54, 7; VIII, 83, 8.

Note 2. *Mimikshuḥ* is the perfect of *myaksh*, in the sense of to be firmly joined with something. It has therefore a more definite meaning than the Latin *miscere* and the Greek *μίσγειν*, which come from the same source, i. e.

from a root mik or mig, in Sanskrit also mis in mis-ra ; (see Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 300.) There may be indeed one or two passages in the Veda where myaksh seems to have the simple meaning of mixing, but it will be seen that they constitute a small minority compared with those where myaksh has the meaning of holding to, sticking to ; I mean

X, 104, 2. mimikshúh yám ádraya^h indra túbhyam.

The Soma which the stones have mixed for thee.

This form cannot be derived from mimiksh, but is the 3rd pers. plur. perf. Parasm. of myaksh. It may, however, be translated, 'This Soma which the stones have grasped or squeezed for thee,' as may be seen from passages quoted hereafter, in which myaksh is construed with an accusative.

II, 3, 11. ghrítám mimikshe.

The butter has been mixed.

This form cannot be derived from mimiksh, but is the 3rd pers. sing. perf. Átm. of myaksh. If the meaning of mixing should be considered inadmissible, we might in this verse also translate, 'The butter has become fixed, solid, or coagulated.'

Leaving out of consideration for the present the forms which are derived from mimiksh, we find the following passages in which myaksh occurs. Its original meaning must have been to be mixed with, to be joined to, and in many passages that original sense is still to be recognised, only with the additional idea of being firmly joined, of sticking to, or, in an active sense, laying hold of, grasping firmly.

1. Without any case :

I, 169, 3. ámyak sã te indra *risht^h* asmé (Iti).

This thy spear, O Indra, sat firm for us.

This would mean that Indra held his weapon well, as a soldier ought to hold his spear. Ámyak is the 3rd pers. sing. of a second aor. Parasm., ámyaksham, ámyak(sh + t) ; (Sây. prâpnoti.) Cf. VIII, 61, 18.

2. With locative :

X, 44, 2. mimyáksha vágra^h nri-pate gabhásta.

In thy fist, O king, the thunderbolt rests firmly.

I, 167, 3. *mimyaksha yéshu sú-dhitâ—rishth.*

To whom clings the well-grasped spear.

VI, 50, 5. *mimyaksha yéshu rodasī nú devī.*

To whom the goddess Rodasī clings. (Sây. *samgakkhate.*)

VI, 11, 5. *amyakshi sādma sādane prithivyāh.*

The seat was firmly set on the seat of the earth. (Sây. *gamyate, parigrhyate.*) It is the 3rd pers. sing. aor. pass.

VI, 29, 2. *ā yāsmīn hāste nāryāh mimikshuh ā rāthe hiranyāye rathe-sthāh, ā rasmāyah gābhastyoh sthūrayoh ā ādhvan ārvāsah vrīshanah yugānāh.*

To whose hand men cling, in whose golden chariot the drivers stand firm, in whose strong fists the reins are well held, on whose path the harnessed stallions hold together. (Sây. *āsikyante, āpūryante*; or *āsīṅkanti, pūrayanti.*)

X, 96, 3. *indre nī rūpā hāritā mimikshire.*

Bright colours stuck or clung or settled on Indra. (Sây. *nishiktāni babhūvuḥ*; *miheḥ sanantāt karmaṇi rūpam.*)

3. With instrumental:

I, 165, 1. *kāyā subhā marūtaḥ sām mimikshuh.*

To what splendour do the Maruts cling; or, what splendour clings to them?

V, 58, 5. *svāyā matyā marūtaḥ sām mimikshuh.* (See also I, 165, 1.)

The Maruts cling to their own thought or will. (Sây. *vrishyā samyak siṅkanti.*)

I, 167, 4. *yavyā sādharanyā-iva marūtaḥ mimikshuh.*

The Maruts cling to the young maid, as if she belonged to all. See I, 173, 12; VIII, 98, 8; or VI, 27, 6.

I, 87, 6. *bhānū-bhiḥ sām mimikshire.*

The Maruts were joined with splendour. (Sây. *medhum ikkhanti.*)

4. With accusative:

VIII, 61, 18. *nī yā vāgram mimikshātuḥ.*

Thy two arms which have firmly grasped the thunderbolt. (Sây. *parigrhṇitah.*)

Here I should also prefer to place VII, 20, 4, if we might read *mimikshe* or *mimyaksha*, for it is impossible to take *mimikshan* for anything but a participle of the desiderative of *mih*, which does not yield an appropriate meaning.

ní vágram índraḥ mīmikshan.

Grasping firmly the thunderbolt. (Sây. satrushu prâ-payan.)

VI, 29, 3. sriyê te pâdâ dūvaḥ ā mīmikshuḥ.

Thy servants embrace thy feet for their happiness. (Sây. āsiṅkanti, samarpayanti.)

Like other verbs which mean to join, myaksh, if accompanied by prepositions expressive of separation, means to separate. (Cf. vi-yukta, se-junctus.)

II, 28, 6. āpo (īti) sū myaksha varuṇa bhiyāsam māt.

Remove well from me, O Varuṇa, terror. (Sây. apagamaya.)

Quite distinct from this is the desiderative or inchoative verb mīmiksh, from mih, in the sense of to sprinkle, or to shower, chiefly used with reference to the gods who are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with rain. Thus we read :

I, 142, 3. mādhvā yagñām mīmikshati.

(Narāsa) sprinkles the sacrifice with rain.

IX, 107, 6. mādhvā yagñām mīmiksha naḥ.

Sprinkle (O Soma) our sacrifice with rain.

I, 34, 3. tríḥ adyā yagñām mādhunā mīmikshatam.

O Asvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with rain thrice to-day!

I, 47, 4. mādhvā yagñām mīmikshatam.

O Asvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with rain!

5. Without mādhu :

I, 22, 13. mahī dyaúḥ prithivī ka naḥ imām yagñām mīmikshatām.

May the great heaven and earth sprinkle this our sacrifice.

6. With mādhu in the accusative :

VI, 70, 5. mādhu naḥ dyāvāprithivī (īti) mīmikshatām.

May heaven and earth shower down rain for us.

Very frequently the Asvins are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with their whip. This whip seems originally, like the whip of the Maruts, to have been intended for the cracking noise of the storm, preceding the rain. Then as whips had possibly some similarity to the instruments used for sprinkling butter on the sacrificial viands, the Asvins are

asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with their whip, i. e. to give rain :

I, 157, 4. mādhu-matyā naḥ kāsaya mimikshatam.

O Asvins, sprinkle us with your rain-giving whip.

I, 22, 3. táyā yagñám mimikshatam.

O Asvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with it (your whip).

7. Lastly, we find such phrases as,

I, 48, 16. sám naḥ râyā—mimikshvá.

Sprinkle us with wealth, i. e. shower wealth down upon us. Here mih is really treated as a Hu-verb in the *Ātmanepada*, though others take it for *mimikshasva*.

As an adjective, *mimikshú* is applied to Indra (III, 50, 3), and *mimikshá* to Soma (VI, 34, 4).

Note 3. I do not see how *étāsaḥ* can here be taken in any sense but that suggested by the Pada, *ā-itāsaḥ*, come near. Professor Roth thinks it not impossible that it may be meant for *étāḥ*, the fallow deer, the usual team of the Maruts. These *Etas* are mentioned in verse 5, but there the Pada gives quite correctly *étān*, not *ā-itān*, and *Sāyana* explains it accordingly by *gantūn*.

Note 4. The idea that the Maruts proclaim their own strength occurred before, I, 87, 3. It is a perfectly natural conception, for the louder the voice of the wind, the greater its strength, and vice versa.

Verse 2.

Note 1. *Mānas* here, as elsewhere, is used in the sense of thought preceding speech, desire, or devotion not yet expressed in prayer. See Taitt. *Samh.* V, 1, 3, 3. *yat purusho manasābhigakṣhati tad vākā vadati*, what a man grasps in his mind, that he expresses by speech. Professor Roth suggests an emendation which is ingenious, but not necessary, viz. *mahā nāmasā*, with great adoration, an expression which occurs, if not in VI, 52, 17, at least in VII, 12, 1. We find, however, the phrase *mahā mānasā* in

VI, 40, 4. *ā yāhi śāsvat usatā yayātha īndra mahā mānasā soma-péyam*,

úpa bráhmāni śrinavaḥ imā naḥ átha te yagñāḥ tanvė váyaḥ dhāt.

Come hither, thou hast always come, Indra, to our libation through our yearning great desire. Mayest thou hear these our prayers, and may then the sacrifice put vigour in thy body.

It is curious to observe that throughout the Rig-veda the instrumental singular mahā is always used as an adjective belonging to some term or other for praise and prayer. Besides the passages mentioned, we find :

II, 24, 1. ayā vidhema nāvayā mahā girā.

Let us sacrifice with this new great song.

VI, 52, 17. su-uktēna mahā nāmasā ā vivāse.

I worship with a hymn with great adoration, or I worship with a great hymn in adoration. VIII, 46, 14. gāya girā mahā ví-ketasam. Celebrate the wise Indra with a great song. Otherwise we might translate, Thou hast always come with a great yearning desire.

Verse 3.

Note 1. We ought to scan kūṭāḥ tvām īndrā māhīnāḥ sām, because yāsi, being anudatta, could not begin a new pāda. It would be more natural to translate kūṭāḥ by why? for the Maruts evidently wish to express their surprise at Indra's going to do battle alone and without their assistance. I do not think, however, that in the Rig-veda, even in the latest hymns, kūṭāḥ has as yet a causal meaning, and I have therefore translated it in the same sense in which it occurs before in the poet's address to the Maruts.

Note 2. Sat-pati, lord of men, means lord of real men, of heroes, and should not be translated by good lord. Sat by itself is frequently used in the sense of heroes, of men physically rather than morally good :

II, 1, 3. tvām agne īndraḥ vṛishabhāḥ satām asi.

Thou, Agni, art Indra, the hero among heroes.

I, 173, 7. samāt-su tvā sūra satām urānām.

Thee, O hero, in battles the protector of (good and true) men.

Note 3. The meaning of sām prikkhase is very much the same as that of sām vadasva in I, 170, 5.

Note 4. Subhānā is evidently meant as a name for the

Maruts, who thus speak of themselves in the third person, which is by no means unusual in the Rig-veda.

Mahidhara explains *subhânaiḥ* by *sobhanair vaṭanaiḥ*.

Verse 4.

Indra certainly addresses his old friends, the Maruts, very unceremoniously, but this, though at first startling, was evidently the intention of the poet. He wished to represent a squabble between Indra and the Maruts, such as they were familiar with in their own village life, and this was to be followed by a reconciliation. The boorish rudeness, selfishness, and boastfulness here ascribed to Indra may seem offensive to those who cannot divest themselves of the modern meaning of deities, but looked upon from the right point of view, it is really full of interest.

Note 1. *Bráhmâni* and *matáyaḥ* are here mentioned separately in the same way as a distinction is made between *bráhman*, *stóma*, and *ukthá*, IV, 22, 1; VI, 23, 1; between *bráhmâni* and *gíraḥ*, III, 51, 6; between *bráhma*, *gíraḥ*, and *stómaḥ*, VI, 38, 3; between *bráhma*, *gíraḥ*, *ukthá*, and *mánma*, VI, 38, 4, &c.

Note 2. *Sám*, which I have here translated by sweet, is a difficult word to render. It is used as a substantive, as an adjective, and as an adverb; and in several instances it must remain doubtful whether it was meant for one or the other. The adverbial character is almost always, if not always, applicable, though in English there is no adverb of such general import as *sám*, and we must therefore render it differently, although we are able to perceive that in the mind of the poet it might still have been conceived as an adverb, in the sense of 'well.' I shall arrange the principal passages in which *sám* occurs according to the verbs with which it is construed.

1. With *bhû*:

VIII, 79, 7. *bháva naḥ soma sám hridé*.

Be thou, Soma, well (pleasant) to our heart. Cf. VIII, 82, 3.

VIII, 48, 4. *sám naḥ bhava hridé á pítáḥ indo (íti)*.

Be thou well (sweet) to our heart, when drunk, O Soma !
Cf. X, 9, 4.

I, 90, 9. *sám naḥ bhavatu aryamā*.

May Aryaman be well (kind) to us !

VI, 74, 1. *sám naḥ bhûtam dvi-páde sám kátuk-pade*.

May Soma and Rudra be well (kind) to our men and cattle.

Here *sám* might be rendered as an adverb, or as an adjective, or even as a substantive, in the sense of health or blessing.

Cf. VII, 54, 1; IX, 69, 7. The expression *dvipád* and *kátuk-pad* is curiously like what occurs in the prayers of the Eugubian tables, *Fisovie Sansie, ditu ocre Fisi, tote Jovine, ocrer Fisie, totar Jovinar dupursus, peturpursus fato fito* (Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler, ed. Aufrecht, p. 198); and also in the edicts of Piyadasi, *dupada-katupadesu pakhivâlikalesu*, 'aux bipèdes, aux quadrupèdes, aux volatiles, aux animaux qui se meuvent dans les eaux.' See Burnouf, Lotus, p. 667.

II, 38, 11. *sám yát stotri-bhyaḥ âpáye bhávâti*.

What may be well (a pleasure) for the praisers, for the friend.

X, 37, 10. *sám naḥ bhava kákshasâ*.

Be kind to us with thy light !

2. With as :

VIII, 17, 6. *sómaḥ sám astu te hridé*.

May the Soma be well (agreeable) to thy heart !

I, 5, 7. *sám te santu prá-ketase*.

May the Somas be well (pleasing) to thee, the wise !

V, 11, 5. *túbhyam manîshâ iyám astu sám hridé*.

May this prayer be well (acceptable) to thy heart !

I, 114, 1. *yáthâ sám ásat dvi-páde kátuk-pade*.

That it may be well for our men and cattle. Cf. X, 165, 1 ; 3.

VII, 86, 8. *sám naḥ kshéme sám ûm (íti) yóge naḥ astu*.

May it be well with us in keeping and acquiring !

V, 7, 9. *â yáḥ te—agne sám ásti dhāyase*.

He who is lief to thee to support, i.e. he whom thou likest to support.

V, 74, 9. *sám ûm (íti) sú vām—asmākam astu karkritih*.

Let there be happiness to you—glory to us !

3. With *as* or *bhû* understood :VI, 45, 22. *sám yát gáve ná sákíne.*

A song which is pleasant to the mighty Indra, as food to an ox.

VIII, 13, 11. *sám ít hí te.*

For it is well for thee.

X, 86, 15. *mantháh te indra sám hridé.*

The mixture is pleasant to thy heart, O Indra !

X, 97, 18. *áram kāmāya, sám hridé.*

Enough for love, pleasant to the heart.

VI, 34, 3. *sám tát asmai.*

That is pleasant to him.

VI, 21, 4. *káh te yagnáh mánase sám várāya.*

What sacrifice seems to thy mind pleasant to select ?

4. With *kar* :I, 43, 6. *sám nah karati árvate.*

May he do well to our horse, i.e. may he benefit our horses.

IV, 1, 3. *tokāya tugé—sám kridhi.*

Do good to our children and progeny, or bless us for the procreation of children.

VIII, 18, 8. *sám nah karatah asvínā.*

May the two Asvins do us good !

5. With *vah* :I, 157, 3. *sám nah ā vakshat dvi-pāde kátuḥ-pade.*

May he bring blessing to us for man and cattle.

VIII, 5, 20. *téna nah—párve tokāya sám gáve, váhatam pīvarīh íshah.*

Bring to us rich food, a blessing to cattle, to children, and to the ox.

6. With verbs, such as *pû*, *vâ*, and others, where it is clearly used as an adverb :IX, 11, 3. *sáh nah pavasva sám gáve sám gánāya sám árvate, sám rāgan óshadhibhyah.*

Do thou, king Soma, stream upon us, a blessing for the ox, a blessing for man, a blessing for the horse, a blessing for the plants. Cf. IX, 11, 7 ; 60, 4 ; 61, 15 ; 109, 5.

VII, 35, 4. *sám nah ishiráh abhí vātu vātah.*

May the brisk wind blow kindly upon us, or blow a blessing upon us!

VII, 35, 6. *sám nah tváshṭā gnābhiḥ ihā sṛinotu.*

May Tvashṭar with the goddesses hear us here well, i. e. auspiciously!

VII, 35, 8. *sám nah sūryah—út etu.*

May the sun rise auspiciously for us!

VIII, 18, 9. *sám nah tapatu sūryah.*

May the sun warm us well!

III, 13, 6. *sám nah soka—ágne.*

Shine well for us, O Agni!

Sám Yóh.

Sám also occurs in a phrase that has puzzled the interpreters of the Veda very much, viz. *sám yóh*. These are two words, and must both be taken as substantives, though originally they may have been adverbs. Their meaning seems to have been much the same, and in English they may safely be rendered by health and wealth, in the old acceptance of these words:

I, 93, 7. *dhattam yágamánāya sám yóh.*

Give, Agni and Soma, to the sacrificer health and wealth.

I, 106, 5. *sám yóh yát te mánuh-hitam tát ímahe.*

Bṛihaspati, we ask for health and wealth which thou gavest to *Manu*.

I, 114, 2. *yát sám ka yóh ka mánuh á-yegé pitā tát asyāma táva rudra prá-nītishu.*

Rudra, the health and wealth which *Manu*, the father, obtained, may we reach it under thy guidance.

II, 33, 13. *yāni mánuh ávrinīta pitā nah tā sám ka yóh ka rudráya varmi.*

The medicines which our father *Manu* chose, those I desire, the health and wealth of *Rudra*.

I, 189, 2. *bháva tokāya tánayāya sám yóh.*

Be to our offspring health and wealth!

IV, 12, 5. *yákkha tokāya tánayāya sám yóh.*

Give to our offspring health and wealth!

V, 69, 3. *īte tokāya tánayāya sám yóh.*

I ask for our offspring health and wealth.

VI, 50, 7. *dhāta tokāya tānayāya sām yóh.*

Give to our offspring health and wealth !

X, 182, 1. *átha karat yágamānáya sām yóh.*

May he then produce for the sacrificer health and wealth.

VII, 69, 5. *téna nah sām yóh—ní arvinā vahatam.*

On that chariot bring to us, Asvins, health and wealth.

III, 17, 3. *átha bhava yágamānáya sām yóh.*

Then, Agni, be health and wealth to the sacrificer.

III, 18, 4. *bṛihát váyah saramānéshu dhehi, revát agne visvāmitreshu sām yóh.*

Give, Agni, much food to those who praise thee, give to the Visvāmitras richly health and wealth.

X, 15, 4. *átha nah sām yóh arapáh dadhāta.*

And give us health and wealth without a flaw! Cf. X, 59, 8.

X, 37, 11. *tát asmé sām yóh arapáh dadhātana.*

And give to us health and wealth without a flaw!

V, 47, 7. *tát astu mitra-varunā tát agne sām yóh asmábhyam idám astu sastám.*

Let this, O Mitra-Varuna, let this, O Agni, be health and wealth to us ; may this be auspicious !

V, 53, 14. *vṛishṭvī sām yóh āpah usrī bhesagám syāma marutáh sahá.*

Let us be together with you, O Maruts, after health, wealth, water, and medicine have been showered down in the morning.

VIII, 39, 4. *sám ka yóh ka máyah dadhe.*

He gave health, wealth, and happiness.

VIII, 71, 15. *agním sām yóh ka dātave.*

We ask Agni to give us health and wealth.

X, 9, 4. *sám yóh abhī sravantu nah.*

May the waters come to us, as health and wealth, or may they run towards us auspiciously.

Note 3. If we retain the reading of the MSS. *súshmaḥ iyarti*, we must take it as an independent phrase, and translate it by 'my strength rises.' For *súshma*, though in this and other places it is frequently explained as an adjective, meaning powerful, is, as far as I can see, always a substantive, and means breath, strength. There may be a few passages in which, as there occur several words for strength, it might

be possible to translate *súshma* by strong. But even there it is better to keep to the general meaning of *súshma*, and translate it as a substantive.

Iyarti means to rise and to raise. It is particularly applied to prayers raised by the poet in honour of the gods, and the similes used in connection with this, show clearly what the action implied by *iyarti* really is. For instance,

I, 116, 1. *stómân iyarmi abhriyâ-iva vâtaḥ*.

I stir up hymns as the wind stirs the clouds.

X, 116, 9. *su-vakasyām iyarmi sīndhau-iva prā īrayam nāvam arkaḥ*.

I stir up sweet praise, as if I rowed a ship on the river with hymns.

In the sense of rising it occurs,

X, 140, 2. *pāvakā-varṣāḥ sukrā-varṣāḥ ānūna-varṣāḥ út iyarshi bhānūnā*.

Thou risest up with splendour, Agni, thou of bright, resplendent, undiminished majesty.

We might therefore safely translate in our verse 'my strength rises,' although it is true that such a phrase does not occur again, and that in other passages where *iyarti* and *súshma* occur together, the former governs the latter in the accusative. Cf. IV, 17, 12; X, 75, 3.

Mahādhara translates, 'my held-up thunderbolt moves on destroying everything,' but he admits another rendering in which *adri* would mean the stone used for pressing the Soma.

Verse 5.

Note 1. If, as we can hardly avoid, we ascribe this verse to the Maruts, we must recognise in it the usual offer of help to Indra on the part of the Maruts. The question then only is, who are the strong friends in whose company they appear? It would be well if one could render *antamébhiḥ* by horses, as Sāyana does, but there is no authority for it. *Svá-kshatra* is an adjective, meaning endowed with independent strength, synonymous with *svá-tavas*, I, 166, 2. It is applied to the mind of Indra, I, 54, 3; V, 35, 4; to the Maruts, V, 48, 1, but never to horses. As it stands, we can only suppose that a distinction is made between the Maruts and their followers,

and that after calling together their followers, and adorning themselves for battle, they proceed to harness their chariots. Cf. I, 107, 2.

Note 2. *Etán*, in all MSS. which I consulted, has here the accent on the first syllable, and Professor Aufrecht ought not to have altered the word into *etán*. If the accent had not been preserved by the tradition of the schools, the later interpreters would certainly have taken *etán* for the demonstrative pronoun. As it is, in spite of accent and termination, *Sâyana* in I, 166, 10, seems to take *étâh* for *eté*. In other passages, however, *Sâyana*, too, has perceived the difference, and in I, 169, 6, he explains the word very fully as *prishadvarnâ gantâro vâ asvâ vâ*. In this passage the *Etas* are clearly the deer of the Maruts, the *Prishatis*:

I, 169, 6. *ádha yát eshâm prîthu-budhnâsañ étâh*.

In the next verse, however, *éta* seems applied to the Maruts themselves:

I, 169, 7. *práti ghorānām étānām ayāsām marútām srinve â-yatām upabdhî*.

The sound of the terrible, speckled, indefatigable Maruts is heard, as they approach; unless we translate:

The noise of the terrible deer of the indefatigable Maruts is heard, as they approach.

In I, 166, 10, *ámseshu étâh*, I adopt Professor Roth's conjecture, that *étâh* means the skins of the fallow deer, so that we should have to translate: On their shoulders are the deer-skins.

In the other passages where *éta* occurs it is used as a simile only, and therefore throws no light on the relation of the *Etas* to the Maruts. In both passages, however (V, 54, 5; X, 77, 2), the simile refers to the Maruts, though to their speed only, and not to their colour.

Note 3. *Máhañ-bhiñ*, which I have translated 'with all our might,' seems to be used almost as an adverb, mightily or quickly (*makshu*), although the original meaning, with our powers, through our might, is likewise applicable. The original meaning is quite perceptible in passages like

V, 62, 3. *ádhárayatam prîthivīm utá dyāñ mîtra-râgânâ varunâ máhañ-bhiñ*.

Kings Mitra and Varuna, you have supported heaven and earth by your powers.

VII, 3, 7. *tébhiḥ naḥ agne ámitaiḥ máhaḥ-bhiḥ satám pûrbhiḥ áyasibhiḥ ní páhi.*

With those immeasurable powers, O Agni, protect us, with a hundred iron strongholds.

I, 90, 2. *té—máhaḥ-bhiḥ, vratā rakshante visvāḥ.*

They always protect the laws by their powers.

VII, 71, 1. *tvám naḥ agne máhaḥ-bhiḥ páhi.*

Protect us, Agni, with thy power.

In other passages, however, we see *máhaḥ-bhiḥ* used of the light or of the flames of Agni and of the dawn :

IV, 14, 1. *deváh rókamānaḥ máhaḥ-bhiḥ.*

Agni, the god, brilliant with his powers.

VI, 64, 2. *devi rókamāná máhaḥ-bhiḥ.*

O goddess, brilliant with thy powers.

The powers of the Maruts are referred to by the same name in the following passages :

V, 58, 5. *prá-pra gāyante—máhaḥ-bhiḥ.*

The Maruts are born with their powers.

VII, 58, 2. *prá yé máhaḥ-bhiḥ ógasā utá sánti.*

The Maruts who excel in power and strength. Cf. III, 4, 6.

Verse 6.

Note 1. Indra in this dialogue is evidently represented as claiming everything for himself alone. He affects contempt for the help proffered by the Maruts, and seems to deny that he was at any time beholden to their assistance. By asking, Where was that custom that I should be with you and you with me in battle? he implies that it was not always their custom, and that he can dispense with their succour now. He wants to be alone, as in his former battle with Ahi, and does not wish that they should join him (cf. I, 33, 4). Professor Roth takes *sam-ádhatta* in the sense of implicating, but it can hardly be said that the Maruts ever implicated Indra in his fight against Ahi. Certainly this is not in keeping with the general tenor of this dialogue where, on the contrary, Indra shuns the

company of the Maruts. But while on this point I differ from Professor Roth, I think he has rightly interpreted the meaning of *ánamam*. Out of the four passages in which *badhasnañ* occurs, it is three times joined with *nam*, and every time has the sense of to bend away from, to escape from. See also Sonne, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xii, p. 348.

Verse 7.

Note 1. See VII, 39, 6. *sakshímáhi yúgyebhiñ nú devañ*.

Note 2. The last words leave no doubt as to their meaning, for the phrase is one of frequent occurrence. The only difficulty is the vocative *marutañ*, where we should expect the nominative. It is quite possible, however, that the Maruts should here address themselves, though, no doubt, it would be easy to alter the accent. As to the phrase itself, see

VIII, 61, 4. *táthá ít asat índra krátvá yáthá vásañ*.

May it be so, O Indra, as thou mayest desire by thy mind.

VIII, 66, 4. *vagríñ—ít karat índrañ krátvá yáthá vásat*.

May Indra with the thunderbolt act as he may desire in his mind. Cf. VIII, 20, 17; 28, 4, &c.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Here again Indra claims everything for himself, denying that the Maruts in any way assisted him while performing his great deeds. These deeds are the killing of *Vṛitra*, who withholds the waters, i. e. the rain from the earth, and the consequent liberation of the waters, so that they flow down freely for the benefit of Manu, that is, of man.

When Indra says that he slew *Vṛitra indriyēna*, he evidently chooses that word with a purpose, and we must therefore translate it here, not only by might, but by Indra's peculiar might. *Indriyá*, as derived from *índra*, means originally Indra-hood, then power in general, just as *verethraghna* in Zend means victory in general, though originally it meant the slaying of *Vṛitra*.

On *bádhīm*, see Bollensen, *Z. D. M. G.* XXII, p. 594.

He takes *bádhiṃ* for a contraction of *badhisham*, in analogy with *badhiś* and *badhīt*. He refers to *akramiṃ*, X, 166, 5, and *badhiṃ*, X, 28, 7.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Ánutta*, in the sense of 'not shaken,' not shakeable, *inébranlable*, is strange; likewise the genitive, where we expect the instrumental. Still, *nud*, by itself, occurs in similar phrases, e. g. VI, 17, 5, *nutthák ákyutam*, thou shookest what is unshakeable, which might have been expressed by *ákukyavaḥ ánuttam*, and I cannot bring myself to believe that in our passage Aufrecht's conjectural emendation is called for. He (K. Z. XXVI, 611) takes *ánutta* for *ánudatta*, like *pratta* for *pradatta*, &c., and proposes to omit the negative particle, translating the verse: 'Certainly it is conceded to thee, there is none among the gods like unto thee.'

But though I cannot adopt this emendation here, I think that in other passages Aufrecht's rendering of *ánutta* is far more appropriate than to take it for *a-nutta*; for instance, I, 80, 7; III, 31, 13; VII, 34, 11.

There remains one verse in which *anutta* seems to mean not shaken, not overcome, namely, VIII, 90, 5, *tvám vritrāni hamsi apratīni ékaḥ ít ánuttá karshani-dhrítá*, thou, being alone, killest the irresistible enemies with the thunderbolt (?). However, *anudá*, in the sense of conceding, yielding, *nachgeben*, is certainly a very familiar idea in Vedic poetry.

II, 12, 10. *yák sárdhate ná anu-dádāti sridhyám*, who does not forgive the hurter his hurt.

I, 53, 8; II, 21, 4; 23, 11; X, 38, 5, *Indra* is called *ananudák*, not yielding, not surrendering.

We must therefore admit two *anuttas*, one *á-nutta*, the other *ánu(da)tta*. In *ánutta-manyu* I prefer the former, 'of irresistible fury,' while Aufrecht prefers the latter, 'of recognised, or universally-admitted fury.'

Note 2. *Devátá* in the ordinary sense of a deity never occurs in the *Rig-veda*. The word, in fact, as a feminine substantive occurs but twice, and in the tenth *Mandala*

only. But even there it does not mean deity. In X, 24, 6, *devāḥ devātayā* means, O gods, by your godhead, i.e. by your divine power. In X, 98, 1, *br̥haspate prāti me devātām ihi*, I take *devātā* in the same sense as *devātāti*, and translate, O *Br̥haspati*, come to my sacrifice.

In all other places where *devātā* occurs in the Rig-veda it is a local adverb, and means among the gods. I shall only quote those passages in which Professor Roth assigns to *devātā* a different meaning :

I, 55, 3. *prā vīryēṇa devātā āti kekite*.

He is pre-eminent among the gods by his strength.

I, 22, 5. *sāḥ kēttā devātā padām*.

He knows the place among the gods.

I, 100, 15. *nā yāsya devāḥ devātā nā mātāḥ āpah kṇā sāvasaḥ āntam āpūḥ*.

He, the end of whose power neither the gods among the gods, nor mortals, nor even the waters have reached.

Here the translation of *devātā* in the sense of 'by their godhead,' would be equally applicable, yet nothing would be gained as, in either case, *devātā* is a weak repetition.

VI, 4, 7. *īndram nā tvā sāvasā devātā vāyūm prīnanti rāḍhasā nr̥t-tamāḥ*.

The best among men celebrate thee, O Agni, as like unto Indra in strength among the gods, as like unto Vāyu in liberality. See also *devātāti*, VIII, 74, 3 ; X, 8, 2.

Note 3. The juxta-position of *gāyamānaḥ* and *gātāḥ* would seem to show that, if the latter had a past, the former had a future meaning. To us, 'No one who will be born and no one who has been born,' would certainly sound more natural. The Hindu, however, is familiar with the idea as here expressed, and in order to comprehend all beings, he speaks of those who are born and those who are being born. Thus in a *Padasishṭa* of the *Pāvamānīs* (IX, 67) we read :

yan me garbhe vasataḥ pāpam ugram,
yag gāyamānasya ka kimkid anyat,
gātasya ka yak kāpi vardhato me,
tat pāvamānibhir aham punāmi.

Note 4. *Karishyā* is written in all the MSS. without a

Visarga, and unless we add the Visarga on our own authority, we should have to take it as an entirely anomalous acc. plur. neut. of a passive participle of the future, *karishyám* standing for *kāryām*, *faciendum*. It is much easier, however, to explain this form if we add the Visarga, and read *karishyāḥ*, which would then be a second person singular of a Vedic conjunctive of the future. This form occurs at least once more in the Veda :

IV, 30, 23. *utá nūnám yát indriyám karishyāḥ indra paúmsyam, adyá nákiḥ tát ā minat.*

O Indra, let no man destroy to-day whatever manly feat thou art now going to achieve.

Verse 10.

Note 1. As I have translated these words, they sound rather abrupt. The meaning, however, would be clear enough, viz. almighty power belongs to me, therefore I can dare and do. If this abrupt expression should offend, it may be avoided, by taking the participle *dadhṛishván* as a finite verb, and translating, Whatever I have been daring, I shall do according to my will.

Verse 11.

Note 1. In this verse Indra, after having declined with no uncertain sound the friendship of the Maruts, seems to repent himself of his unkindness towards his old friends. The words of praise which they addressed to him in verse 9, in spite of the rebuff they had received from Indra, have touched his heart, and we may suppose that, after this, their reconciliation was complete. The words of Indra are clear enough, the only difficulty occurs in the last words; which are so idiomatic that it is impossible to render them in English. In *tanvë tanúbhiḥ*, literally for the body by the bodies, *tanû* is used like the pronoun self. Both must therefore refer to the same subject. We cannot translate 'for myself made by yourselves,' but must take the two words together, so that they should mean, 'the hymn which you have made for your own benefit and by your own exertions.'

Verse 13.

Note 1. Spiegel, in his review, called my attention to the Zend *api-vat*, which Burnouf discussed in his 'Études,' p. 328. Burnouf tries to show that *vat* in Zend has the meaning of knowing, and that it occurs with the preposition *api*, in *apivatahê* and *apivatâiti*. If this is the same word as in Sanskrit, then *apivâtayati* would be a causative, meaning to make known. The meaning of *vat*, however, is doubtful in Zend, and hardly appropriate in the few passages where it occurs in the Veda. Roth, in the Dictionary, explains *vat* by *verstehn*, *begreifen*, the causative by *begreiflich machen*; but in our passage he translates it by *belebend*, Ludwig by *aufspürend*. Till we get more light, I shall feel content to translate *apivat* by to approach, to obtain, and the causative by to make approach, to invite, to welcome.

The following are the passages in which *api-vat* occurs :
VII, 3, 10. *âpi krátum su-kétasam vatemala*.

May we obtain an excellent understanding; not, Awaken in us a good sense.

VII, 60, 6. *âpi krátum su-kétasam vátantaḥ*.

They (Mitra and Varuna) obtaining an excellent understanding.

I, 128, 2. *tám yagñā-sādhām âpi vâtayāmasi*.

Him, Agni, the performer of the sacrifice, we make approach, we invite.

X, 20, 1; 25, 1. *bhádram naḥ âpi vâtaya mánah, dáksham utá krátum*.

Bring to us, i. e. give us, a good mind, and a strong understanding.

X, 13, 5. *pitré putrāsaḥ âpi avíwatan rítam*.

The sons obtained the right for the father (an obscure verse).

As to *svapivāta*, VII, 46, 3, I should derive it from *van*, in the sense of implored, desired; see, however, Muir, Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 314, note; Nirukta, ed. Roth, p. 135.

Note 2. On *návedāḥ*, see IV, 23, 4.

Verse 14.

Note 1. This is a verse which, without some conjectural

alterations, it seems impossible to translate. *Sâyana*, of course, has a translation ready for it, so has *M. Langlois*, but both of them offend against the simplest rules of grammar and logic. The first question is, who is meant by *asmān* (which is here used as an *amphimacer*), the sacrificers or the *Maruts*? The verb *ā kakré* would well apply to the *medhā manyāsya*, the hymn of *Mānya*, which is intended to bring the *Maruts* to the sacrifice, this bringing to the sacrifice being the very meaning of *ā kar*. But then we have the vocative *marutaḥ* in the next line, and even if we changed the vocative into the accusative, we should not gain much, as the *Maruts* could hardly call upon anybody to turn them towards the sage.

If, on the contrary, we admit that *asmān* refers to those who offer the sacrifice, then we must make a distinction, which, it is true, is not an unusual one, between those who here speak of themselves in the first person, and who provide the sacrifice, and the poet *Māndārya Mānya*, who was employed by them to compose or to recite this hymn.

But even if we adopt this alternative, many difficulties still remain. First of all, we have to change the accent of *kakré* into *kakre*, which may seem a slight change, but is not the less objectionable when we consider that in our emendations of the Vedic hymns we must think rather of accidents that might happen in oral traditions than of the *lapsus calami* of later scribes. Secondly, we must suppose that the hymn of *Māndārya Mānya* ends with verse 13, and that the last verses were supplied by the sacrificers themselves. Possibly the dialogue only, from verse 3 to verse 12, was the work of *Mānya*, and the rest added at some solemn occasion.

Other difficulties, however, remain. *Duvasyāt* is taken by *Sâyana* as an ablative of *duvasyā*, worthy of *dúvas*, i. e. of worship, of sacrifice. Unfortunately this *duvasyā* does not occur again, though it would be formed quite regularly, like *namasyā*, worthy of worship, from *nāmas*, worship.

If we take *duvasyāt* as the 3rd pers. sing. of the present in the Vedic conjunctive, we must also confess that this conjunctive does not occur again. But the verb *duvasyati*

occurs frequently. It seems to have two meanings. It is derived from *dúvas*, which in the Vedic language means worship or sacrifice, just as *karma*, work, has assumed the special sense of sacrifice. Derived from *dúvas* in this sense, *duvasyati* means to worship. But *dúvas* meant originally any *opus operatum*. The root from which *dúvas* is derived, is lost in Sanskrit, but it exists in other languages. It must have been *du* or *dû* in the sense of acting, or sedulously working. It exists in Zend as *du*, to do, in Gothic as *táujan*, *gataujan*, Old High-German *zawjan*, Modern German *zauen* (Grimm, Gram. i². p. 1041). The Gothic *tavi*, *opus*, Old High-German *zouwi*, Middle High-German *gezöuwe* (Grimm, Gram. iii. p. 499), come from the same source; and it is possible, too, that the Old Norse *taufr*, modern *töfrar*, incantamenta, the Old High-German *zoupar*, Middle High-German *zouber*, both neuter, and the modern *Zauber*, may find their explanation in the Sanskrit *dúvas*. Derived from *dúvas*, in the sense of work, we have *duvasyati* in the sense of helping, providing, the German *schaffen* and *verschaffen*.

In the sense of worshipping, *duvasyati* occurs,

III, 2, 8. *duvasyáta—gâtá-vedasam*.

Worship *Gâtavedas*.

V, 28, 6. *ā guhota duvasyáta agním*.

Invoke, worship Agni. Cf. III, 13, 3; I, 13.

III, 3, 1. *agníh hí devān—duvasyáti*.

Agni performs the worship of the gods. Cf. VII, 82, 5.

I, 167, 6. *sutá-somaḥ duvasyán*.

He who has poured out Soma and worships.

In many passages *duvasyati* is joined with an instrumental:

V, 42, 11. *námaḥ-bhiḥ devám—duvasya*.

Worship the god with praises.

I, 78, 2. *tám u tvā gótamaḥ girā—duvasyati*.

Gotama worships thee with a song.

V, 49, 2. *su-uktaíḥ devám—duvasya*.

Worship the god with hymns.

VI, 16, 46. *vitī yáḥ devám—duvasyét*.

He who worships the god with a feast.

X, 14, 1. yamám—havíśhâ duvasya.

Worship Yama with an oblation.

VI, 15, 6. agním-agnim vaḥ samídhâ duvasyata.

Worship Agni with your log of wood. Cf. VIII, 44, 1.

III, 1, 2. samít-bhiḥ agním námasâ duvasyan.

They worshipped Agni with logs of wood, with praise.

In the more general and, I suppose, more original sense of caring for, attending, we find duvasyati :

III, 51, 3. anehásaḥ stúbhaḥ índraḥ duvasyati.

Indra provides for the matchless worshippers.

I, 112, 15. kalím yābhiḥ—duvasyáthaḥ.

By the succours with which you help Kali. Cf. I, 112, 21.

I, 62, 10. duvasyánti svásāraḥ áhrayānam.

The sisters attend the proud (Agni).

I, 119, 10. yuvám pedāve—svetám—duvasyathaḥ.

You provide for Pedu the white horse.

If, then, we take duvasyati in the sense of working for, assisting, it may be with the special sense of assisting at a sacred act, like διακονεῖν; and if we take duvās, as it has the accent on the last syllable, as the performer of a sacrifice, we may venture to translate, 'that he should help, as the singer helps the performer of the sacrifice*.' The singer or the poet may be called the assistant at a sacrifice, for his presence was not necessary at all sacrifices, the songs constituting an ornament rather than an essential part in most sacred acts. But though I think it right to offer this conjectural interpretation, I am far from supposing that it gives us the real sense of this difficult verse. Duvasyāt may be, as Sāyana suggests, an ablative of duvasyá; and duvasyá, like namasyā, if we change the accent, may mean he who is to be worshipped, or worshipping. In this way a different interpretation might suggest itself, though I confess I do not see that any other interpretation as yet suggested is satisfactory. Some happy thought may some day or other clear up this difficulty, when those who have

* Kar in the sense of officiating at a sacrifice is equally construed with a dative, X, 97, 22. yásmai kṛinóti bráhmaṇāḥ, he for whom a Bráhmaṇa performs a sacrifice.

toiled, but toiled in a wrong direction, will receive scant thanks for the trouble they have taken. See Bollensen, Z. D. M. G. XVIII, p. 606.

Note 2. In the second line, the words *ó sú varta* remind us of similar phrases in the Veda, but we want an accusative, governed by *varta*; whereas *marutaḥ*, to judge from its accent, can only be a vocative. Thus we read:

I, 138, 4. *ó (iti) sú tvā vavṛitmahī stómebhiḥ*.

May we turn thee quickly hither by our praises!

VIII, 7, 33. *ó (iti) sú vṛishnah—vavṛityām*.

May I turn the heroes quickly hither!

Compare also passages like III, 33, 8:

ó (iti) sú svasārah kārāve sṛinota.

Listen quickly, O sisters, to the poet.

I, 139, 7. *ó (iti) sú nah agne sṛinuhi*.

Hear us quickly, O Agni.

Cf. I, 182, 1; II, 34, 15; VII, 59, 5; VIII, 2, 19; X, 179, 2.

Unless we change the accent, we must translate, 'Bring hither quickly!' and we must take these words as addressed to the *kāru*, the poet, whose hymn is supposed to attract the gods to the sacrifice. By a quick transition, the next words, *marutaḥ vípram ákkha*, would then have to be taken as addressed to the gods, 'Maruts, on to the sage!' and the last words would become intelligible by laying stress on the *vaḥ*, 'for you, and not for Indra or any other god, has the singer recited these hymns.' See, however, Preface, p. xxi.

Verse 15.

Note 1. I translate *Mānya*, the son of *Māna*, because the poet, so called in I, 189, 8, is in all probability the same as our *Māndārya Mānya*. But it may also be *Mānya*, the descendant of *Mandāri*. The *Mānas* are mentioned I, 172, 5; 182, 8.

Note 2. Vāg. S. XXXIV, 48. The second line is difficult, owing to the uncertain meaning of *vayām*.

Ā ishā^a yāśishṛa has been rendered, 'Come hither with

^a There was a misprint in the *Samhitā* text, *eshā* instead of *éshā*, which was afterwards repeated whenever the same verse occurred again.

water or drink or rain,' yâsishṭa being the aorist without the augment and with the intermediate vowel lengthened. The indicative occurs in

V, 58, 6. yât prâ âyâsishṭa prîshatîbhiḥ âsvaiḥ.

When you Maruts came forth with your fallow deer and your horses.

But what is the meaning of vayāṃ? Vayā means a germ, a sprout, an offshoot, a branch, as may be seen from the following passages:

II, 5, 4. vidvān asya vratā dhruvā vayāḥ-iva ānu rohate.

He who knows his eternal laws, springs up like young sprouts. (Better vayā-iva.)

VI, 7, 6. tāsya it ūm (īti) vīsvā bhūvanā ādhi mûrdhāni vayāḥ-iva ruruhuḥ.

From above the head of Vaisvanara all worlds have grown, like young sprouts.

VIII, 13, 6. stotā—vayāḥ-iva ānu rohate. (Better vayā-iva.)

The worshipper grows up like young sprouts.

VIII, 13, 17. īndram kshonīḥ avardhayan vayāḥ-iva.

The people made Indra to grow like young sprouts.

VIII, 19, 33. yāsya te agne anyé agnāyaḥ upa-kshītaḥ vayāḥ-iva.

Agni, of whom the other fires are like parasitical shoots.

I, 59, 1. vayāḥ it agne agnāyaḥ te anyé.

O Agni, the other fires are indeed offshoots of thee.

II, 35, 8. vayāḥ it anyā bhūvanāni asya.

The other worlds are indeed his (the rising sun's) offshoots.

VI, 13, 1. tvât vīsvā—saubhagāni āgne vī yanti vanīnaḥ nā vayāḥ.

From thee, O Agni, spring all happinesses, as the sprouts of a tree.

VI, 24, 3. vṛikshāsya nū (nā?) te—vayāḥ vī ūtāyaḥ ruruhuḥ.

Succours sprang from thee, like the branches of a tree.

V, 1, 1. yahvāḥ-iva prâ vayāṃ ut-gīhānāḥ prâ bhānāvaḥ sisrate nākam ākkha.

Like birds(?) flying up to a branch, the flames of Agni went up to heaven; (or like strong men reaching up to.)

VI, 57, 5. *tām pūshnāḥ su-matīm vayām vrikshāsya prā vayām-iva índrasya ka ā rabhāmahe.*

Let us reach this favour of Pūshan and of Indra, as one reaches forth to the branch of a tree.

There remain some doubtful passages in which *vayā* occurs, VII, 40, 5, and X, 92, 3; 134, 6. In the first passage, as in our own, *vayāḥ* is trisyllabic.

If *vayā* can be used in the sense of offshoot or sprout, we may conclude that the same word, used in the singular, might mean offspring, particularly when joined with *tanvē*. 'Give a branch to our body,' would be understood even in languages less metaphorical than that of the Vedas; and as the prayer for 'olive branches' is a constant theme of the Vedic poets, the very absence of that prayer here, might justify us in assigning this sense to *vayām*. In VI, 2, 5, the expression *vayāvantam ksháyam*, a house with branches, means the same as *nṛvántam*, a house with children and men. See M. M., On *Bíos* and *váyas*, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xv, p. 215. Benfey (*Endungen in íans*, p. 37) takes *vayām* as a genitive plural, referring it to the Maruts, as closely connected with each other, like branches of a tree. This is much the same interpretation as that of Mahīdhara (VS. XXXIV, 48), who translates 'come near for the body, i. e. for the bodily strength of the fellows, the Maruts.' Ludwig takes it as a possible instrumental of *vayam*.

It is preferable, however, to take *yāsishṭa* as a precative *Ātm.*, in order to account for the long *ī*, and to accept it as a third person singular, referring to *stómaḥ*.

Note 3. *Vrigāna* means an enclosure, a *vomós*, whether it be derived from *vrig*, to ward off, like *arx* from *arcere*, or from *vrig*, in the sense of clearing, as in *vrikta-barhis*, *barhíḥ* *prā vriṅge*, I, 116, 1. In either case the meaning remains much the same, viz. a field, cleared for pasture or agriculture,—a clearing, as it is called in America, or a camp,—enclosed with hurdles or walls, so as to be capable of defence against wild animals or against enemies. In this sense, however, *vrigana* is a neuter, while as a masculine it means powerful, invigorating. See Preface, p. xx.

MANDALA I, HYMN 166.

ASHTAKA II, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 1-8.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Let us now proclaim for the robust¹ host, for the herald² of the powerful (Indra), their ancient greatness! O ye strong-voiced Maruts, you heroes, prove your powers on your march, as with a torch, as with a sword³!

2. Like parents bringing a dainty to¹ their own² son, the wild (Maruts) play playfully at the sacrifices. The Rudras reach the worshipper with their protection, strong in themselves, they do not fail the sacrificer.

3. For him to whom the immortal guardians have given fulness of wealth, and who is himself a giver of oblations, the Maruts, who gladden men with the milk (of rain), pour out, like friends, many clouds.

4. You who have stirred¹ up the clouds with might, your horses rushed² forth, self-guided. All beings who dwell in houses³ are afraid of you, your march is brilliant with your spears thrust forth.

5. When they whose march is terrible have caused the rocks to tremble¹, or when the manly Maruts have shaken the back of heaven, then every lord of the forest fears at your racing, each shrub flies out of your way², whirling like chariot-wheels³.

6. You, O terrible Maruts, whose ranks are never broken, favourably¹ fulfil our prayer²! Wherever your gory-toothed³ lightning bites⁴, it crunches⁵ cattle, like a well-aimed bolt⁶.

7. The Maruts whose gifts are firm, whose bounties are never ceasing, who do not revile¹, and who are highly praised at the sacrifices, they sing their song² for to drink the sweet juice: they know the first manly deeds of the hero (Indra).

8. The man whom you have guarded, O Maruts, shield him with hundredfold strongholds from injury¹ and mischief,—the man whom you, O fearful, powerful singers, protect from reproach in the prosperity of his children.

9. On your chariots, O Maruts, there are all good things, strong weapons¹ are piled up clashing against each other. When you are on your journeys, you carry the rings² on your shoulders, and your axle turns the two wheels at once³.

10. In their manly arms there are many good things, on their chests golden chains¹, flaring² ornaments, on their shoulders speckled deer-skins³, on their fellies sharp edges⁴; as birds spread their wings, they spread out splendours behind.

11. They, mighty by might, all-powerful powers¹, visible from afar like the heavens² with the stars, sweet-toned, soft-tongued singers with their mouths³, the Maruts, united with Indra, shout all around.

12. This is your greatness¹, O well-born Maruts!—your bounty³ extends far, as the sway² of Aditi⁴. Not even⁵ Indra in his scorn⁶ can injure that bounty, on whatever man you have bestowed it for his good deeds.

13. This is your kinship (with us), O Maruts, that you, immortals, in former years have often protected the singer¹. Having through this prayer granted a hearing to man, all these heroes together have become well-known by their valiant deeds.

14. That we may long flourish, O Maruts, with your wealth, O ye racers, that our men may spread in the camp, therefore let me achieve the rite with these offerings.

15. May this praise, O Maruts, this song of Mândârya, the son of Mâna, the poet, ask you with food for offspring for ourselves! May we have an invigorating autumn, with quickening rain!

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Agastya, the reputed son of Mitrāvaruṇau, and brother of Vasishṭha. The metre in verses 1-13 is Gāgati, in 14, 15 Trishṭubh. No verse of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Rabhasá, an adjective of rábhas, and this again from the root rabh, to rush upon a thing, á-rabh, to begin a thing. From this root rabh we have the Latin robur, in the general sense of strength, while in rabies the original meaning of impetuous motion has been more clearly preserved. The Greek λάβρος, too, as pointed out by Cowell, comes from this root. In the Vedic Sanskrit, derivatives from the root rabh convey the meaning both of quickness and of strength. Quickness in ancient languages frequently implies strength, and strength implies quickness, as we see, for instance, from the German snēl, which, from meaning originally strong, comes to mean in modern German quick, and quick only. The German bald again, meaning soon, comes from the Gothic balþs, the English bold. Thus we read :

I, 145, 3. śśuk ā adatta sám rábhaḥ.

The child (Agni) acquired vigour.

Indra is called rabhaḥ-dāḥ, giver of strength ; and rabhasá, vigorous, is applied not only to the Maruts, who in V, 58, 5, are called rábhishthāḥ, the most vigorous, but also to Agni, II, 10, 4, and to Indra, III, 31, 12.

In the sense of rabid, furious, it occurs in

X, 95, 14. ádha enam vṛkáḥ rabhasāsaḥ adyúḥ.

May rabid wolves eat him !

In the next verse rabhasá, the epithet of the wolves, is replaced by śśiva, which means unlucky, uncanny.

In our hymn rabhasá occurs once more, and is applied there, in verse 10, to the aṅgí or glittering ornaments of the Maruts. Here Sáyana translates it by lovely, and it was most likely intended to convey the idea of lively or brilliant splendour, though it may mean also strong. See also IX, 96, 1.

Note 2. Ketú, derived from an old root *ki*, in Sanskrit *ki*, to perceive, from which also *kitra*, conspicuous, ken-speckled, beautiful, means originally that by which a thing is perceived or known, whether a sign, or a flag, or a herald. It is the Gothic *haidu*, species. It then takes the more general sense of light and splendour. In our passage, herald seems to me the most appropriate rendering, though B. and R. prefer the sense of banner. The Maruts come before Indra, they announce the arrival of Indra, they are the first of his army.

Note 3. The real difficulty of our verse lies in the two comparisons *aidhā-iva* and *yudhā-iva*. Neither of them occurs again in the Rīg-veda. B. and R. explain *aidhā* as an instrumental of *aidh*, flaming, or flame, and derive it from the root *idh*, to kindle, with the preposition *ā*. Professor Bollensen in his excellent article *Zur Herstellung des Veda* (Orient und Occident, vol. iii, p. 473) says: 'The analysis of the text given in the Pada, viz. *aidhā-iva* and *yudhā-iva*, is contrary to all sense. The common predicate is *tavishāmi kartana*, exercise your power, you roarers, i. e. blow as if you meant to kindle the fire on the altar, show your power as if you went to battle. We ought therefore to read *aidhé | va* and *yudhé | va*. Both are infinitives, *aidh* is nothing but the root *idh* + *ā*, to kindle, to light.' Now this is certainly a very ingenious explanation, but it rests on a supposition which I cannot consider as proved, viz. that in the Veda, as in Pāli, the comparative particle *iva* may be changed, as shown in the preface to the first edition, to *va*. It must be admitted that the two short syllables of *iva* are occasionally counted in the Veda as one, but *yudhé-iva*, though it might become *yudhá iva*, would never in the Veda become *yudhéva*.

As *yudhā* occurs frequently in the Veda, we may begin by admitting that the parallel form *aidhā* must be explained in analogy to *yudhā*. Now *yúdh* is a verbal noun and means fighting. We have the accusative *yúdham*, I, 53, 7; the genitive *yudháḥ*, VIII, 27, 17; the dative *yudhé*, I, 61, 13; the locative *yudhí*, I, 8, 3; the instrumental *yudhā*, I, 53, 7, &c.; loc. plur. *yut-sú*, I, 91, 21. As long as *yúdh*

retains the general predicative meaning of fighting, some of these cases may be called infinitives. But yúdh soon assumes not only the meaning of battle, battle-ground, but also of instrument of fighting, weapon. In another passage, X, 103, 2, yúdhāḥ may be taken as a vocative plural, meaning fighters. Passages in which yúdh means clearly weapon, are, for instance,

V, 52, 6. ārukmaḥ ā yudhā nāraḥ rishvāḥ rishṭīḥ asrikshata.

With their bright chains, with their weapon, the tall men have stretched forth the spears.

X, 55, 8. pītṛī sómasya divāḥ ā vridhānāḥ sūraḥ nīḥ yudhā adhamat dāsyūn.

The hero, growing, after drinking the Soma, blew away from the sky the enemies with his weapon. See also X, 103, 4.

I therefore take yúdh in our passage also in the sense of weapon or sword, and, in accordance with this, I assign to aīdh the meaning of torch. Whether aīdh comes from idh with the preposition ā, which, after all, would only give edh, or whether we have in the Sanskrit aīdh the same peculiar strengthening which this very root shows in Greek and Latin*, would be difficult to decide. The torch of the Maruts is the lightning, the weapon the thunderbolt, and by both they manifest their strength; ferro et igne, as Ludwig remarks.

WILSON: We proclaim eagerly, Maruts, your ancient greatness, for (the sake of inducing) your prompt appearance, as the indication of (the approach of) the showerer (of benefits). Loud-roaring and mighty Maruts, you exert your vigorous energies for the advance (to the sacrifice), as if it was to battle.

Verse 2.

NOTE 1. That úpa can be construed with the accusative is clear from many passages:

III, 35, 2. úpa imám yagnám ā vahātaḥ indram.

Bring Indra to this sacrifice!

I, 25, 4. váyaḥ ná vasatīḥ úpa.

As birds (fly) to their nests.

* Schleicher, Compendium, § 36, αἶδω, αἰδέομαι, αἰδοῦναι; and § 49, aides, aidilis aestas.

Note 2. *Nítya*, from *ni + tya**, means originally what is inside, internus, then what is one's own; and is opposed to *níshṭya*, from *nis + tya*, what is outside, strange, or hostile. *Nítya* has been well compared with *nigá*, literally eingeboren, then, like *nítya*, one's own. What is inside, or in a thing or place, is its own, is peculiar to it, does not move or change, and hence the secondary meanings of *nítya*, one's own, unchanging, eternal. Thus we find *nítya* used in the sense of internal or domestic:

I, 73, 4. *tám tvá nárah dāme ā nítyam iddhām āgne sákanta kshitíshu dhruvāsu.*

Our men worshipped thee, O Agni, lighted within the house in safe places.

This I believe to be a more appropriate rendering than if we take *nítya* in the sense of always, continuously lighted, or, as some propose, in the sense of eternal, everlasting.

VII, 1, 2. *dakshāyāh yāh dāme āsa nítyah.*

Agni who is to be pleased within the house, i. e. as belonging to the house, and, in that sense, who is to be pleased always. Cf. I, 140, 7; 141, 2; X, 12, 2, and III, 25, 5, where *nítyah*, however, may have been intended as an adjective belonging to the vocative *sūno*.

Most frequently *nítya* occurs with *sūnú*, I, 66, 1; 185, 2; *tánaya*, III, 15, 2; X, 39, 14; *toká*, II, 2, 11; *āpí*, VII, 88, 6; *páti*, I, 71, 1, and has always the meaning of one's own, very much like the later Sanskrit *nigā*, which never occurs in the Rig-veda, though it makes its appearance in the *Ātharvāna*.

Níshṭya, extraneus, occurs three times in the Rig-veda:

VI, 75, 19. *yāh nah svāh áranah yāh ka níshṭyah gíghāmsati.*

Whoever wishes to hurt us, our own friend or a stranger from without.

X, 133, 5. *yāh nah indra abhi-dāsati sá-nábhih yāh ka níshṭyah.*

He who infests us, O Indra, whether a relative or a stranger.

VIII, 1, 13. *mā bhūma níshṭyāh-iva indra tvád áranāh-iva.*

* *Āpa-tya*; cf. Bopp, Accentuationssystem, § 138, *ἐπι-σσαι*, Nachkommen.

Let us not be like outsiders, O Indra, not like strangers to thee.

WILSON: Ever accepting the sweet (libation), as (they would) a son, they sport playfully at sacrifices, demolishing (all intruders).

LUDWIG: Wie einen nicht absterbenden Sohn das Madhu bringend.

Verse 4.

Note 1. Ávyata, a Vedic second aorist of *vî* (*ag*), to stir up, to excite. From it *pravayana*, a goad, *pra-vetar*, a driver. The Greek *οἶστρος*, *gad-fly*, has been referred to the same root. See Fick, *Wörterbuch*, p. 170.

Roth (Wenzel, *Instrumental*, p. 54) translates: 'While you quickly throw yourselves into the mists;' from a verb *vyâ*.

Note 2. *Adhragan*, from *dhrag*, a root which, by metathesis of aspiration, would assume the form of *dragh* or *dragh*. In Greek, the final medial aspirate being hardened, reacts on the initial media, and changes it to *t*, as *bâhu* becomes *πῆχυς*, *budh* *πυθ*, *bandh* *πενθ*. This would give us *τρεχ*, the Greek root for running, Goth. *thrag-jan*.

Note 3. *Harmyâ* is used here as an adjective of *bhúvana*, and can only mean living in houses. It does not, however, occur again in the same sense, though it occurs several times as a substantive, meaning house. Its original meaning is fire-pit, then hearth, then house, a transition of meaning analogous to that of *aedes*. Most of the ancient nations begin their kitchen with a fire-pit. 'They dig a hole in the ground, take a piece of the animal's raw hide, and press it down with their hands close to the sides of the hole, which thus becomes a sort of pot or basin. This they fill with water, and they make a number of stones red-hot in a fire close by. The meat is put into the water, and the stones dropped in till the meat is boiled. Catlin describes the process as awkward and tedious, and says that since the Assinaboins had learnt from the Mandans to make pottery, and had been supplied with vessels by the traders, they had entirely done away the custom, "excepting at public festivals; where they seem, like all others of the human family, to take pleasure in cherishing and perpetuating

their ancient customs^a.” This pit was called *harmyá*^b or *gharmá*, which is the Latin formus. Thus we read :

VII, 56, 16. *té harmye-sthāh śśavaḥ ná subhrāh.*

The Maruts bright like boys standing by the hearth.

From meaning fire-pit, or hearth, *harmyá* afterwards takes the more general sense of house :

VII, 55, 6. *téshām sám hanmaḥ akshāni yáthā idám harmyám táthā.*

We shut their eyes as we shut this house (possibly, this oven).

VII, 76, 2. *pratikī ā agāt ádhi harmyébhyaḥ.*

The dawn comes near, over the house-tops.

X, 46, 3. *gātāḥ ā harmyéshu.*

Agni, born in the houses.

X, 73, 10. *manyóḥ iyáya harmyéshu tasthau.*

He came from Manyu, he remained in the houses.

In some of these passages *harmyá* might be taken in the sense of householder ; but as *harmyá* in VII, 55, 6, has clearly the meaning of a building, it seems better not to assign to it unnecessarily any new significations.

If *harmya* or **harma* meant originally a fire-pit, then a hearth, a house, we see the close connection between *harma* and *gharma*, *harmya* and *gharmya*. Thus by the side of *harmyeshtha* we find *gharmyeshtha* (RV. X, 106, 5). We find *gharma* meaning, not only heat in general, but fire-pit, hearth ; and we find the same word used for what we should call the pit, a place of torture and punishment from which the gods save their worshippers, or into which they throw the evil-doers.

V, 32, 5. *yúyutsantam támasi harmyé dhāh.*

^a Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, p. 262.

^b Spiegel, who had formerly identified *harmyá* with the Zend *zairimya* in *zairimyaŋura*, has afterwards recalled this identification ; see Spiegel, *Av. Übers.* I, p. 190 ; *Commentar über den Avesta*, I, p. 297 ; Justi, *Handbuch*, p. 119 ; Haug, *Pahlavi Glossary*, p. 22. According to the Parsis, the *Hairimyaŋura*, a *daēva* animal which appears at the rising of the sun, is the turtle, and Darmesteter (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 283) identifies *zair* in *zair-imya* with the Greek *χαλ-ύς*, Sanskrit *har-muḥa*.

When thou, Indra, hadst placed *Sushna*, who was anxious to fight, in the darkness of the pit.

In the next verse we find
asûryé tāmasi, in the ghastly darkness.

VIII, 5, 23. yuvám kárvāya násatyā ápi-riptāya harmyé sásvat ūtíh dasasyathah.

You, *Násatyas*, always grant your aid to *Karva* when thrown into the pit.

This fiery pit into which *Atri* is thrown, and whence he, too, was saved by the *Asvins*, is likewise called *gharmá*, I, 112, 7; 119, 6; VIII, 73, 3; X, 80, 3.

Lastly we find :

X, 114, 10. yadā yamáh bhávati harmyé hitáh.

When *Yama* is seated in the house, or in the nether world.

When the *Pitars*, too, the spirits of the departed, the *Manes*, are called *gharma-sád*, this is probably intended to mean, dwelling on the hearth (X, 15, 9 and 10), and not dwelling in the abode of *Yama*.

Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, vol. ii, p. 234 : 'Die ihr die Luft erfüllt mit eurer Kraft, hervorstürmt ihr selbst-gelenkten Laufes.'

Verse 5.

Note 1. *Nad* certainly means to sound, and the causative might be translated by 'to make cry or shriek.' If we took *párvata* in the sense of cloud, we might translate, 'When you make the clouds roar;' if we took *párvata* for mountain, we might, with Professor Wilson, render the passage by 'When your brilliant coursers make the mountains echo.' But *nad*, like other roots which afterwards take the meaning of sounding, means originally to vibrate, to shake; and if we compare analogous passages where *nad* occurs, we shall see that in our verse, too, the Vedic poet undoubtedly meant *nad* to be taken in that sense :

VIII, 20, 5. ákyutā kit vah ágman ā nānadati párvatāsaḥ vānaspátih, bhūmih yāmeshu regate.

At your racing even things that are immovable vibrate, the rocks, the lord of the forest; the earth quivers on your ways. (See I, 37, 7, note 1.) Grassmann here translates *nadáyanta* by erschüttern, but in VIII, 20, 5 by erdröhnt.

Note 2. See I, 37, 7, note 1.

Note 3. Rathiyánti-iva does not occur again. Sâyana explains it, like a woman who wishes for a chariot, or who rides in a chariot. I join it with óshadhi, and take it in the sense of upamánád ákâre (Pân. III, 1, 10), i.e. to behave like or to be like a chariot, whether the comparison is meant to express simply the quickness of chariots or the whirling of their wheels. The Pada has rathiyánti, whereas the more regular form is that of the Samhitâ, rathiyántî. Cf. Prâtisâkhya, 587.

Verse 6.

Note 1. Su-*ketúnâ*, the instrumental of su-*ketú*, kindness, good-mindedness, favour. This word occurs in the instrumental only, and always refers to the kindness of the gods; not, like sumatî, to the kindness of the worshipper also :

I, 79, 9. *â nah agne su-*ketúnâ* rayîm visvâyu-poshasam, mârđikâm dhehi gîvâse.*

Give us, O Agni, through thy favour wealth which supports our whole life, give us grace to live.

I, 127, 11. *sâh nah nêdishtîkam dâdriśânâh â bhara âgne devêbhih sâ-kanâh su-*ketúnâ* mahâh râyâh su-*ketúnâ*.*

Thou, O Agni, seen close to us, bring to us, in union with the gods, by thy favour, great riches, by thy favour !

I, 159, 5. *asmâbhyam dyâvâprithivî (îti) su-*ketúnâ* rayîm dhattam vâsu-mantam sata-gvînam.*

Give to us, O Dyâvâprithivî, by your favour, wealth, consisting of treasures and many flocks.

V, 51, 11. *svastî dyâvâprithivî (îti) su-*ketúnâ*.*

Give us, O Dyâvâprithivî, happiness through your favour !

V, 64, 2. *tâ bâhâvâ su-*ketúnâ* prâ yantam asmai ârkate.*

Stretch out your arms with kindness to this worshipper !

In one passage of the ninth *Mandala* (IX, 65, 30) we meet with su-*ketúnâ*, as an accusative, referring to Soma, the gracious, and this would pre-suppose a substantive *ketúna*, which, however, does not exist.

Note 2. Sumatî has, no doubt, in most passages in the Rig-veda, the meaning of favour, the favour of the gods. 'Let us obtain your favour, let us be in your favour,' are familiar expressions of the Vedic poets. But there are also numerous passages where that meaning is inapplicable, and

where, as in our passage, we must translate *sumatí* by prayer or desire.

In the following passages *sumatí* is clearly used in its original sense of favour, blessing, or even gift :

I, 73, 6 (7). *su-matím bhíkshamânâh*.

Begging for thy favour.

I, 171, 1. *su-ukténa bhikshe su-matím turânâm*.

With a hymn I beg for the favour of the quick Maruts.

I, 114, 3. *aryâma te su-matím*.

May we obtain thy favour! Cf. I, 114, 9.

I, 114, 4. *su-matím it vayám asya â vrinîmahe*.

We choose his favour. Cf. III, 33, 11.

I, 117, 23. *sádâ kavî (iti) su-matím â kake vâm*.

I always desire your favour, O ye wise Asvins.

I, 156, 3. *mahâh te vishno (iti) su-matím bhagâmahe*.

May we, O Vishnu, enjoy the favour of thee, the mighty!

Bhiksh, to beg, used above, is an old desiderative form of bhag, and means to wish to enjoy.

III, 4, 1. *su-matím râsi vásvah*.

Thou grantest the favour of wealth.

VII, 39, 1. *ûrdhvâh agnîh su-matím vásvah asret*.

The lighted fire went up for the favour of wealth. Cf. VII, 60, 11; IX, 97, 26.

III, 57, 6. *vâso (iti) râsya su-matím visvá-ganyâm*.

Grant us, O Vasu, thy favour, which is glorious among men!

VII, 100, 2. *tvâm vishno (iti) su-matím visvá-ganyâm—dâh*.

Mayest thou, Vishnu, give thy favour, which is glorious among men!

X, 11, 7. *yâh te agne su-matím mârtaâh âkshat*.

The mortal who obtained thy favour, O Agni.

II, 34, 15. *arvâkî sâ marutaâh yâ vah ûtlîh ó (iti) sú vâsrâ-iva su-matîh gigâtu*.

Your help, O Maruts, which is to usward, your favour may it come near, like a cow!

VIII, 22, 4. *asmân âkkha su-matîh vâm subhaâh patî (iti) â dhenûh-iva dhâvatu*.

May your favour, O Asvins, hasten towards us, like a cow!

But this meaning is by no means the invariable meaning of *sumatí*, and it will easily be seen that, in the following

passages, the word must be translated by prayer. Thus when Sarasvatī is called (I, 3, 11) *kétantī su-matīnām*, this can only mean she who knows of the prayers, as before she is called *kodayitrī sūnṛtānām*, she who excites songs of praise :

I, 151, 7. *ákḥha gírah su-matīm gantam asma-yū (īti)*.

Come towards the songs, towards the prayer, you who are longing for us. Cf. X, 20, 10.

II, 43, 3. *tūshnīm āsinah su-matīm kīkiddhi nah*.

Sitting quiet, listen, O Sakuni (bird), to our prayer !

V, 1, 10. *ā bhāndishthasya su-matīm kīkiddhi*.

Take notice of the prayer of thy best praiser ! Cf. V, 33, 1.

VII, 18, 4. *ā nah īndrah su-matīm gantu ákḥha*.

May Indra come to our prayer !

VII, 31, 10. *prá-ketase prá su-matīm krinudhvam*.

Make a prayer for the wise god !

IX, 96, 2. *su-matīm yāti ákḥha*.

He (Soma) goes near to the prayer.

X, 148, 3. *rśhinām víprah su-matīm kakánáh*.

Thou, the wise, desiring the prayer of the *Rishis*.

VIII, 22, 6. *tā vām adyá sumatī-bhiḥ subhah patī (īti) ásvinā prá stuvīmahi*.

Let us praise to-day the glorious Asvins with our prayers.

IX, 74, 1. *tám ímahe su-matī*.

We implore him with prayer.

In our passage the verb *pipartana*, fill or fulfil, indicates in what sense *sumatī* ought to be taken. *Su-matīm pipartana* is no more than *kāmam pipartana*, fulfil our desire ! See VII, 62, 3. *ā nah kāmam pūpurantu* ; I, 158, 2. *kāmapréna-iva mánasā*. On *sumná*, see Burnouf, *Études*, p. 91, and Aufrecht, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. iv, p. 274.

Note 3. *Kriviḥ-datī* has been a crux to ancient and modern interpreters. It is mentioned as a difficult word in the *Nighantū*, and all that Yāska has to say is that it means possessed of cutting teeth (*Nir. VI, 30. krivirdatī vikartanadantī*). Professor Roth, in his note to this passage, says that *krivi* can never have the meaning of well, which is ascribed to it in the *Nighantū* III, 23, but seems rather to mean an animal, perhaps the wild boar, *κῆρπος*, with metathesis of *v* and *r*. He translates our passage : 'Where

your lightning with boar-teeth tears.' In his Dictionary, however, he only says, 'krivis, perhaps the name of an animal, and dant, tooth.' Sâyana contents himself with explaining krivirdatî by vikshepanasîladantî, having teeth that scatter about.

My own translation is founded on the supposition that krivis, the first portion of krivirdatî, has nothing to do with krivi, but is a dialectic variety of kravîs, raw flesh, the Greek *κρέας*, Latin *caro*, *cruor*. It means what is raw, bloody, or gory. From it the adjective krûra, horrible, cruentus (Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 142; Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ii, p. 235). A name of the goddess Durgâ in later Sanskrit is krûradantî, and with a similar conception the lightning, I believe, is here called krivirdatî, with gory teeth.

Note 4. It should be observed that in râdati the simile of the teeth of the lightning is carried on. For râdati may be supposed to have had in the Veda, too, the original meaning of râdere and rôdere, to scratch, to gnaw. Râda and radana in the later Sanskrit mean tooth. It is curious, however, that there is no other passage in the Rig-veda where rad clearly means to bite. It means to cut, in

I, 61, 12. *gôh nâ pārva ví rada tiraskā.*

Cut his joint through, as the joint of an ox.

But in most passages where rad occurs in the Veda, it has the meaning of giving. It is not the same which we have in the Zend *râd*, to give, and which Justi rightly identifies with the root *râdh*. But rad, to divide, may, like the German *theilen* in *zutheilen*, have taken the meaning of giving. Greek *δαίω* means to divide, but yields *δαίς*, portion, meal, just as Sanskrit *day*, to divide, yields *dâyas*, share, i. e. inheritance.

This meaning is evident in the following passages :

VII, 79, 4. *tâvat ushah rādhaḥ asmábhyam rāsva yāvat stotri-bhyaḥ āradaḥ grīnāṇā.*

Grant us, Ushas, so much wealth as thou hast given to the singers, when praised.

I, 116, 7. *kakshīvate aradatam púram-dhim.*

You gave wisdom to Kakshîvat.

I, 169, 8. *râda marút-bhiḥ surúdhah gó-agrah.*

Give to the Maruts gifts, rich in cattle.

VII, 62, 3. *ví naḥ saḥásram surúḍhaḥ radantu.*

May they (the gods) give to us a thousand gifts!

I, 117, 11. *vāgam víprāya—rádantā.*

Giving spoil to the sage!

VI, 61, 6. *rāda pūshā-iva naḥ saním.*

Give us, Sarasvatī, wealth, like Pūshan!

IX, 93, 4. *rada índo (íti) rayím.*

Give us, O Indra, wealth!

VII, 32, 18. *rada-vaso (íti).*

Indra, thou who givest wealth!

In many passages, however, this verb *rad* is connected with words meaning way or path, and it then becomes a question whether it simply means to grant a way, or to cut a way open for some one. In Zend, too, the same idiom occurs, and Professor Justi explains it by 'prepare a way.' I subjoin the principal passages:

VI, 30, 3. *yát ābhyaḥ áradaḥ gâtúm indra.*

That thou hast cut a way for them (the rivers). Cf. VII, 74, 4.

IV, 19, 2. *prá vartanīḥ aradaḥ visvá-dhenâḥ.*

Thou (Indra) hast cut open the paths for all the cows.

X, 75, 2. *prá te aradat várunaḥ yátave patháḥ.*

Varuna cut the paths for thee to go.

VII, 87, 1. *rádat patháḥ várunaḥ súryāya.*

Varuna cut paths for Sūrya.

V, 80, 3. *patháḥ rádanti suvitāya devī.*

She, the dawn, cutting open the paths for welfare.

VII, 60, 4. *yásmai ādityāḥ ádhvanaḥ rádanti.*

For whom the Ādityas cut roads.

II, 30, 2. *patháḥ rádantiḥ—dhúnayaḥ yanti ártham.*

Cutting their paths, the rivers go to their goal.

This last verse seems to show that the cutting open of a road is really the idea expressed by *rad* in all these passages. And thus we find the rivers themselves saying that Indra cut them out or delivered them:

III, 33, 6. *índraḥ asmān aradat vágra-báhuḥ.* Cf. X, 89, 7.

Note 5. *Rināti*, like the preceding expressions *krívdāti* and *rádati*, is not chosen at random, for though it has the

general meaning of crushing or destroying, it is used by the Vedic poets with special reference to the chewing or crunching by means of the teeth. For instance,

I, 148, 4. *purūṇi dasmāḥ ní rināti grāmbhaiḥ.*

Agni crunches many things with his jaws.

I, 127, 4. *sthīrā kit ānnā ní rināti ógasā.*

Even tough morsels he (Agni) crunches fiercely.

In a more general sense we find it used,

V, 41, 10. *sokṣ-kesaḥ ní rināti vānā.*

Agni with flaming hair swallows or destroys the forests.

IV, 19, 3. *āhim vāgreṇa ví rināḥ.*

Thou destroyedst Ahi with the thunderbolt.

X, 120, 1. *sadyāḥ gagānāḥ ní rināti sátrūn.*

As soon as born he destroys his enemies.

Note 6. *Súdhita-iva barhánā.* I think the explanation of this phrase given by Sāyana may be retained. He explains *súdhitā* by *suhitā*, i. e. *sushīḥ* *preritā*, well thrown, well levelled, and *barhánā* by *hatis*, *tatsādhanā* *hetir vā*, a blow or its instrument, a weapon. Professor Roth takes *barhánā* as an instrumental, used adverbially, in the sense of powerfully, but he does not explain in what sense *súdhitā-iva* ought then to be taken. We cannot well refer it to *didyút*, lightning, on account of the *iva*, which requires something that can form a simile of the lightning. Nor is *su-dhitā* ever used as a substantive so as to take the place of *svādhītiva*. *Sú-dhita* has apparently many meanings, but they all centre in one common conception. *Sú-dhita* means well placed, of a thing which is at rest, well arranged, well ordered, secure; or it means well sent, well thrown, of a thing which has been in motion. Applied to human beings, it means well disposed or kind.

III, 23, 1. *nīḥ-mathitaḥ sú-dhitaḥ ā sadhá-sthe.*

Agni produced by rubbing, and well placed in his abode.

VII, 42, 4. *sú-pritaḥ agnīḥ sú-dhitaḥ dāme ā.*

Agni, who is cherished and well placed in the house.

III, 29, 2. *arányoḥ ní-hitaḥ gâtá-vedāḥ gárbhāḥ-iva sú-dhitaḥ garbhínīshu.*

Agni placed in the two fire-sticks, well placed like an embryo in the mothers. Cf. X, 27, 16.

VIII, 60, 4. abhī práyāmsi sú-dhitā ā vaso (īti) gahi.

Come, O Vasu, to these well-placed offerings. Cf. I, 135, 4; VI, 15, 15; X, 53, 2.

X, 70, 8. sú-dhitā havīmshi.

The well-placed offerings.

IV, 2, 10 (adhvarām). VII, 7, 3 (barhī).

As applied to āyus, life, súdhita may be translated by well established, safe :

II, 27, 10. asyāma āyūmshi sú-dhitāni pūrvā.

May we obtain the happy long lives of our forefathers.

IV, 50, 8. sá it ksheti sú-dhitā ókasi své.

That man dwells secure in his own house.

Applied to a missile weapon, súdhita may mean well placed, as it were, well shouldered, well held, before it is thrown ; or well levelled, well aimed, when it is thrown :

I, 167, 3. mīmáksha yéshu sú-dhitā—rishī.

To whom the well held spear sticks fast.

VI, 33, 3. tvám tām indra ubháyan amitrān dāsā vritrāni āryā ka sūra, vādhi vānā-iva sú-dhitebhi atkai.

Thou, Indra, O hero, struckest both enemies, the barbarous and the Aryan fiends, like forests with well-aimed weapons.

Applied to a poem, súdhita means well arranged or perfect :

I, 140, 11. idām agne sú-dhitam dú-dhitāt ádhi priyāt ūm (īti) kit mánmana préya astu te.

May this perfect prayer be more agreeable to thee than an imperfect one, though thou likest it.

VII, 32, 13. mántram ákharvam sú-dhitam.

A poem, not mean, well contrived.

As applied to men, súdhita means very much the same as hitá, well disposed, kind :

IV, 6, 7. ádha mitrá ná sú-dhitā pávakā agnī didāya mánushishu vikshú.

Then, like a kind friend, Agni shone among the children of man.

V, 3, 2. mitráam sú-dhitam.

VI, 15, 2. mitráam ná yám sú-dhitam.

VIII, 23, 8. mitráam ná gāne sú-dhitam ritá-vani.

X, 115, 7. *mitráśaḥ ná yé sú-dhitāḥ*.

At last *sú-dhita*, without reference to human beings, takes the general sense of kind, good:

III, 11, 8. *pári vīsvāni sú-dhitā agnēḥ aryāma mánma-bhiḥ*.

May we obtain through our prayers all the goods of Agni.

Here, however, *práyāmsi* may have to be supplied, and in that case this passage, too, should be classed with those mentioned above, VIII, 60, 4, &c.

If then we consider that *súdhita*, as applied to weapons, means well held or well aimed, we can hardly doubt that *barhánā* is here, as *Sâyana* says, some kind of weapon. I should derive it from *barhayati*, to crush, which we have, for instance,

I, 133, 5. *pisāṅga-bhrishṁim ambhrinām piśāṁim indra sám mrīna, sárvaṃ rākshaḥ ní-barhaya*.

Pound together the fearful *Pisāṅki* with his fiery weapons, strike down every *Rakshas*.

II, 23, 8. *br̥haspate deva-nīdaḥ ní-barhaya*.

Bṛhaspati strike down the scoffers of the gods. Cf. VI, 61, 3.

Barhánā would therefore mean a weapon intended to crush an enemy, a block of stone, it may be, or a heavy club, and in that sense *barhánā* occurs at least once more:

VIII, 63, 7. *yát pāṇka-ganyayā viśā indre ghóśhāḥ ásrī-kshata, ástrināt barhánā vipáḥ*.

When shouts have been sent up to Indra by the people of the five clans, then the club scattered the spears; or, then he scattered the spears with his club.

In other passages Professor Roth is no doubt right when he assigns to *barhánā* an adverbial meaning, but I do not think that this meaning would be appropriate in our verse. Grassmann also translates, 'ein wohlgezielter Pfeil.'

Verse 7.

NOTE 1. *Alátrināśaḥ*, a word which occurs but once more, and which had evidently become unintelligible even at the

time of Yāska. He (Nir. VI, 2) explains it by *alamâtardano meghaḥ*, the cloud which opens easily. This, at least, is the translation given by Professor Roth, though not without hesitation. *Alamâtardanaḥ*, as a compound, is explained by the commentator as *âtardanaparyâptaḥ*, *alam âtardayitum udakam*, i. e. capable of letting off the water. But *Devarāgayagvan* explains it differently. He says: *alam paryâptam âtardanam himsā yasya, bahûdakavāḥkhabalo meghe viśeshyate*, i. e. whose injuring is great; the dark cloud is so called because it contains much water. *Sāyana*, too, attempts several explanations. In III, 30, 10, he seems to derive it from *tr̥h*, to kill, not, like Yāska, from *trid*, and he explains its meaning as the cloud which is exceedingly hurt by reason of its holding so much water. In our passage he explains it either as *anâtrina*, free from injury, or good hurters of enemies, or good givers of rewards.

From all this I am afraid we gain nothing. Let us now see what modern commentators have proposed in order to discover an appropriate meaning in this word. Professor Roth suggests that the word may be derived from *rā*, to give, and the suffix *trina*, and the negative particle, thus meaning, one who does not give or yield anything. But, if so, how is this adjective applicable to the Maruts, who in this very verse are praised for their generosity? Langlois in our passage translates, 'heureux de nos louanges;' in III, 30, 10, 'qui laissait flétrir les plantes.' Wilson in our passage translates, 'devoid of malevolence;' but in III, 30, 10, 'heavy.'

I do not pretend to solve all these difficulties, but I may say this in defence of my own explanation that it fulfils the condition of being applicable both to the Maruts and to the demon Bala. The suffix *trina* is certainly irregular, and I should much prefer to write *alâtrina*, for in that case we might derive *lâtrin* from *lâtra*, and to this *lâtra*, i. e. *râtra*, I should ascribe the sense of barking. The root *rai* or *rā* means to bark, and has been connected by Professor Aufrecht with Latin *rire*, *inrire*, and possibly *inritare*^a,

^a Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ix, p. 233.

thus showing a transition of meaning from barking, to provoking or attacking. The same root *râ* explains also the Latin *lâtrare*, to bark, *allâtrare*, to assail; and, whatever ancient etymologists may say to the contrary, the Latin *latro*, an assailer. The old derivation ‘*latrones eos antiqui dicebant, qui conducti militabant, ἀπὸ τῆς λατρείας,*’ seems to me one of those etymologies in which the scholars of Rome, who had learnt a little Greek, delighted as much as scholars who know a little Sanskrit delight in finding some plausible derivation for any Greek or Latin word in Sanskrit. I know that Curtius (*Grundzüge*, p. 326) and Corssen (*Kritische Nachträge*, p. 239) take a different view; but a foreign word, derived from *λάτρον*, pay, hire, would never have proved so fertile as *latro* has been in Latin.

If then we could write *alâtrinâśaḥ*, we should have an appropriate epithet of the Maruts, in the sense of not assailing or not reviling, in fact, free from malevolence, as Wilson translated the word, or rather *Sâyana*’s explanation of it, *âtardanarahita*. What gives me some confidence in this explanation is this, that it is equally applicable to the other passage where *alâtrina* occurs, III, 30, 10 :

alâtrinâḥ valâḥ indra vragâḥ gôḥ purâ hântoḥ bhâyamânaḥ ví âra.

Without barking did Vala, the keeper of the cow, full of fear, open, before thou struckest him.

If it should be objected that *vragâ* means always stable, and is not used again in the sense of keeper, one might reply that *vragâḥ*, in the nom. sing., occurs in this one single passage only, and that *bhâyamânaḥ*, fearing, clearly implies a personification. Otherwise, one might translate: ‘Vala was quiet, O Indra, and the stable of the cow came open, full of fear, before thou struckest.’ The meaning of *alâtrinâ* would remain the same, the not-barking being here used as a sign that Indra’s enemy was cowed, and no longer inclined to revile or defy the power of Indra. Hom. hymn. in Merc. 145, οὐδὲ κύνας λελάκοντο.

Note 2. See I, 38, 15, note 1, page 95.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Abhi-hruti seems to have the meaning of assault, injury, insult. It occurs but once, but abhi-hrut, a feminine substantive with the same meaning, occurs several times. The verb hru, which is not mentioned in the Dhâtupâtha, but has been identified with hvar, occurs in our hymn, verse 12:

I, 128, 5. *sák nah trâsate duk-itât abhi-hrútaḥ sámsât aghât abhi-hrútaḥ.*

He protects us from evil, from assault, from evil speaking, from assault.

X, 63, 11. *trâyadhvam nah duk-évâyâḥ abhi-hrútaḥ.*

Protect us from mischievous injury!

I, 189, 6. *abhi-hrútâm ási hí deva vishpát.*

For thou, god, art the deliverer from all assaults. Vishpát, deliverer, from vi and spas, to bind.

Ví-hruta, which occurs twice, means evidently what has been injured or spoiled:

VIII, 1, 12. *ishkartâ ví-hrutam púnar (íti).*

He who sets right what has been injured. Cf. VIII, 20, 26.

Ávi-hruta again clearly means uninjured, intact, entire:

V, 66, 2. *tā hí kshatrám ávi-hrutam—āráte.*

For they both have obtained uninjured power.

X, 170, 1. *āyuh dádhat yagnā-patau ávi-hrutam.*

Giving uninjured life to the lord of the sacrifice.

Verse 9.

Note 1. Tavishá certainly means strength, and that it is used in the plural in the sense of acts of strength, we can see from the first verse of our hymn and other passages. But when we read that tavishāṇi are placed on the chariots of the Maruts, just as before bhadrá, good things, food, &c., are mentioned, it is clear that so abstract a meaning as strength or powers would not be applicable here. We might take it in the modern sense of forces, i. e. your armies, your companions are on your chariots, striving with each other; but as the word is a neuter, weapons, as the means

of strength, seemed a preferable rendering. As to mitha-spridhya, see I, 119, 3, p. 164.

Note 2. The rendering of this passage must depend on the question whether the khâdís, whatever they are, can be carried on the shoulders or not. We saw before (p. 120) that khâdís were used both as ornaments and as weapons, and that, when used as weapons, they were most likely rings or quoits with sharp edges. There is at least one other passage where these khâdís are said to be worn on the shoulders :

VII, 56, 13. ámseshu ā marutaḥ khādāyaḥ vaḥ vākshaḥ-su rukmāḥ upa-sisriyānāḥ.

On your shoulders are the quoits, on your chests the golden chains are fastened.

In other places the khâdís are said to be in the hands, hásteshu, but this would only show that they are there when actually used for fighting. Thus we read :

I, 168, 3. āeshām ámseshu rambhínī-iva rarabhe, hásteshu khādīḥ ka kritīḥ ka sám dadhe.

To their shoulders there clings as if a clinging wife, in their hands the quoit is held and the dagger.

In V, 58, 2, the Maruts are called khâdi-hasta, holding the quoits in their hands. There is one passage which was mentioned before (p. 112), where the khâdís are said to be on the feet of the Maruts, and on the strength of this passage Professor Roth proposes to alter prá-patheshu to prá-padeshu, and to translate, 'The khâdís are on your forefeet.' I do not think this emendation necessary. Though we do not know the exact shape and character of the khâdí, we know that it was a weapon, most likely a ring, occasionally used for ornament, and carried along either on the feet or on the shoulders, but in actual battle held in the hand. The weapon which Vishnu holds in one of his right hands, the so-called *kakra*, may be the modern representation of the ancient khâdí. What, however, is quite certain is this, that khâdí in the Veda never means food, as Sáyana optionally interprets it. This interpretation is accepted by Wilson, who translates, 'At your resting-places on the road refreshments (are ready).' Nay, he

goes on in a note to use this passage as a proof of the advanced civilisation of India at the time of the Vedic *Rishis*. 'The expression,' he says, 'is worthy of note, as indicating the existence of accommodations for the use of travellers: the *prapatha* is the *choltri* of the south of India, the *sarāi* of the Mohammedans, a place by the road-side where the travellers may find shelter and provisions.'

Note 3. This last passage shows that the poet is really representing to himself the *Maruts* as on their journey, and he therefore adds, 'your axle turns the two (IV, 30, 2) wheels together,' which probably means no more than, 'your chariot is going smoothly or quickly.' Though the expression seems to us hardly correct, yet one can well imagine how the axle was supposed to turn the wheels as the horses were drawing the axle, and the axle acted on the wheels. Anyhow, no other translation seems possible. *Samáyā* in the *Veda* means together, at once, and is the Greek *ὁμῆ*, generally *ὁμοῦ* or *ὁμῶς*, the Latin *simul*. Cf. I, 56, 6; 73, 6; 113, 10; 163, 3; VII, 66, 15; IX, 75, 4; 85, 5; 97, 56.

Vṛit means to turn, and is frequently used with reference to the wheels:

VIII, 46, 23. *dāsa syāvāḥ—nemīm ní vavṛituh*.

The ten black horses turn down the felly or the wheel.

IV, 30, 2. *satṛā te ānu kṛishṭāyāḥ vīsvāḥ kakṛā-iva vavṛituh*.

All men turn always round thee, like wheels.

That the *Ātmanepada* of *vṛit* may be used in an active sense we see from

I, 191, 15. *tātāḥ vishám prá vavṛite*.

I turn the poison out from here.

All the words used in this sentence are very old words, and we can with few exceptions turn them into Greek or Latin. In Latin we should have *axis vos(ter) circos simul divertit*. In Greek *ἄξων ὁ(μῶν) κύκλω δμῆ . . .*

Verse 10.

Note 1. See I, 64, 4, note 1, page 111.

Note 2. See I, 166, 1, note 1, page 212.

Note 3. On *éta* in the sense of fallow deer, or, it may be, antelope, see I, 165, 5, note 2, page 196.

Éta originally means variegated, and thus becomes a name of any speckled deer, it being difficult to say what exact species is meant. *Sâyana* in our passage explains *étâh* by *suklavarnâ mâlâh*, many-coloured wreaths or chains, which may be right. Yet the suggestion of Professor Roth that *étâh*, deer, stands here for the skins of fallow deer, is certainly more poetical, and quite in accordance with the Vedic idiom, which uses, for instance, go, cow, not only in the sense of milk,—that is done even in more homely English,—but also for leather, and thong. It is likewise in accordance with what we know of the earliest dress of the Vedic Indians, that deer-skins should here be mentioned. We learn from *Āsvalâyana's Gr̥hya-sûtras*, of which we now possess an excellent edition by Professor Stenzler, and a reprint of the text and commentary by Râma Nârâyana Vidyâratna, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, that a boy when he was brought to his tutor, i. e. from the eighth to possibly the twenty-fourth year, had to be well combed, and attired in a new dress. A *Brâhmaṇa* should wear the skin of an antelope (*aiṇeya*), the *Kshatriya* the skin of a deer (*raurava*), the *Vaisya* the skin of a goat (*âga*). If they wore dresses, that of the *Brâhmaṇa* should be dark red (*kâshâya*), that of the *Kshatriya* bright red (*mâṅgishtha*), that of the *Vaisya* yellow (*hâridra*). The girdle of the *Brâhmaṇa* should be of *Muṅga* grass, that of the *Kshatriya* a bow-string, that of the *Vaisya* made of sheep's wool. The same regulations occur in other *Sûtras*, as, for instance, the *Dharma-sûtras* of the *Āpastambîyas* and *Gautamas*, though there are certain characteristic differences in each, which may be due either to local or to chronological causes. Thus according to the *Āpastambîya-sûtras*, which have been published by Professor Bühler, the *Brâhmaṇa* may wear the skin of the *harina* deer, or that of the antelope (*aiṇeyam*), but the latter must be from the black antelope (*krishnam*), and, a proviso is added, that if a man wears the black antelope skin, he must never spread it out to sit or sleep on it. As materials for the dress, *Āpastamba*

allows *sana*, hemp*, or *kshumâ*, flax, and he adds that woollen dresses are allowed to all castes, as well as the *kambala* (masc.), which seems to be any cloth made of vegetable substances (*darbhâdinirmitam kîram kambalam*). He then adds a curious remark, which would seem to show

* *Sana* is an old Aryan word, though its meanings differ. Hesychius and Eustathius mention *κάννα* as being synonymous with *ψίαθος*, reed. Pollux gives two forms, *κάννα* and *κάνα*, (Pollux X, 166, *πανάκα δὲ ἐστὶ ψίαθος ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀκατίοις ἦν καὶ κάναν καλοῦσιν*. VII, 176, *κάνναι δὲ τὸ ἐκ κανάβων πλέγμα*.) This is important, because the same difference of spelling occurs also in *κάνναβις* and *κάναβος* or *κάνναβος*, a model, a lay figure, which Lobeck derives from *κάνναι*. In Old Norse we have *hanp-r*, in A. S. *hænep*, hemp, Old High-Germ. *hanaf*.

The occurrence of the word *sana* is of importance as showing at how early a time the Aryans of India were acquainted with the uses and the name of hemp. Our word hemp, the A. S. *hænep*, the Old Norse *hanp-r*, are all borrowed from Latin *cannabis*, which, like other borrowed words, has undergone the regular changes required by Grimm's law in Low-German, and also in High-German, *hanaf*. The Slavonic nations seem to have borrowed their word for hemp (Lith. *kanapė*) from the Goths, the Celtic nations (Ir. *canaib*) from the Romans (cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, vol. ii, p. 382). The Latin *cannabis* is borrowed from Greek, and the Greeks, to judge from the account of Herodotus, most likely adopted the word from the Aryan Thracians and Scythians (Her. IV, 74; Pictet, *Les Aryens*, vol. i, p. 314). *Κάνναβις* being a foreign word, it would be useless to attempt an explanation of the final element *bis*, which is added to *sana*, the Sanskrit word for hemp. It may be *visa*, fibre, or it may be anything else. Certain it is that the main element in the name of hemp was the same among the settlers in Northern India, and among the Thracians and Scythians through whom the Greeks first became acquainted with hemp.

The history of the word *κάνναβις* must be kept distinct from that of the Greek *κάννα* or *κάνα*, reed. Both spellings occur, for Pollux, X, 166, writes *πανάκα δὲ ἐστὶ ψίαθος ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀκατίοις ἦν καὶ κάναν καλοῦσιν*, but VII, 176, *κάνναι δὲ τὸ ἐκ κανάβων πλέγμα*. This word *κάννα* may be the same as the Sanskrit *sana*, only with this difference, that it was retained as common property by Greeks and Indians before they separated, and was applied differently in later times by the one and the other.

that the Brâhmanas preferred skins, and the Kshatriyas clothes, for he says that those who wish well to the Brâhmanas should wear agina, skins, and those who wish well to the Kshatriyas should wear vastra, clothes, and those who wish well to both should wear both, but, in that case, the skin should always form the outer garment. The Dharma-sûtras of the Gautamas, which were published in India, prescribe likewise for the Brâhmana the black antelope skin, and allow clothes of hemp or linen (*sânakshaumakîra*) as well as kutapas (woollen cloth) for all. What is new among the Gautamas is, that they add the kârpâsa, the cotton dress, which is important as showing an early knowledge of this manufacture. The kârpâsa dress occurs once more as a present to be given to the Potar priest (*Âsv. Srauta-sûtras IX, 4*), and was evidently considered as a valuable present, taking precedence of the kshaumî or linen dress. It is provided that the cotton dress should not be dyed, for this, I suppose, is the meaning of *avikrîta*. Immediately after, however, it is said, that some authorities say the dress should be dyed red (*kâshâyam apy eke*), the very expression which occurred in *Âpastamba*, and that, in that case, the red for the Brâhmana's dress should be taken from the bark of trees (*vârksha*). Manu, who here, as elsewhere, simply paraphrases the ancient Sûtras, says, II, 41 :

*kârshmarauravabâstâni karmâni brahma-kârîna-
vasîrann ânupûrvyena sânakshaumâvikâni ka.*

‘Let Brahma-kârîns wear (as outer garments) the skins of the black antelope, the deer, the goat, (as under garments) dresses of hemp, flax, and sheep's wool, in the order of the three castes.’

The Sanskrit name for a dressed skin is *agina*, a word which does not occur in the *Rig-veda*, but which, if Bopp is right in deriving it from *agâ*, goat, as *aiyís* from *aîŕ*, would have meant originally, not skin in general, but a goat-skin. The skins of the *éta*, here ascribed to the Maruts, would be identical with the *aineya*, which *Âsvalâyana* ascribes to the Brâhmana, not, as we should expect, to the Kshatriya, if, as has been supposed, *aineya* is derived from *ena*, which is a secondary form, particularly in the

feminine enī, of eta. There is, however, another word, *eda*, a kind of sheep, which, but for Festus, might be haedus, and by its side *ena*, a kind of antelope. These two forms pre-suppose an earlier *erna* or *arna*, and point therefore in a different direction, though hardly to *āpves*.

Note 4. I translate *kshurá* by sharp edges, but it might have been translated literally by razors, for, strange as it may sound, razors were known, not only during the Vedic period, but even previous to the Aryan separation. The Sanskrit *kshurá* is the Greek *ξυρός* or *ξυρόν*. In the Veda we have clear allusions to shaving :

X, 142, 4. *yadā te vātaḥ anu-vāti sokīḥ, vāptā-iva smāsrū vapasi prā bhūma.*

When the wind blows after thy blast, then thou shavest the earth as a barber shaves the beard. Cf. I, 65, 4.

If, as B. and R. suggest, *vaptar*, barber, is connected with the more modern name for barber in Sanskrit, viz. *nāpita*, we should have to admit a root *svap*, in the sense of tearing or pulling, *vellere*, from which we might derive the Vedic *svapṛ* (VII, 56, 3), beak. Corresponding to this we find in Old High-German *snabul*, beak, (*schnepe*, snipe,) and in Old Norse *nef*. The Anglo-Saxon *neb* means mouth and nose, while in modern English *neb* or *nib* is used for the bill or beak of a bird*. Another derivation of *nāpita*, proposed by Professor Weber (Kuhn's Beiträge, vol. i, p. 505), who takes *nāpita* as a dialectic form of *snāpitar*, *balneator*, or *lavator*, might be admitted if it could be proved that in India also the barber was at the same time a *balneator*. Burnouf, Lotus, p. 452, translating from the *Sāmañña-phala Sutta*, mentions among the different professions of the people those of 'portier,' 'barbier,' and 'baigneur.'

Verse 11.

Note 1. *Vī-bhūṭayaḥ* is properly a substantive, meaning

* Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii, pp. 400, 409. There is not yet sufficient evidence to show that Sanskrit *sv*, German *sn*, and Sanskrit *n* are interchangeable, but there is at least one case that may be analogous. Sanskrit *svaṅg*, to embrace, to twist round a person, German *slango*, *Schlange*, snake, and Sanskrit *nāga*, snake. Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii, p. 364.

power, but, like other substantives*, and particularly substantives with prepositions, it can be used as an adjective, and is, in fact, more frequently used as an adjective than as a substantive. In English we may translate it by power. It is a substantive,

I, 8, 9. evá hí te ví-bhûṭayaḥ ūṭayaḥ indra mā-vate sadyáḥ
kit sānti dāsúshe.

For indeed thy powers, O Indra, are at once shelters for a sacrificer, like me.

But it is an adjective,

I, 30, 5. ví-bhûṭiḥ astu sūnṛtā.

May the prayer be powerful.

VI, 17, 4. mahām ánūnam tavásam ví-bhûṭim matsarāsaḥ
garhrishanta pra-sāham.

The sweet draughts of Soma delighted the great, the perfect, the strong, the powerful, the unyielding Indra. Cf. VIII, 49, 6; 50, 6.

Vibhvāḥ, with the Svarita on the last syllable, has to be pronounced vibhúāḥ. In III, 6, 9, we find vi-bhávaḥ.

Note 2. See I, 87, 1, note 1, page 160.

Note 3. See I, 6, 5, note 1, page 41.

Verse 12.

Note 1. Mahi-tvanám, greatness, is formed by the suffix tvaná, which Professor Aufrecht has identified with the Greek σῦνη (συνον); see Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. i, p. 482. The origin of this suffix has been explained by Professor Benfey, *ibid.* vol. vii, p. 120, who traces it back to the suffix tvan, for instance, i-tvan, goer, in prātaḥ-ítvá = prātaḥ-yāvā.

Note 2. Vratá is one of the many words which, though we may perceive their one central idea, and their original purport, we have to translate by various terms in order to make them intelligible in every passage where they occur. Vratá (from *vri*, *vrinoti*), I believe, meant originally what is enclosed, protected, set apart, the Greek νομός :

1. V, 46, 7. yāḥ pārthivāsaḥ yāḥ apām ápi vraté tāḥ naḥ
devīḥ su-havāḥ sárma yakḥhata.

* See Benfey, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. ii, p. 216.

O ye gracious goddesses, who are on the earth or in the realm of the waters, grant us your protection !

Here *vratá* is used like *vrigána*, see I, 165, 15, note 3, page 208.

X, 114, 2. *tāsām ní kīkyuḥ kaváyaḥ ni-dānam páreshu yāḥ gúhyeshu vratéshu.*

The poets discovered their (the Nirritis') origin, who are in the far hidden chambers.

I, 163, 3. *ási tritáḥ gúhyena vraténa.*

Thou art Trita within the hidden place, or with the secret work.

Dr. Muir sent me another passage :

III, 54, 5. *dádrisre eshām avamā sádāmsi páreshu yā gúhyeshu vratéshu.*

2. *Vratá* means what is fenced off or forbidden, what is determined, what is settled, and hence, like *dhárman*, law, ordinance. *Várayati* means to prohibit. In this sense *vratá* occurs very frequently :

I, 25, 1. *yát kīṭ hí te víśaḥ yathā prá deva varuṇa vratám, minímási dyávi-dyavi.*

Whatever law of thine we break, O Varuṇa, day by day, men as we are.

II, 8, 3. *yásya vratám ná mīyate.*

Whose law is not broken.

III, 32, 8. *índrasya kárma sú-kritā purūṇi vratāni devāḥ ná minanti víśve.*

The deeds of Indra are well done and many, all the gods do not break his laws, or do not injure his ordinances.

II, 24, 12. *víśvam satyám maghavânā yuvóḥ ít āpaḥ kaná prá minanti vratám vām.*

All that is yours, O powerful gods, is true ; even the waters do not break your law.

II, 38, 7. *nákiḥ asya tāni vratā devásya savitúḥ minanti.*

No one breaks these laws of this god Savitar. Cf. II, 38, 9.

I, 92, 12. *áminatī dáivyāni vratāni.*

Not injuring the divine ordinances. Cf. I, 124, 2.

X, 12, 5. *kát asya áti vratám kákrima.*

Which of his laws have we overstepped ?

VIII, 25, 16. *tásya vratāni ānu vaḥ kārāmasi.*

His ordinances we follow.

X, 33, 9. *nā devānām āti vratām satā-ātmā kanā gīvati.*

No one lives beyond the statute of the gods, even if he had a hundred lives.

VII, 5, 4. *táva tri-dhātu prithivī utá dyaúḥ vaīsvānara vratām agne saḁanta.*

The earth and the sky followed thy threefold law, O Agni Vaisvānara.

VII, 87, 7. *yáḥ mrīláyāti kakrúshe kit āgaḥ vayám syāma várune ánāgāḥ, ānu vratāni áditeḥ ridhántaḥ.*

Let us be sinless before Varuna, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin, performing the laws of Aditi!

II, 28, 8. *námaḥ purā te varuṇa utá nūnám utá aparám tuvi-gāta bravāma, tvé hí kam párvate ná sritāni ápra-kyutāni duḥ-dabha vratāni.*

Formerly, and now, and also in future let us give praise to thee, O Varuna; for in thee, O unconquerable, all laws are grounded, immovable as on a rock.

A very frequent expression is *ānu vratām*, according to the command of a god, II, 38, 3; 6; VIII, 40, 8; or simply *ānu vratām*, according to law and order:

I, 136, 5. *tám aryamā abhī rakshati rīgu-yántam ānu vratām.*

Aryaman protects him who acts uprightly according to law.

Cf. III, 61, 1; IV, 13, 2; V, 69, 1.

3. The laws or ordinances or institutions of the gods are sometimes taken for the sacrifices which are supposed to be enjoined by the gods, and the performance of which is, in a certain sense, the performance of the divine will.

I, 93, 8. *yáḥ agnīśhómā havīśhā saparyát devadrīkā mánasā yáḥ ghrítēna, tásya vratām rakshatam pátām ám-hasaḥ.*

He who worships Agni and Soma with oblations, with a godly mind, or with an offering, protect his sacrifice, shield him from evil!

I, 31, 2. *tvám agne prathamāḥ āngirah-tamaḥ kavíḥ devānām pári bhūshasi vratām.*

Agni, the first and wisest of poets, thou performest the sacrifice of the gods.

III, 3, 9. *tásya vratāni bhūri-poshīṇaḥ vayám úpa bhūshema dáme ā suvṛiktī-bhiḥ.*

Let us, who possess much wealth, perform with prayers the sacrifices of Agni within our house.

In another acceptation the vratas of the gods are what they perform and establish themselves, their own deeds :

III, 6, 5. *vratā te agne mahatāḥ mahāni tāva krátvā ródasī (īti) ā tatantha.*

The deeds of thee, the great Agni, are great, by thy power thou hast stretched out heaven and earth.

VIII, 42, 1. *ástabhnāt dyāṁ ásurāḥ visvá-vedāḥ ámimīta varimānam prithivyāḥ, ā asīdat vísvā bhúvanāni sam-rāṭ vísvā ít tāni várunasya vratāni.*

The wise spirit established the sky, and made the width of the earth, as king he approached all beings,—all these are the works of Varuna.

VI, 14, 3. *tūrvantaḥ dásyum áyavaḥ vrataḥ sīkshantaḥ avratám.*

Men fight the fiend, trying to overcome by their deeds him who performs no sacrifices ; or, the lawless enemy.

Lastly; *vratá* comes to mean sway, power, or work, and the expression *vraté tāva* signifies, at thy command, under thy auspices :

I, 24, 15. *átha vayám áditya vraté tāva ánāgasaḥ áditaye syāma.*

Then, O Áditya, under thy auspices may we be guiltless before Aditi.

VI, 54, 9. *pūshan tāva vraté vayám ná rishyema kádā kaná.*

O Pūshan, may we never fail under thy protection.

X, 36, 13. *yé savitúḥ satyá-savasya víśve mitráśya vraté várunasya devāḥ.*

All the gods who are in the power of Savitar, Mitra, and Varuna.

V, 83, 5. *yásya vraté prithivī námnamīti yásya vraté saphá-vat gárbhurīti, yásya vraté óshadhīḥ visvá-rūpāḥ sáḥ naḥ parganya máhi sárma yakḥha.*

At whose bidding the earth bows down, at whose bidding hoofed animals run about, at whose bidding the plants assume all shapes, mayest thou, O Parganya, yield us great protection!

Note 3. Dâtrá, if derived from dâ, would mean gift, and that meaning is certainly the most applicable in some passages where it occurs:

IX, 97, 55. ási bhágaḥ ási dâtrásya dâtā.

Thou art Bhaga, thou art the giver of the gift.

In other passages, too, particularly in those where the verb dâ or some similar verb occurs in the same verse, it can hardly be doubted that the poet took dâtrá, like dátra or dâttra, in the sense of gift, bounty, largess:

I, 116, 6. yám arvinā dadáthuḥ svetām ásvam—tát vām dâtrám máhi kirtényam bhūt.

The white horse, O Asvins, which you gave, that your gift was great and to be praised.

I, 185, 3. aneháḥ dâtrám áditeḥ anarvám huvé.

I call for the unrivalled, the uninjured bounty of Aditi.

VII, 56, 21. mã vaḥ dâtrāt marutaḥ níḥ arāma.

May we not fall away from your bounty, O Maruts!

III, 54, 16. yuvám hí stháh rayi-daú naḥ rayinām dâtrám rakshethe.

For you, Násatyas, are our givers of riches, you protect the gift.

VI, 20, 7. *rig*svane dâtrám dâsúshe dāḥ.

To *Rigisvan*, the giver, thou givest the gift.

VIII, 43, 33. tát te sahasva ímahe dâtrám yát ná upa-dásyati, tvát agne vāryam vásu.

We ask thee, strong hero, for the gift which does not perish; we ask from thee the precious wealth.

X, 69, 4. dâtrám rakshasva yát idám te asmé (íti).

Protect this gift of thine which thou hast given to us.

VIII, 44, 18. ísishe vāryasya hí dâtrásya agne svāḥ-patíḥ.

For thou, O Agni, lord of heaven, art the master of the precious gift. Cf. IV, 38, 1.

Professor Roth considers that dâtrá is derived rather from dâ, to divide, and that it means share, lot, possession. But there is not a single passage where the meaning of gift or

bounty does not answer all purposes. In VII, 56, 21, *mā vaḥ dātrāt marutaḥ nīḥ arāma*, is surely best translated by, 'let us not fall away from your bounty,' and in our own passage the same meaning should be assigned to *dātrá*. The idea of *dātrá*, bounty, is by no means incompatible with *vratá*, realm, dominion, sway, if we consider that the sphere within which the bounty of a king or a god is exercised and accepted, is in one sense his realm. What the poet therefore says in our passage is simply this, that the bounty of the Maruts extends as far as the realm of Aditi, i. e. is endless, or extends everywhere, Aditi being in its original conception the deity of the unbounded world beyond, the earliest attempt at expressing the Infinite.

As to *dātra* occurring once with the accent on the first syllable in the sense of sickle, see M. M., 'Über eine Stelle in Yaska's Commentar zum Naighantuka,' Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1853, vol. vii, p. 375.

VIII, 78, 10. *táva ít indra ahám ā-sāsā háste dātram kaná ā dade*.

Trusting in thee alone, O Indra, I take the sickle in my hand.

This *dātra*, sickle, is derived from *do*, to cut.

Aditi, the Infinite.

Note 4. Aditi, an ancient god or goddess, is in reality the earliest name invented to express the Infinite; not the Infinite as the result of a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible Infinite, visible, as it were, to the naked eye, the endless expanse beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. That was called A-diti, the un-bound, the un-bounded; one might almost say, but for fear of misunderstandings, the Absolute, for it is derived from *diti*, bond, and the negative particle, and meant therefore originally what is free from bonds of any kind, whether of space or time, free from physical weakness, free from moral guilt. Such a conception became of necessity a being, a person, a god. To us such a name and such a conception seem decidedly modern, and to find in the Veda Aditi, the

Infinite, as the mother of the principal gods, is certainly, at first sight, startling. But the fact is that the thoughts of primitive humanity were not only different from our thoughts, but different also from what we think their thoughts ought to have been. The poets of the Veda indulged freely in theogonic speculations, without being frightened by any contradictions. They knew of Indra as the greatest of gods, they knew of Agni as the god of gods, they knew of Varuṇa as the ruler of all, but they were by no means startled at the idea that their Indra had a mother, or that their Agni was born like a babe from the friction of two fire-sticks, or that Varuṇa and his brother Mitra were nursed in the lap of Aditi. Some poet would take hold of the idea of an unbounded power, of Aditi, originally without any reference to other gods. Very soon these ideas met, and, without any misgivings, either the gods were made subordinate to, and represented as the sons of Aditi, or where Indra was to be praised as supreme, Aditi was represented as doing him homage.

VIII, 12, 14. *utā sva-rāge áditiḥ stómam índrāya gīḡanat.*
And Aditi produced a hymn for Indra, the king.

Here Professor Roth takes Aditi as an epithet of Agni, not as the name of the goddess Aditi, while Dr. Muir rightly takes it in the latter sense, and likewise retains *stómam* instead of *sómam*, as printed by Professor Aufrecht. Cf. VII, 38, 4.

The idea of the Infinite, as I have tried to show elsewhere, was most powerfully impressed on the awakening mind, or, as we now say, was revealed, by the East*. 'It is impossible to enter fully into all the thoughts and feelings that passed through the minds of the early poets when they formed names for that far, far East from whence even the early dawn, the sun, the day, their own life, seemed to spring. A new life flashed up every morning before their eyes, and the fresh breezes of the dawn reached them like greetings from the distant lands beyond the mountains, beyond the clouds, beyond the dawn, beyond "the immortal

* Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p. 499.

sea which brought us hither." The dawn seemed to them to open golden gates for the sun to pass in triumph, and while those gates were open, their eyes and their mind strove in their childish way to pierce beyond the limits of this finite world. That silent aspect awakened in the human mind the conception of the Infinite, the Immortal, the Divine.' Aditi is a name for that distant East, but Aditi is more than the dawn. Aditi is beyond the dawn, and in one place (I, 113, 19) the dawn is called 'the face of Aditi,' *áditer ánikam*. Thus we read :

V, 62, 8. *híranya-rûpam ushásah ví-ushtau áyah-sthûnam út-itâ sūryasya, ā rohathah varuṇa mitra gārtam ātah kakshâthe (iti) áditim dítim ka.*

Mitra and Varuṇa, you mount your chariot, which is golden, when the dawn bursts forth, and has iron poles at the setting of the sun : from thence you see Aditi and Diti, i. e. what is yonder and what is here.

If we keep this original conception of Aditi clearly before our mind, the various forms which Aditi assumes, even in the hymns of the Veda, will not seem incoherent. Aditi is not a prominent deity in the Veda, she is celebrated rather in her sons, the *Ādityas*, than in her own person. While there are so many hymns addressed to Ushas, the dawn, or Indra, or Agni, or Savitar, there is but one hymn, X, 72, which from our point of view, though not from that of Indian theologians, might be called a hymn to Aditi. Nevertheless Aditi is a familiar name ; a name of the past, whether in time or in thought only, and a name that lives on in the name of the *Ādityas*, the sons of Aditi, including the principal deities of the Veda.

Aditi and the *Ādityas*.

Thus we read :

I, 107, 2. *úpa nah devāh ávasā ā gamantu āngirasām sāma-bhih stūyámānāh, indrah indriyah marúтах marút-bhih ádityah nah áditiḥ sārma yamsat.*

May the gods come to us with their help, praised by the songs of the *Āngiras*,—Indra with his powers, the Maruts with the storms, may Aditi with the *Ādityas* give us protection !

X, 66, 3. *indraḥ vāsu-bhiḥ pári pátu naḥ gáyam ádityaḥ naḥ áditiḥ sárma yakkhatu, rudráḥ rudrébhiḥ deváh mrilayáti naḥ tváshṭā naḥ gnābhiḥ suvitāya ginvatu.*

May Indra with the Vasus watch our house, may Aditi with the Ádityas give us protection, may the divine Rudra with the Rudras have mercy upon us, may Tvashtar with the mothers bring us to happiness!

III, 54, 20. *ádityaḥ naḥ áditiḥ srinotu yakkhantu naḥ marútaḥ sárma bhadram.*

May Aditi with the Ádityas hear us, may the Maruts give us good protection!

In another passage Varuna takes the place of Aditi as the leader of the Ádityas:

VII, 35, 6. *sám naḥ indrah vāsu-bhiḥ deváh astu sám ádityébhiḥ várunaḥ su-sámsaḥ, sám naḥ rudráḥ rudrébhiḥ gálashaḥ sám naḥ tváshṭā gnābhiḥ ihá srinotu.*

May Indra bless us, the god with the Vasus! May Varuna, the glorious, bless us with the Ádityas! May the relieving Rudra with the Rudras bless us! May Tvashtar with the mothers kindly hear us here!

Even in passages where the poet seems to profess an exclusive worship of Aditi, as in

V, 69, 3. *prátáḥ devīm áditim gohavími madhyándine út-itá súryasya,*

I invoke the divine Aditi early in the morning, at noon, and at the setting of the sun,

Mitra and Varuna, her principal sons, are mentioned immediately after, and implored, like her, to bestow blessings on their worshipper.

Her exclusive worship appears once, in VIII, 19, 14.

A very frequent expression is that of *ádityāḥ áditiḥ* without any copula, to signify the Ádityas and Aditi:

IV, 25, 3. *káḥ devānām ávaḥ adyá vriníte káḥ ádityān áditim gyótiḥ itte.*

Who does choose now the protection of the gods? Who asks the Ádityas, Aditi, for their light?

VI, 51, 5. *vísve ádityāḥ adite sa-góshāḥ asmábhyam sárma bahulám ví yanta.*

All ye Âdityas, Aditi together, grant to us your manifold protection!

X, 39, 11. ná tám rāḡānau adite kútaḥ káná ná ámhaḥ asnoti duḥ-itám nákiḥ bhayám.

O ye two kings (the Asvins), Aditi, no evil reaches him from anywhere, no misfortune, no fear (whom you protect). Cf. VII, 66, 6.

X, 63, 5. tās ā vivāsa námasā suvṛiktī-bhiḥ mahāḥ âdityān âditim svastāye.

I cherish them with worship and with hymns, the great Âdityas, Aditi, for happiness' sake.

X, 63, 17. evá platéh sūnúḥ avivṛidhat vaḥ vísve âdityāḥ adite manīṣhī.

The wise son of Plati magnified you, all ye Âdityas, Aditi!

X, 65, 9. pargányāvātā vṛīṣabhā purīṣhīnā indravāyū (iti) várūnaḥ mitráḥ aryamā, devān âdityān âditim havāmahe ye pāṛthivāsaḥ divyāsaḥ ap-sú yé.

There are Parganya and Vāta, the powerful, the givers of rain, Indra and Vāyu, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, we call the divine Âdityas, Aditi, those who dwell on the earth, in heaven, in the waters.

We may not be justified in saying that there ever was a period in the history of the religious thought of India, a period preceding the worship of the Âdityas, when Aditi, the Infinite, was worshipped, though to the sage who first coined this name, it expressed, no doubt, for a time the principal, if not the only object of his faith and worship.

Aditi and Daksha.

Soon, however, the same mental process which led on later speculators from the earth to the elephant, and from the elephant to the tortoise, led the Vedic poets beyond Aditi, the Infinite. There was something beyond that Infinite which for a time they had grasped by the name of Aditi, and this, whether intentionally or by a mere accident of language, they called dāksha, literally power or the powerful. All this, no doubt, sounds strikingly modern, yet, though the passages in which this dāksha is mentioned are few in number, I should not venture to

say that they are necessarily modern, even if by modern we mean only later than 1000 B.C. Nothing can bring the perplexity of the ancient mind, if once drawn into this vortex of speculation, more clearly before us than if we read :

X, 72, 4-5. *áditeh dákshah agâyata dákshât um (iti) áditih pári,—áditih hí áganishtha dáksha yá duhitā táva, tām devāh ánu agâyanta bhadráh amṛta-bandhavaḥ.*

Daksha was born of Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha. For Aditi was born, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were born, the blessed, who share in immortality.

Or, in more mythological language :

X, 64, 5. *dákshasya vā adite gánmani vraté rāgānā mitrā-várunā ā vivāsasi.*

Or thou, O Aditi, nursest in the birthplace of Daksha the two kings, Mitra and Varuna.

Nay, even this does not suffice. There is something again beyond Aditi and Daksha, and one poet says :

X, 5, 7. *ásat ka sāt ka paramé ví-oman dákshasya gánman áditeh upá-sthe.*

Not-being and Being are in the highest heaven, in the birthplace of Daksha, in the lap of Aditi.

At last something like a theogony, though full of contradictions, was imagined, and in the same hymn from which we have already quoted, the poet says :

X, 72, 1-4. *devānām nú vayám gānā prá voḥāma vipanyáyā, ukthéshu sasyámāneshu yāh (yāt?) pásyāt út-tare yugé. 1.*

bráhmaṇah pátiḥ etā sám karmāra-iva adhamat, devānām pûrvyé yugé ásataḥ sāt agâyata. 2.

devānām yugé prathamé ásataḥ sāt agâyata, tát āsāh ánu agâyanta tát uttānā-padaḥ pári. 3.

bhūh gagñe uttānā-padaḥ bhuvāh āsāh agâyanta, áditeh dákshah agâyata, dákshât um (iti) áditiḥ pári. 4.

1. Let us now with praise proclaim the births of the gods, that a man may see them in a future age, whenever these hymns are sung.

2. Brahmanaspati * blew them together like a smith (with

* Bráhmaṇaspati, literally the lord of prayer, or the lord of the sacrifice, sometimes a representative of Agni (I, 38, 13, note), but

his bellows); in a former age of the gods, Being was born from Not-being.

3. In the first age of the gods, Being was born from Not-being, after it were born the Regions (space), from them Uttānapada ;

4. From Uttānapad the Earth was born, the Regions were born from the Earth. Daksha was born of Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.

The ideas of Being and Not-being (τὸ ὄν and τὸ μὴ ὄν) are familiar to the Hindus from a very early time in their intellectual growth, and they can only have been the result of abstract speculation. Therefore dāksha, too, in the sense of power or potentia, may have been a metaphysical conception. But it may also have been suggested by a mere accident of language, a never-failing source of ancient thoughts. The name dāksha-pitaraḥ, an epithet of the gods, has generally been translated by 'those who have Daksha for their father.' But it may have been used originally in a very different sense. Professor Roth has, I think, convincingly proved that this epithet dāksha-pitar, as given to certain gods, does not mean, the gods who have Daksha for their father, but that it had originally the simpler meaning of fathers of strength, or, as he translates it, 'preserving, possessing, granting faculties*.' This is particularly clear in one passage :

III, 27, 9. bhūtānām gārbham ādadhe, dākshasya pitāram.

I place Agni, the source of all beings, the father of strength

by no means identical with him (see VII, 41, 1); sometimes performing the deeds of Indra, but again by no means identical with him (see II, 23, 18. *Indrena yugā—nīḥ apām aubgaḥ arnavām*; cf. VIII, 96, 15). In II, 26, 3, he is called father of the gods (*devānām pitāram*); in II, 23, 2, the creator of all beings (*vīśvashām ganiṭā*).

* The accent in this case cannot help us in determining whether dāksha-pitar means having Daksha for their father (*Δακχοπατήρ*), or father of strength. In the first case dāksha would rightly retain its accent (*dāksha-pitar*) as a Bahuvrīhi; in the second, the analogy of such Tatpurusha compounds as *grīhā-pati* (*Pân. VI, 2, 18*) would be sufficient to justify the *pūrvapadaprakṛitisvaratvam*.

After this we can hardly hesitate how to translate the next verse :

VI, 50, 2. *su-gyótishaḥ—dáksha-pitrñ—devān.*

The resplendent gods, the fathers of strength.

It may seem more doubtful, when we come to gods like Mitra and Varuṇa, whom we are so much accustomed to regard as Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, and who therefore, according to the theogony mentioned before, would have the best claim to the name of sons of Daksha ; yet here, too, the original and simple meaning is preferable ; nay, it is most likely that from passages like this, the later explanation, which makes Mitra and Varuṇa the sons of Daksha, may have sprung.

VII, 66, 2. *yá—su-dákshâ dáksha-pitarâ.*

Mitra and Varuṇa, who are of good strength, the fathers of strength.

Lastly, even men may claim this name ; for, unless we change the accent, we must translate :

VIII, 63, 10. *avasyávaḥ yushmābhiḥ dáksha-pitaraḥ.*

We suppliants, being, through your aid, fathers of strength.

But whatever view we take, whether we take *dáksha* in the sense of power, as a personification of a philosophical conception, or as the result of a mythological misunderstanding occasioned by the name of *dáksha-pitar*, the fact remains that in certain hymns of the *Rig-veda* (VIII, 25, 5) *Dáksha*, like *Āditi*, has become a divine person, and has retained his place as one of the *Ādityas* to the very latest time of *Purāṇic* tradition.

Aditi in her Cosmic Character.

But to return to *Aditi*. Let us look upon her as the Infinite personified, and most passages, even those where she is presented as a subordinate deity, will become intelligible.

Aditi, in her cosmic character, is the Beyond, the unbounded realm beyond earth, sky, and heaven, and originally she was distinct from the sky, the earth, and the ocean. *Aditi* is mentioned by the side of heaven and earth, which

shows that, though in more general language she may be identified with heaven and earth in their unlimited character, her original conception was different. This we see in passages where different deities or powers are invoked together, particularly if they are invoked together in the same verse, and where Aditi holds a separate place by the side of heaven and earth :

I, 94, 16 (final). *tát naḥ mitráḥ várunaḥ mamahantām áditiḥ síndhuḥ pr̥thivī utá dyaúḥ.*

May Mitra and Varuna grant us this, may Aditi, Sindhu (sea), the Earth, and the Sky!

In other passages, too, where Aditi has assumed a more personal character, she still holds her own by the side of heaven and earth ; cf. IX, 97, 58 (final) :

I, 191, 6. *dyaúḥ vaḥ pitā pr̥thivī mātā sómaḥ bhrātā áditiḥ svásā.*

The Sky is your father, the Earth your mother, Soma your brother, Aditi your sister.

VIII, 101, 15. *mātā rudrānām duhitā vásūnām svásā ádityānām amṛtasya nābhiḥ, prá nú voḥam kikitúshe gánāya mā gām ánágām áditim vadhishā.*

The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ádityas, the source of immortality, I tell it forth to the man of understanding, may he not offend the cow, the guiltless Aditi ! Cf. I, 153, 3 ; IX, 96, 15 ; Vāgasan. Samhitā XIII, 49.

VI, 51, 5. *dyaúḥ pítar (iti) pr̥thivi mātāḥ ádhruk ágne bhrātāḥ vasavaḥ mr̥láta naḥ, v̥sve ádityāḥ adite sa-góshāḥ asmábhyam sárma bahulám vi yanta.*

Sky, father, Earth, kind mother, Fire, brother, bright gods, have mercy upon us ! All Ádityas (and) Aditi together, grant us your manifold protection !

X, 63, 10. *su-trāmānam pr̥thivīm dyāṁ anehásam su-sármānam áditim su-prán̥itim, daivīm nāvam su-aritrām ánágasam ásravantīm ā ruhema svastáye.*

Let us for welfare step into the divine boat, with good oars, faultless and leakless—the well-protecting Earth, the peerless Sky, the sheltering, well-guiding Aditi !

X, 66, 4. *áditiḥ dyāvâpr̥thivī (iti).*

Aditi, and Heaven and Earth.

Where two or more verses come together, the fact that Aditi is mentioned by the side of Heaven and Earth may seem less convincing, because in these Nivids or long strings of invocations different names or representatives of one and the same power are not unfrequently put together. For instance,

X, 36, 1-3. *ushásânáktâ brihatī (īti) su-pésasā dyāvā-kshāmā várūnah mitráh aryamā, índram huve marútaḥ párvatān apáh ádityān dyāvāprithivī (īti) apáh svār (īti svāh).* 1.

dyaúh ka nah prithivī ka prá-ketasā ritávarī (īty ritá-vari) rakshatām ámhasah risháh, má duh-vidátrā nīh-rītiḥ nah ísata tát devānām ávah adyá vrinimahe. 2.

vīsvasmāt nah áditiḥ pátu ámhasah mātā mitráśya várūnasya revátaḥ svāh-vat gyótiḥ avrikám nasīmahi. 3.

1. There are the grand and beautiful Morning and Night, Heaven and Earth, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman; I call Indra, the Maruts, the Waters, the Âdityas, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, the Heaven.

2. May Heaven and Earth, the provident, the righteous, preserve us from sin and mischief! May the malevolent Nirrīti not rule over us! This blessing of the gods we ask for to-day.

3. May Aditi protect us from all sin, the, mother of Mitra and of the rich Varuna! May we obtain heavenly light without enemies! This blessing of the gods we ask for to-day.

Here we cannot but admit that Dyāvākshāmā, heaven and earth, is meant for the same divine couple as Dyāvāprithivī, heaven and earth, although under slightly differing names they are invoked separately. The waters are invoked twice in the same verse and under the same name; nor is there any indication that, as in other passages, the waters of the sky are meant as distinct from the waters of the sea. Nevertheless even here, Aditi, who in the third verse is called distinctly the mother of Mitra and Varuna, cannot well have been meant for the same deity as Heaven and Earth, mentioned in the second verse; and the author of

these two verses, while asking the same blessing from both, must have been aware of the original independent character of Aditi.

Aditi as Mother.

In this character of a deity of the far East, of an Orient in the true sense of the word, Aditi was naturally thought of as the mother of certain gods, particularly of those that were connected with the daily rising and setting of the sun. If it was asked whence comes the dawn, or the sun, or whence come day and night, or Mitra and Varuna, or any of the bright, solar, eastern deities, the natural answer was that they come from the Orient, that they are the sons of Aditi. Thus we read in

IX, 74, 3. *urvī gávyûtiḥ áditeḥ ritám yaté.*

Wide is the space for him who goes on the right path of Aditi.

In VIII, 25, 3, we are told that Aditi bore Mitra and Varuna, and these in verse 5 are called the sons of Daksha (power), and the grandsons of Savas, which again means might: *nápâtâ sávasaḥ maháḥ sūnū (īti) dákshasya su-krátū (īti)*. In X, 36, 3, Aditi is called the mother of Mitra and Varuna; likewise in X, 132, 6; see also VI, 67, 4. In VIII, 47, 9, Aditi is called the mother of Mitra, Aryaman, Varuna, who in VII, 60, 5 are called her sons. In X, 11, 1, Varuna is called *yahvāḥ áditeḥ*, the son of Aditi (cf. VIII, 19, 12); in VII, 41, 2, Bhaga is mentioned as her son. In X, 72, 8, we hear of eight sons of Aditi, but it is added that she approached the gods with seven sons only, and that the eighth (*mārtāndá*, addled egg) was thrown away: *aṣṭaú putrásaḥ áditeḥ yé gâtāḥ tanvāḥ pári, devān úpa prá ait saptá-bhiḥ parā mārtāndám ásyat.*

In X, 63, 2, the gods in general are represented as born from Aditi, the waters, and the earth: *yé sthā gâtāḥ áditeḥ at-bhyāḥ pári yé prithivyāḥ té me ihá sruta hávam.*

You who are born of Aditi, from the water, you who are born of the earth, hear ye all my call!

The number seven, with regard to the *Ādityas*, occurs also in

IX, 114, 3. *saptá díśaḥ nānā-sūryāḥ saptá hótāraḥ
ritvīgaḥ, devāḥ ādityāḥ yé saptá tébhiḥ soma abhí raksha
naḥ.*

There are seven regions with their different suns, there are seven Hotars as priests, those who are the seven gods, the *Ādityas*, with them, O Soma, protect us!

The Seven *Ādityas*.

This number of seven *Ādityas* requires an explanation. To say that seven is a solemn or sacred number is to say very little, for however solemn or sacred that number may be elsewhere, it is not more sacred than any other number in the Veda. The often-mentioned seven rivers have a real geographical foundation, like the seven hills of Rome. The seven flames or treasures of Agni (V, 1, 5) and of Soma and Rudra (VI, 74, 1), the seven *paridhis* or logs at certain sacrifices (X, 90, 15), the seven *Harits* or horses of the sun, the seven Hotar priests (III, 7, 7; 10, 4), the seven cities of the enemy destroyed by Indra (I, 63, 7), and even the seven *Rishis* (X, 82, 2; 109, 4), all these do not prove that the number of seven was more sacred than the number of one or three or five or ten used in the Veda in a very similar way. With regard to the seven *Ādityas*, however, we are still able to see that their number of seven or eight had something to do with solar movements. If their number had always been eight, we should feel inclined to trace the number of the *Ādityas* back to the eight regions, or the eight cardinal points of the heaven. Thus we read :

I, 35, 8. *aśtaú ví akhyat kakúbhaḥ prīthivyāḥ.*

The god Savitar lighted up the eight points of the earth (not the eight hills).

But we have seen already that though the number of *Ādityas* was originally supposed to have been eight, it was reduced to seven, and this could hardly be said in any sense of the eight points of the compass. Cf. Taitt. *Ār.* I, 7, 6.

As we cannot think in ancient India of the seven planets, I can only suggest the seven days or *tithis* of the four *parvans* of the lunar month as a possible prototype of the

Ādityas. This might even explain the destruction of the eighth Āditya, considering that the eighth day of each parvan, owing to its uncertainty, might be represented as exposed to decay and destruction. This would explain such passages as,

IV, 7, 5. *yágishthaṁ sapta dhāma-bhiḥ.*

Agni, most worthy of sacrifice in the seven stations.

IX, 102, 2. *yagñāsya sapta dhāma-bhiḥ.*

In the seven stations of the sacrifice.

The seven threads of the sacrifice may have the same origin :

II, 5, 2. *ā yāsmiṁ sapta rasmāyaḥ tatāḥ yagñāsya netāri, manushvāt daivyaṁ aśvaṁ.*

In whom, as the leader of the sacrifice, the seven threads are stretched out,—the eighth divine being is manlike (?).

The sacrifice itself is called, X, 124, 1, *saptá-tantu*, having seven threads.

X, 122, 3. *saptá dhāmāni pari-yān āmartyaḥ.*

Agni, the immortal, who goes round the seven stations.

X, 8, 4. *ushāḥ-ushāḥ hī vaso (īti) ágram éshi tvám yamá-yoḥ abhavaḥ vi-bhāva, ritāya sapta dadhishe padāni ganāyan mitrām tanvê svāyai.*

For thou, Vasu (Agni), comest first every morning, thou art the illuminator of the twins (day and night). Thou holdest the seven places for the sacrifice, creating Mitra (the sun) for thy own body.

X, 5, 6. *saptá maryādāḥ kavāyaḥ tatakshuḥ tāsām ékām ít abhí amhuráḥ gāt.*

The sages established the seven divisions, but mischief befell one of them.

I, 22, 16. *átaḥ devāḥ avantu naḥ yátaḥ víshnuḥ vi-śakramé prithivyāḥ sapta dhāma-bhiḥ.*

May the gods protect us from whence Vishnu strode forth, by the seven stations of the earth!

Even the names of the seven or eight Ādityas are not definitely known, at least not from the hymns of the Rígvēda. In II, 27, 1, we have a list of six names: Mitrá, Aryamán, Bhága, Váruna, Dáksha, Ámsaḥ. These with Áditi would give us seven. In VI, 50, 1, we have Áditi,

Várūna, Mitrá, Agní, Aryamán, Savitár, and Bhága. In I, 89, 3, Bhága, Mitrá, Áditi, Dáksha, Aryamán, Várūna, Sóma, Arvíná, and Sárasvatī are invoked together with an old invocation, pūrvayā ni-vídā. In the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, I, 13, 3, we find the following list: 1. Mitra, 2. Varuṇa, 3. Dhātār, 4. Aryaman, 5. Aṃsa, 6. Bhaga, 7. Indra, 8. Vivasvat, but there, too, the eighth son is said to be Mārtānda, or, according to the commentator, Áditya.

The character of Aditi as the mother of certain gods is also indicated by some of her epithets, such as rāga-putrá, having kings for her sons; su-putrá, having good sons; ugrá-putrá, having terrible sons:

II, 27, 7. pīpartu naḥ áditiḥ rāga-putrá áti dvéshāmsi
aryamā su-gébhiḥ, brhāt mitrásya várūnasya sárma úpa
syāma puru-vīráḥ árishtāḥ.

May Aditi with her royal sons, may Aryaman carry us on easy roads across the hatreds; may we with many sons and without hurt obtain the great protection of Mitra and Varuṇa!

III, 4, 11. barhiḥ naḥ ástām áditiḥ su-putrá.

May Aditi with her excellent sons sit on our sacred pile!

VIII, 67, 11. pārsi diné gabhīré ā úgra-putre gl'ghām-sataḥ, mákiḥ tokásya naḥ rishat.

Protect us, O goddess with terrible sons, from the enemy in shallow or deep water, and no one will hurt our offspring!

Aditi identified with other Deities.

Aditi, however, for the very reason that she was originally intended for the Infinite, for something beyond the visible world, was liable to be identified with a number of finite deities which might all be represented as resting on Aditi, as participating in Aditi, as being Aditi. Thus we read:

I, 89, 10 (final). áditiḥ dyaúḥ áditiḥ antáriksham áditiḥ
mâtā sáḥ pitā sáḥ putráḥ, vísve devāḥ áditiḥ pāñka gánāḥ
áditiḥ gâtām áditiḥ gáni-tvam.

Aditi is the heaven, Aditi the sky, Aditi the mother, the

father, the son. All the gods are Aditi, the five clans, the past is Aditi, Aditi is the future.

But although Aditi may thus be said to be everything, heaven, sky, and all the gods, no passage occurs, in the Rig-veda at least, where the special meaning of heaven or earth is expressed by Aditi. In X, 63, 3, where Aditi seems to mean sky, we shall see that it ought to be taken as a masculine, either in the sense of *Āditya*, or as an epithet, unbounded, immortal. In I, 72, 9, we ought probably to read *prīthvī* and pronounce *prīthuvī*, and translate 'the wide Aditi, the mother with her sons;' and not, as Benfey does, 'the Earth, the eternal mother.'

It is more difficult to determine whether in one passage Aditi has not been used in the sense of life after life, or as the name of the place whither people went after death, or of the deity presiding over that place. In a well-known hymn, supposed to have been uttered by *Sunaḥsepa* when on the point of being sacrificed by his own father, the following verse occurs :

I, 24, 1. *kāḥ naḥ mahyaḥ āditaye pūnaḥ dāt, pitāram ka drīśeyam mātāram ka.*

Who will give us back to the great Aditi, that I may see father and mother?

As the supposed utterer of this hymn is still among the living, Aditi can hardly be taken in the sense of earth, nor would the wish to see father and mother be intelligible in the mouth of one who is going to be sacrificed by his own father. If we discard the story of *Sunaḥsepa*, and take the hymn as uttered by any poet who craves for the protection of the gods in the presence of danger and death, then we may choose between the two meanings of earth or liberty, and translate, either, Who will give us back to the great earth? or, Who will restore us to the great Aditi, the goddess of freedom?

Aditi and Diti.

There is one other passage which might receive light if we could take Aditi in the sense of Hades, but I give this translation as a mere guess :

IV, 2, 11. *râyé ka nah su-apatyāya deva dītim ka rāsva āditim urushya.*

That we may enjoy our wealth and healthy offspring, give us this life on earth, keep off the life to come! Cf. I, 152, 6.

It should be borne in mind that Diti occurs in the Rig-veda thrice only, and in one passage it should, I believe, be changed into Aditi. This passage occurs in VII, 15, 12. *tvām agne vīrá-vat yārah devāh ka savitā bhāgah, dītih ka dāti vāryam.* Here the name of Diti is so unusual, and that of Aditi, on the contrary, so natural, that I have little doubt that the poet had put the name of Aditi; and that later reciters, not aware of the occasional license of putting two short syllables instead of one, changed it into Aditi. If we remove this passage, then Diti, in the Rig-veda at least, occurs twice only, and each time together or in contrast with Aditi; cf. V, 62, 8, page 243. I have no doubt, therefore, that Professor Roth is right when he says that Diti is a being without any definite conception, a mere reflex of Aditi. We can clearly watch her first emergence into existence through what is hardly more than a play of words, whereas in the epic and Purāṇic literature this Diti (like the Suras) has grown into a definite person, one of the daughters of Daksha, the wife of Kasyapa, the mother of the enemies of the gods, the Daityas. Such is the growth of legend, mythology and religion!

Aditi in her Moral Character.

Besides the cosmical character of Aditi, which we have hitherto examined, this goddess has also assumed a very prominent moral character. Aditi, like Varuṇa, delivers from sin. Why this should be so, we can still understand if we watch the transition which led from a purely cosmical to a moral conception of Aditi. Sin in the Veda is frequently conceived as a bond or a chain from which the repentant sinner wishes to be freed:

VII, 86, 5. *āva drugdhāni pītryā sriga nah āva yā vayām kakrīmā tanūbhih, āva rāgan pasu-trīpam ná tāyūm srigā vatsām ná dāmnah vásishtham.*

Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those

which we have committed with our own bodies. Release Vasishtha, O king, like a thief who has feasted on stolen cattle; release him like a calf from the rope^a.

VIII, 67, 14. té naḥ āsnāḥ vṛkânām ādityāsaḥ mumókata stenām baddhām-iva adite.

O Ādityas, deliver us from the mouth of the wolves, like a bound thief, O Aditi! Cf. VIII, 67, 18.

Sunakṣepa, who, as we saw before, wishes to be restored to the great Aditi, is represented as bound (dita) by ropes, and in V, 2, 7, we read :

sūnakṣēpam kīti nī-ditam saḥsṛāt yūpāt amuñikāḥ āsa-miṣṭa hī sāḥ, evā asmāt agne vī mumugdhi pāsān hōtar (īti) kīkitvaḥ ihā tū nī-sādya.

O Agni, thou hast released the bound Sunakṣepa from the stake, for he had prayed; thus take from us, too, these ropes, O sagacious Hotar, after thou hast settled here.

Expressions like these, words like dāman, bond, nī-dita, bound, naturally suggested ā-diti, the un-bound or un-bounded, as one of those deities who could best remove the bonds of sin or misery. If we once realise this concatenation of thought and language, many passages of the Veda that seemed obscure, will become intelligible.

VII, 51, 1. ādityānām āvasā nūtanena sakṣhīmāhi sārmanā sām-tamena, anāgāḥ-tvé aditi-tvé turāsaḥ imām yagñām dadhatu srōshamānāḥ.

May we obtain the new favour of the Ādityas, their best protection; may the quick Maruts listen and place this sacrifice in guiltlessness and Aditi-hood.

I have translated the last words literally, in order to make their meaning quite clear. Āgas has the same meaning as the Greek *āyos*, guilt, abomination; an-āgās-tvá, therefore, as applied to a sacrifice or to the man who makes it, means guiltlessness, purity. Aditi-tvá, Aditi-hood, has a similar meaning, it means freedom from bonds, from anything that hinders the proper performance of a religious act; it may come to mean perfection or holiness.

^a See M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 2nd ed., p. 541.

Aditi having once been conceived as granting this adititvá, soon assumed a very definite moral character, and hence the following invocations :

I, 24, 15. út ut-tamám varuṇa pāśam asmát áva adhamám ví madhyamám srathaya, átha vayám áditya vraté táva ánágasaḥ áditaye syāma.

O Varuṇa, lift the highest rope, draw off the lowest, remove the middle ; then, O Áditya, let us be in thy service free of guilt before Aditi.

V, 82, 6. ánágasaḥ áditaye devásya savitúḥ savé, vísvā vāmāni dhīmahi.

May we, guiltless before Aditi, and in the keeping of the god Savitar, obtain all goods ! Professor Roth here translates Aditi by freedom or security.

I, 162, 22. anāgāh-tvám naḥ áditiḥ krinotu.

May Aditi give us sinlessness ! Cf. VII, 51, 1.

IV, 12, 4. yát kit hí te puruṣa-trā yavishtha ákitti-bhiḥ kakrimá kát kit āgah, kridhí sú asmān áditeḥ ánāgān ví énāmsi sistrathaḥ víshvak agne.

Whatever, O youthful god, we have committed against thee, men as we are, whatever sin through thoughtlessness, make us guiltless of Aditi, loosen the sins on all sides, O Agni !

VII, 93, 7. sáh agne enā námasá sám-iddhaḥ ákḥha mitráṃ várunam índram voḥeh, yát-sím āgah kakrimá tát sú mrīa tát aryamā áditiḥ sistrathantu.

O Agni, thou who hast been kindled with this adoration, greet Mitra, Varuṇa, and Indra. Whatever sin we have committed, do thou pardon it ! May Aryaman, Aditi loose it !

Here the plural sistrathantu should be observed, instead of the dual.

VIII, 18, 6-7. áditiḥ naḥ dívā parúm áditiḥ náktam ádva-yāḥ, áditiḥ pátu amhasaḥ sadā-vridhā.

utá syā naḥ dívā matíḥ áditiḥ útyā ā gamat, sá sám-tāti máyaḥ karat āpa srīdhaḥ.

May Aditi by day protect our cattle, may she, who never deceives, protect by night ; may she, with steady increase, protect us from evil !

And may she, the thoughtful Aditi, come with help to

us by day; may she kindly bring happiness to us, and carry away all enemies! Cf. X, 36, 3, page 251.

X, 87, 18. *ā vṛiskyantām áditaye duḥ-évāḥ.*

May the evil-doers be cut off from Aditi! or literally, may they be rooted out before Aditi!

II, 27, 14. *ádite mítra várūna utá mrīḷa yát vaḥ vayám kakṛimá kát kit āgaḥ, urú asyām ábhayam gyótiḥ indra mā naḥ dīrghāḥ abhī nasan támisráḥ.*

Aditi, Mitra, and also Varuna forgive, if we have committed any sin against you. May I obtain the wide and fearless light, O Indra! May not the long darkness reach us!

VII, 87, 7. *yáh mrīḷáyāti kakṛúshe kit āgaḥ vayám syāma várūne ánāgāḥ, ánu vratāni áditeḥ ridhántaḥ yuyám páta svastí-bhiḥ sádā naḥ.*

May we be sinless before Varuna, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin, and may we follow the laws of Aditi! Protect us always with your blessings!

Lastly, Aditi, like all other gods, is represented as a giver of worldly goods, and implored to bestow them on her worshippers, or to protect them by her power:

I, 43, 2. *yáthā naḥ áditiḥ kárat páṛve nṛí-bhyaḥ yáthā gáve, yáthā tokāya rudríyam.*

That Aditi may bring Rudra's favour to our cattle, our men, our cow, our offspring.

I, 153, 3. *pípāya dhenúḥ áditiḥ ritāya gánāya mitrávarunā haviḥ-dé.*

Aditi, the cow, gives food to the righteous man, O Mitra and Varuna, who makes offerings to the gods. Cf. VIII, 101, 15.

I, 185, 3. *aneháḥ dātrám áditeḥ anarvám huvé.*

I call for the unrivalled, uninjured gift of Aditi. Here Professor Roth again assigns to Aditi the meaning of freedom or security.

VII, 40, 2. *dídeshtu devī áditiḥ réknaḥ.*

May the divine Aditi assign wealth!

X, 100, 1. *ā sarvá-tātim áditim vrinīmahe.*

We implore Aditi for health and wealth.

I, 94, 15. *yásmai tvám su-dravināḥ dádásaḥ anāgāḥ-tvám*

adite sarvá-tâtâ, yám bhadréna sávasâ kodáyâsi pragâ-vatâ
râdhasâ té syâma.

To whom thou, possessor of good treasures, grantest guiltlessness, O Aditi, in health and wealth*, whom thou quickenest with precious strength and with riches in progeny, may we be they! Cf. II, 40, 6; IV, 25, 5; X, 11, 2.

The principal epithets of Aditi have been mentioned in the passages quoted above, and they throw no further light on the nature of the goddess. She was called *devî*, goddess, again and again; another frequent epithet is *anarván*, uninjured, unscathed. Being invoked to grant light (VII, 82, 10), she is herself called luminous, *gyótishmatî*, I, 136, 3; and *svârvatî*, heavenly. Being the goddess of the infinite expanse, she, even with greater right than the dawn, is called *úrûkî*, VIII, 67, 12; *uruvyâkas*, V, 46, 6; *uruvragâ*, VIII, 67, 12; and possibly *prithvî* in I, 72, 9. As supporting everything, she is called *dhârayátkshiti*, supporting the earth, I, 136, 3; and *visvâganyâ*, VII, 10, 4. To her sons she owes the names of *râgaputrâ*, II, 27, 7; *suputrâ*, III, 4, 11; and *ugrâputrâ*, VIII, 67, 11: to her wealth that of *sudravinas*, I, 94, 15, though others refer this epithet to Agni. There remains one name *pastyâ*, IV, 55, 3; VIII, 27, 5, meaning housewife, which again indicates her character as mother of the gods.

I have thus given all the evidence that can be collected from the Rig-veda as throwing light on the character of the goddess Aditi, and I have carefully excluded everything that rests only on the authority of the Yagur- or Atharva-vedas, or of the Brâhmanas and Âranyakas, because in all they give beyond the repetitions from the Rig-veda, they seem to me to represent a later phase of thought that ought not to be mixed up with the more primitive conceptions of the Rig-veda. Not that the Rig-veda is free from what seems decidedly modern, or at all events secondary and late. But it is well to keep the great collections, as such,

* On sarvâtâtî, salus, see Benfey's excellent remarks in *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 519. Professor Roth takes aditi here as an epithet of Agni.

separate, whatever our opinions may be as to the age of their component parts.

In the Atharva-veda Aditi appears more unintelligible, more completely mythological, than in the Rig-veda. We read, for instance, Atharva-veda VII, 6, 1 :

‘Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the welkin, Aditi is mother, is father, is son ; all the gods are Aditi, and the five clans of men ; Aditi is what was, Aditi is what will be.

‘We invoke for our protection the great mother of the well-ruling gods, the wife of *Rita*, the powerful, never-aging, far-spreading, the sheltering, well-guiding Aditi.’

In the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka and similar works the mythological confusion becomes greater still. Much valuable material for an analytical study of Aditi may be found in B. and R.’s Dictionary, and in several of Dr. Muir’s excellent contributions to a knowledge of Vedic theogony and mythology.

Aditi as an Adjective.

But although the foregoing remarks give as complete a description of Aditi as can be gathered from the hymns of the Rig-veda, a few words have to be added on certain passages where the word *áditi* occurs, and where it clearly cannot mean the goddess Aditi, as a feminine, but must be taken either as the name of a corresponding masculine deity, or as an adjective in the sense of unrestrained, independent, free.

V, 59, 8. *mímātu dyaúh áditih vitáye nah.*

May the boundless Dyú (sky) help us to our repast !

Here *áditi* must either be taken in the sense of *Āditya*, or better in its original sense of unbounded, as an adjective belonging to Dyú, the masculine deity of the sky.

Dyú or the sky is called *áditi* or unbounded in another passage, X, 63, 3 :

yébhyaḥ mātā mādhu-mat pínvate páyaḥ pýṭṣham dyaúh áditih ádri-barhâh.

The gods to whom their mother yields the sweet milk, and the unbounded sky, as firm as a rock, their food.

IV, 3, 8. *kathā sárdhāya marútām ritāya kathā sūrē brīhatē prikkhyāmānah, prāti bravaḥ áditaye turāya.*

How wilt thou tell it to the host of the Maruts, how to the bright heaven, when thou art asked? How to the quick Aditi?

Here Aditi cannot be the goddess, partly on account of the masculine gender of *turāya*, partly because she is never called quick. Aditi must here be the name of one of the *Ādityas*, or it may refer back to *sûré brīhaté*. It can hardly be joined, as Professor Roth proposes, with *sārdhāya marútām*, owing to the intervening *sûré brīhaté*.

In several passages *áditi*, as an epithet, refers to Agni:

IV, 1, 20 (final). *vīsveshām áditiḥ yagnīyānām vīsveshām átithiḥ mānushānām*.

He, Agni, the Aditi, or the freest, among all the gods; he the guest among all men.

The same play on the words *áditi* and *átithi* occurs again:

VII, 9, 3. *ámūrah kavīḥ áditiḥ vivásvān su-samsát mitráḥ átithiḥ siváḥ nah, kītrá-bhānuḥ ushásām bhāti ágre*.

The wise poet, Aditi, Vivasvat, Mitra with his good company, our welcome guest, he (Agni) with brilliant light came at the head of the dawns.

Here, though I admit that several renderings are possible, Aditi is meant as a name of Agni, to whom the whole hymn is addressed, and who, as usual, is identified with other gods, or, at all events, invoked by their names. We may translate *áditiḥ vivásvān* by 'the brilliant Aditi,' or 'the unchecked, the brilliant,' or by 'the boundless Vivasvat,' but on no account can we take *áditi* here as the female goddess. The same applies to VIII, 19, 14, where Aditi, unless we suppose the goddess brought in in the most abrupt way, must be taken as a name of Agni; while in X, 92, 14, *áditim anarvānam*, to judge from other epithets given in the same verse, has most likely to be taken again as an appellative of Agni. In some passages it would, no doubt, be possible to take Aditi as the name of a female deity, if it were certain that no other meaning could be assigned to this word. But if we once know that Aditi was the name of a male deity also, the structure of these passages becomes far more perfect, if we take Aditi in that sense:

IV, 39, 3. *ánágasam tám áditih kṛinotu sáh mitréna várūnena sa-gósháh.*

May Aditi make him free from sin, he who is allied with Mitra and Varuna.

We have had several passages in which Aditi, the female deity, is represented as *sagósháh* or allied with other *Ádityas*, but if *sáh* is the right reading here, Aditi in this verse can only be the male deity. The pronoun *sá* cannot refer to *tám*.

With regard to other passages, such as IX, 81, 5; VI, 51, 3, and even some of those translated above in which Aditi has been taken as a female goddess, the question must be left open till further evidence can be obtained. There is only one more passage which has been often discussed, and where *ádití* was supposed to have the meaning of earth:

VII, 18, 8. *duh-ádhyāh áditim sreváyantaḥ aketásah ví gagrībhre párushnīm.*

Professor Roth in one of his earliest essays translated this line, 'The evil-disposed wished to dry the earth, the fools split the Parushnī,' and he supposed its meaning to have been that the enemies of Sudás swam across the Parushnī in order to attack Sudás. We might accept this translation, if it could be explained how by throwing themselves into the river, the enemies made the earth dry, though even then there would remain this difficulty that, with the exception of one other doubtful passage, discussed before, *ádití* never means earth. We might possibly translate: 'The evil-disposed, the fools, laid dry and divided the boundless river Parushnī.' This would be a description of a stratagem very common in ancient warfare, viz. diverting the course of a river and laying its original bed dry by digging a new channel, and thus dividing the old river. This is also the sense accepted by *Sâyana*, who does not say that *vīgraha* means dividing the waves of a river, as Professor Roth renders *kūlabheda*, but that it means dividing or cutting through its banks. In the Dictionary Professor Roth assigns to *ádití* in this passage the meaning of endless, inexhaustible.

Kaná.

Note 5. Nothing is more difficult in the interpretation of the Veda than to gain an accurate knowledge of the power of particles and conjunctions. The particle *kaná*, we are told, is used both affirmatively and negatively, a statement which shows better than anything else the uncertainty to which every translation of Vedic hymns is as yet exposed. It is perfectly true that in the text of the Rig-veda, as we now read it, *kaná* means both indeed and no. But this very fact shows that we ought to distinguish where the first collectors of the Vedic hymns have not distinguished, and that while in the former case we read *kaná*, we ought in the latter to read *ka ná*.

I begin with those passages in which *kaná* is used emphatically, though originally it may have been a double negation.

I a. In negative sentences :

I, 18, 7. *yásmât rité ná sídhyati yagñáh vipaḥ-kítaḥ kaná.*

Without whom the sacrifice does not succeed, not even that of the sage.

V, 34, 5. *ná ásunvatá saḥate púshyatá kaná.*

He does not cling to a man who offers no libations, even though he be thriving.

I, 24, 6. *nahí te kshatrám ná sáhaḥ ná manyúm váyaḥ kaná amī (íti) patáyantaḥ ápúḥ.*

For thy power, thy strength, thy anger even these birds which fly up, do not reach. Cf. I, 100, 15.

I, 155, 5. *trítīyam asya nákiḥ ā dadharshati váyaḥ kaná patáyantaḥ patatrīnaḥ.*

This third step no one approaches, not even the winged birds which fly up.

I, 55, 1. *diváh kít asya varimā ví papratha, índram ná mahnā prithiví kaná práti.*

The width of the heavens is stretched out, even the earth in her greatness is no match for Indra.

I b. In positive sentences :

VII, 32, 13. *pûrvīḥ kaná prá-sitayaḥ taranti tám yáh índre kármanā bhúvat.*

Even many snares pass him who is with Indra in his work.

VIII, 2, 14. ukthám *kaná* sasyámānam āgoḥ aríḥ á kíketa, ná gāyatrām gīyāmānam.

He (Indra) marks indeed a poor man's prayer that is recited, but not a hymn that is sung. (Doubtful.)

VIII, 78, 10. táva ít indra ahám á-sásá háste dātram *kaná* á dade.

Hoping in thee alone, O Indra, I take even this sickle in my hand.

I, 55, 5. ádha *kaná* srát dadhati tvíshi-mate indráya vágram ni-ghánighnate vadhám.

Then indeed they believe in Indra, the majestic, when he hurls the bolt to strike.

I, 152, 2. etát *kaná* tvaḥ ví kíketaḥ eshám.

Does one of them understand even this?

IV, 18, 9. mámat *kaná* used in the same sense as mámat kít.

I, 139, 2. dhíbhíḥ *kaná* mánasá svébhiḥ akshá-bhiḥ.

V, 41, 13. váyah *kaná* su-bhvāḥ á áva yanti.

VII, 18, 9. áśúḥ *kaná* ít abhi-pitvám gagāma.

VIII, 91, 3. á *kaná* tvā kíkitsāmaḥ ádhi *kaná* tvā ná imasi.

We wish to know thee, indeed, but we cannot understand thee.

X, 49, 5. ahám randhayam mṛígayam srutárvane yát má ágihíta vayúnā *kaná* ānu-shák.

VI, 26, 7. ahám *kaná* tát sūrí-bhiḥ ānaryām.

May I also obtain this with the lords.

I c. Frequently *kaná* occurs after interrogative pronouns, to which it imparts an indefinite meaning, and principally in negative sentences :

I, 74, 7. ná yóḥ upabdíḥ ásvyah srinvé ráthasya kát *kaná*, yát agne yási dūtyām.

No sound of horses is heard, and no sound of the chariot, when thou, O Agni, goest on thy message.

I, 81, 5. ná tvā-vān indra káḥ *kaná* ná gātáḥ ná gani-shyaté.

No one is like thee, O Indra, no one has been born, no one will be !

I, 84, 20. *mā te rādhāmsi mā te ūtāyaḥ vaso (īti) asmān kádā kaná dabhan.*

May thy gifts, may thy help, O Vasu, never fail us!

Many more passages might be given to illustrate the use of *kaná* or *kás kaná* and its derivatives in negative sentences.

Cf. I, 105, 3; 136, 1; 139, 5; II, 16, 3; 23, 5; 28, 6; III, 36, 4; IV, 31, 9; V, 42, 6; 82, 2; VI, 3, 2; 20, 4; 47, 1; 3; 48, 17; 54, 9; 59, 4; 69, 8; 75, 16; VII, 32, 1; 19; 59, 3; 82, 7; 104, 3; VIII, 19, 6; 23, 15; 24, 15; 28, 4; 47, 7; 64, 2; 66, 13; 68, 19; IX, 61, 27; 69, 6; 114, 4; X, 33, 9; 39, 11; 48, 5; 49, 10; 59, 8; 62, 9; 85, 3; 86, 11; 95, 1; 112, 9; 119, 6; 7; 128, 4; 129, 2; 152, 1; 168, 3; 185, 2.

I d. In a few passages, however, we find the indefinite pronoun *kás kaná* used in sentences which are not negative:

III, 30, 1. *títikshante abhí-sastim gānānām indra tvát ā káh kaná hí pra-ketáh.*

They bear the scoffing of men; for, Indra, from thee comes every wisdom.

I, 113, 8. *ushāḥ mṛitám kám kaná bodháyantī.*

Ushas, who wakes every dead (or one who is as if dead).

I, 191, 7. *ādrishṭáh kím kaná ihá vaḥ sārve sákám ní gasyata.*

Invisible ones, whatever you are, vanish all together!

II. We now come to passages in which *kaná* stands for *ka ná*, and therefore renders the sentence negative without any further negative particle. It might seem possible to escape from this admission, by taking certain sentences in an interrogative sense. But this would apply to certain sentences only, and would seem forced even there:

II, 16, 2. *yásmāt indrāt bṛihatáh kím kaná im rité.*

Beside whom, (beside) the great Indra, there is not anything.

II, 24, 12. *vīsvam satyám magha-vāná yuvóḥ it āpah kaná prá minanti vratám vām.*

Everything, you mighty ones, belongs indeed to you; even the waters do not transgress your law.

IV, 30, 3. *vīśve kṇā́ it anā́ tvā devāsaḥ indra yuyudhuḥ.*
Even all the gods do not ever fight thee, O Indra.

V, 34, 7. *duḥ-gē kṇā́ dhriyate vīśvaḥ ā purū gānaḥ yāḥ*
asya tāvishīm ākukrudhat.

Even in a stronghold many a man is not often preserved who has excited his anger.

VII, 83, 2. *yāsmin āgā́ bhāvati kīm kṇā́ priyām.*

In which struggle there is nothing good whatsoever.

VII, 86, 6. *svāpnaḥ kṇā́ it ānritasya pra-yotā́.*

Even sleep does not remove all evil.

In this passage I formerly took *kṇā́* as affirmative, not as negative, and therefore assigned to *prayotā́* the same meaning which *Sāyana* assigns to it, one who brings or mixes, whereas it ought to be, as rightly seen by Roth, one who removes.

VIII, 1, 5. *mahé kṇā́ tvām adri-vaḥ párá sulkā́ya deyām,*
ná saháśráya ná ayútāya vagri-vaḥ ná satā́ya sata-magha.

I should not give thee up, wielder of the thunderbolt, even for a great price, not for a thousand, not for ten thousand (?), not for a hundred, O Indra, thou who art possessed of a hundred powers!

VIII, 51, 7. *kadā́ kṇā́ starīḥ asi.*

Thou art never sterile.

VIII, 52, 7. *kadā́ kṇā́ prá yukkkasi.*

Thou art never weary.

VIII, 55, 5. *kákshushā́ kṇā́ sam-nāse.*

Not to be reached even with eye.

X, 56, 4. *mahimnáḥ eshām pitáraḥ kṇā́ īsire.*

Note 6. Considering the particular circumstances mentioned in this and the preceding hymn, of Indra's forsaking his companions, the Maruts, or even scorning their help, one feels strongly tempted to take *tyágas* in its etymological sense of leaving or forsaking, and to translate, by his forsaking you, or, if he should forsake you. The poet may have meant the word to convey that idea, which no doubt would be most appropriate here; but it must be confessed, at the same time, that in other passages where *tyágas* occurs, that meaning could hardly be ascribed to it. Strange as it may seem, no one who is acquainted with the general

train of thought in the Vedic hymns can fail to see that *tyágas* in most passages means attack, onslaught; it may be even the instrument of an attack, a weapon. How it should come to take this meaning is indeed difficult to explain, and I do not wonder that Professor Roth in his Dictionary simply renders the word by forlornness, need, danger, or by estrangement, unkindness, malignity. But let us look at the passages, and we shall see that these abstract conceptions are quite out of place:

VIII, 47, 7. ná tám tigmám *kaná tyágah* ná drásad abhí tám gurú.

No sharp blow, no heavy one, shall come near him whom you protect.

Here the two adjectives *tigmá*, sharp, and *gurú*, heavy, point to something tangible, and I feel much inclined to take *tyágas* in this passage as a weapon, as something that is let off with violence, rather than in the more abstract sense of onslaught.

I, 169, 1. maháh *kit asi tyágasaḥ* varūtā.

Thou art the shielder from a great attack.

IV, 43, 4. *káh vām maháh kit tyágasaḥ abhīke urushyátam* mādhvī dasrā naḥ ūtī.

Who is against your great attack? Protect us with your help, O Asvins, ye strong ones.

Here Professor Roth seems to join *maháh kit tyágasaḥ abhīke urushyátam*, but in that case it would be impossible to construe the first words, *káh vām*.

I, 119, 8. *ágakḥhatam kṛpamānam parā-vāti pitúḥ svásya tyágasā ní-bādhitam*.

You went from afar to the suppliant, who had been struck down by the violence of his own father.

According to Professor Roth *tyágas* would here mean forlornness, need, or danger. But *ní-bādhita* is a strong verb, as we may see in

VIII, 64, 2. *padā pavīn arādhásah ní bādhasva mahān asi*.

Strike the useless *Panis* down with thy foot, for thou art great.

X, 18, 11. *út svañīkasva prīthivi mā ní bādhathāh*.

Open, O earth, do not press on him (i. e. the dead, who is

to be buried ; cf. M. M., Über Todtenbestattung, Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. ix, p. xv).

VII, 83, 6. yātra rāga-bhiḥ dasā-bhiḥ nī-bādhitam prā su-dāsam āvatam trītsu-bhiḥ sahā.

Where you protected Sudās with the Trītsus, when he was pressed or set upon by the ten kings.

Another passage in which tyāgas occurs is,

VI, 62, 10. sánutyena tyāgasā mártasya vanushyatām āpi śīrshā vavṛiktam.

By your covert attack turn back the heads of those even who harass the mortal.

Though this passage may seem less decisive, yet it is difficult to see how tyāgasā could here, according to Professor Roth, be rendered by forlornness or danger. Something is required by which enemies can be turned back. Nor can it be doubtful that śīrshā is governed by vavṛiktam, meaning turn back their heads, for the same expression occurs again in I, 33, 5. páraḥ kīti śīrshā vavṛiguh té indra áyagvánaḥ yāgva-bhiḥ spārdhamánāḥ.

Professor Benfey translates this verse by, 'Kopfüber flohn sie alle vor dir;' but it may be rendered more literally, 'These lawless people fighting with the pious turned away their heads.'

X, 144, 6. evá tát índraḥ índunā devéshu kīti dhārayāte máhi tyāgaḥ.

Indeed through this draught Indra can hold out against that great attack even among the gods.

X, 79, 6. kīm devéshu tyāgaḥ énaḥ kakartha.

What insult, what sin hast thou committed among the gods?

In these two passages the meaning of tyāgas as attack or assault is at least as appropriate as that proposed by Professor Roth, estrangement, malignity.

There remains one passage, VI, 3, 1. yám tvám mitréna váranaḥ sa-góshāḥ déva pāsi tyāgasā mártam ámhaḥ.

I confess that the construction of this verse is not clear to me, and I doubt whether it is possible to use tyāgasā as a verbal noun governing an accusative. If this were possible, one might translate, 'The mortal whom thou, O God (Agni),

Varuna, together with Mitra, protectest by pushing back evil.' More probably we should translate, 'Whom thou protectest from evil by thy might.'

If it be asked how *tyágas* can possibly have the meaning which has been assigned to it in all the passages in which it occurs, viz. that of forcibly attacking or pushing away, we can only account for it by supposing that *tyag*, before it came to mean to leave, meant to push off, to drive away with violence (*verstossen* instead of *verlassen*). This meaning may still be perceived occasionally in the use of *tyag*; e. g. *devás tyagantu mām*, may the gods forsake me! i. e. may the gods drive me away! Even in the latest Sanskrit *tyag* is used with regard to an arrow that is let off. 'To expel' is expressed by *nis-tyag*. Those who believe in the production of new roots by the addition of prepositional prefixes might possibly see in *tyag* an original *ati-ag*, to drive off; but, however that may be, there is evidence enough to show that *tyag* expressed originally a more violent act of separation than it does in ordinary Sanskrit, though here, too, passages occur in which *tyag* may be translated by to throw, to fling; for instance, *khe dhûlim yas tyaged ukkair mûrdhnî tasyaiva sâ patet*, he who throws up dust in the air, it will fall on his head. Ind. Spr. 1582.

Muk, too, is used in a similar manner; for instance, *vagram mokshyate te mahendraḥ*, Mahâbh. XIV, 263. Cf. *Dhammapada*, ver. 389.

Verse 13.

Note 1. *Sâmsa*, masc., means a spell, whether for good or for evil, a blessing as well as a curse. It means a curse, or, at all events, a calumny:

I, 18, 3. *mā naḥ sâmsaḥ ārarushaḥ dhûrtiḥ prānak mārtyasya*.

Let not the curse of the enemy, the onslaught of a mortal hurt us,

I, 94, 8. *asmākam sâmsaḥ abhī astu duḥ-dhyāḥ*.

May our curse overcome the wicked!

III, 18, 2. *tāpa sâmsam ārarushaḥ*.

Burn the curse of the enemy!

VII, 25, 2. âré tám *sámsam* *krinuhi* *ninitsóh*.

Take far away the curse of the reviler! Cf. VII, 34, 12.

It means blessing :

II, 31, 6. *utá vah sámsam uslgâm-iva smasi*.

We desire your blessing as a blessing for suppliants.

X, 31, 1. *â nah devânâm úpa vetu sámsah*.

May the blessing of the gods come to us!

X, 7, 1. *urushyá nah urú-bhih deva sámsaih*.

Protect us, god, with thy wide blessings!

II, 23, 10. *mā nah duh-sámsah abhi-dipsúh írata prá su-sámsáh matí-bhih târishîmahî*.

Let not an evil-speaking enemy conquer us; may we, enjoying good report, increase by our prayers!

In some passages, however, as pointed out by Grassmann, *sámsa* may best be rendered by singer, praiser. Grassmann marks one passage only,

II, 26, 1. *rigúh ít sámsah vanavat vanushyatáh*.

May the righteous singer conquer his enemies.

He admits, however, doubtfully, the explanation of B. R., that *rigúh sámsah* may be taken as one word, meaning, 'requiring the right.' This explanation seems surrendered by B. R. in the second edition of their Dictionary, and I doubt whether *sámsah* can mean here anything but singer. That being so, the same meaning seems more appropriate in other verses also, which I formerly translated differently, e. g.

VII, 56, 19. *imé sámsam vanushyatáh ní pânti*.

They, the Maruts, protect the singer from his enemy.

Lastly, *sámsa* means praise, the spell addressed by men to the gods, or prayer :

I, 33, 7. *prá sunvatáh stuvatáh sámsam ávah*.

Thou hast regarded the prayer of him who offers libation and praise.

X, 42, 6. *yásmin vayám dadhimá sámsam índre*.

Indra in whom we place our hope. Cf. *ásams*, Westergaard, *Radices Linguae Sanscritae*, s. v. *sams*.

MANDALA I, HYMN 167.

ASHTAKA II, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 4-5.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. O Indra, a thousand have been thy helps accorded to us, a thousand, O driver of the bays, have been thy most delightful viands. May thousands of treasures richly to enjoy, may goods¹ come to us a thousandfold.

2. May the Maruts come towards us with their aids, the mighty ones, or with their best aids from the great heaven, now that their furthest steeds have rushed forth on the distant shore of the sea ;

3. There clings¹ to the Maruts one who moves in secret, like a man's wife (the lightning²), and who is like a spear carried behind³, well grasped, resplendent, gold-adorned ; there is also with them Vāk (the voice of thunder), like unto a courtly, eloquent woman.

4. Far away the brilliant, untiring Maruts cling to their young maid, as if she belonged to them all¹; but the terrible ones did not drive away Rodast (the lightning), for they wished her to grow² their friend.

5. When the divine Rodast with dishevelled locks, the manly-minded, wished to follow them, she went, like Sûryâ (the Dawn), to the chariot of her servant, with terrible look, as with the pace of a cloud.

6. As soon as the poet with the libations, O Maruts, had sung his song at the sacrifice, pouring out Soma, the youthful men (the Maruts) placed the young maid (in their chariot) as their companion for victory, mighty in assemblies.

7. I praise what is the praiseworthy true greatness of those Maruts, that the manly-minded, proud, and strong one (Rodasi) drives with them towards the blessed mothers.

8. They protect¹ Mitra and Varuṇa from the unspeakable, and Aryaman also finds out the infamous. Even what is firm and unshakable is being shaken²; but he who dispenses treasures³, O Maruts, has grown (in strength).

9. No people indeed, whether near to us, or from afar, have ever found the end of your strength, O Maruts! The Maruts, strong in daring strength, have, like the sea, boldly¹ surrounded their haters.

10. May we to-day, may we to-morrow in battle be called the most beloved of Indra. We were so formerly, may we truly be so day by day, and may the lord of the Maruts be with us.

11. May this praise, O Maruts, this song of Māndārya, the son of Māna, the poet, ask you with food for offspring for ourselves! May we have an invigorating autumn, with quickening rain!

NOTES.

Ascribed to Agastya, addressed to the Maruts, but the first verse to Indra. Metre Trishṭubh throughout.

No verse of this hymn occurs in the Sâma-veda, nor in the other Samhitâs.

Verse 1.

Note 1. We must keep *vâga*, as a general term, distinct from *asva*, horses, and *go*, cows, for the poets themselves distinguish between *gavyântaḥ*, *asvayântaḥ*, and *vâgayântaḥ*; see IV, 17, 16; VI, 8, 6.

Verse 3.

Note 1. On *mimyaksha*, see before, I, 165, 1, note 2.

Note 2. The spear of the Maruts is meant for the lightning, and we actually find *rishî-vidyutaḥ*, having the lightning for their spear, as an epithet of the Maruts, - I, 168, 5; V, 52, 13.

The rest of this verse is difficult, and has been variously rendered by different scholars. We must remember that the lightning is represented as the wife or the beloved of the Maruts. In that character she is called *Rodasî*, with the accent on the last syllable, and kept distinct from *rôdasî*, the dual, with the accent on the antepenultimate, which means heaven and earth.

This *Rodasî* occurs:

V, 56, 8. *â yâsmîn tasthâu su-rânâni bîbhratî sâkâ marûtsu rodasî.*

The chariot on which, carrying pleasant gifts, stands *Rodasî* among the Maruts.

VI, 50, 5. *mimyaksha yêshu rodasî nû devî.*

To whom clings the divine *Rodasî*.

VI, 66, 6. *âdha sma eshu rodasî svâ-sokîḥ â âmavatsu tasthau nâ rôkaḥ.*

When they (the Maruts) had joined the two *Rodas*, i.e. heaven and earth, then the self-brilliant *Rodasî* came among the strong ones.

The name of *Rôdasî*, heaven and earth, is so much more frequent in the *Rig-veda* than that of *Rodasî*, that in

several passages the *iti* which stands after duals, has been wrongly inserted after *Rodasī* in the singular. It is so in our hymn, verse 4, where we must read *rodasīm* instead of *rodasī iti*, and again in X, 92, 11.

Besides the lightning, however, the thunder also may be said to be in the company of the Maruts, to be their friend or their wife, and it is this double relationship which seems to be hinted at in our hymn.

The thunder is called *Vāk*, voice, the voice of heaven, also called by the author of the *Anukramanī*, *Āmbhrinī*. It was natural to identify this *ambhrina* with Greek *ὄβριμος*, terrible, particularly as it is used of the thunder, *ὄβριμον ἐβρόντησε*, Hes. Th. 839, and is applied to Athene as *ὄβριμο-πάρρη*. But there are difficulties pointed out by Curtius, *Grundzüge*, p. 532, which have not yet been removed. This *Vāk* says of herself (X, 125, 12) that she stretched the bow for Rudra, the father of the Maruts, that her birth-place is in the waters (clouds), and that she fills heaven and earth. See also X, 114, 8.

In I, 173, 3. *antāh dūtāh nā rodasī karat vāk*.

The voice (thunder) moved between heaven and earth, like a messenger.

In VIII, 100, 10 and 11, after it has been said that the thunderbolt lies hidden in the water, the poet says: *yāt vāk vādantī avi-keṭanāni rāshtri devānām ni-sasāda mandrā*, when the voice, the queen of the gods, the delightful, uttering incomprehensible sounds, sat down. If, in our verse, we take *Vāk* in the sense of thunder, but as a feminine, it seems to me that the poet, speaking of the lightning and thunder as the two companions of the Maruts, represents the first, *Rodasī*, or the lightning, as the recognised wife, hiding herself in the house, while the other, the loud thunder, is represented as a more public companion of the Maruts, distinctly called *vidatheshu pagrā* (verse 6), a good speaker at assemblies. This contrast, if it is really what the poet intended, throws a curious light on the social character of the Vedic times, as it presupposes two classes of wives, not necessarily simultaneous, however,—a house-wife, who stays at home and is not much seen, and a wife who appears in

public and takes part in the society and conversation of the sabhâ, the assembly-room, and the vidathas, the meetings. The loud voice of the thunder as well as the usual hiding of the lightning might well suggest this comparison. That good manners, such as are required in public, and ready speech, were highly esteemed in Vedic times, we learn from such words as sabhéya and vidathyâ. Sabhéya, from sabhâ, assembly, court, comes to mean courtly, polite; vidathyâ, from vidatha, assembly, experienced, learned.

VIII, 4, 9. *kandráh yâti sabhâm úpa*.

Thy friend, Indra, goes brilliant towards the assembly.

X, 34, 6. *sabhâm eti kitaváh*.

The gambler goes to the assembly.

VI, 28, 6. *brîhât vah váyah ukryate sabhâsu*.

Your great strength is spoken of in the assemblies.

Wealth is described as consisting in sabhâs, houses, IV, 2, 5; and a friend is described as sabhâsaha, strong in the assembly, X, 71, 10.

Sabhéya is used as an epithet of vipra (II, 24, 13), and a son is praised as sabheya, vidathya, and sadanya, i.e. as distinguished in the assemblies.

Vidathyâ, in fact, means much the same as sabheya, namely, good for, distinguished at vidathas, meetings for social, political, or religious purposes, IV, 21, 2; VII, 36, 8, &c.

Note 3. *Úparâ ná rishîh*. I do not see how uparâ can here mean the cloud, if it ever has that meaning. I take úpara as opposed to pûrva, i.e. behind, as opposed to before. In that sense úpara is used, X, 77, 3; X, 15, 2; 44, 7, &c. It would therefore mean the spear on the back, or the spear drawn back before it is hurled forward.

B. R. propose to read *sam-vâk*, colloquium, but they give no explanation. The reference to VS. IX, 2, is wrong.

Verse 4.

Note 1. The fourth verse carries on the same ideas which were hinted at in the third. We must again change *rodasî*, the dual, into *rodasîm*, which is sufficiently indicated by the accent. *Yavyâ* I take as an instrumental of *yavi*, or of

yavyâ. It means the youthful maid, and corresponds to yuvati in verse 6. Yavyâ would be the exact form which Curtius (Grundzüge, p. 589) postulated as the Sanskrit prototype of Hebe^a. Now, if the Maruts correspond to Mars in Latin, and to Ares in Greek, the fact that in the Iliad Hebe bathes and clothes Ares^b, may be of some significance. Sâdhârani is used in the sense of uxor communis, and would show a familiarity with the idea of polyandry recognised in the epic poetry of the Mahâbhârata.

But although the Maruts cling to this maid (the Vâk, or thunder), they do not cast off Rodasî, their lawful wife, the lightning, but wish her to grow for their friendship, i. e. as their friend.

Ayâsaḥ yavyâ must be scanned ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — —. In VI, 66, 5, ayâsaḥ mahnâ must be scanned as ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — (mahimnâ?).

Note 2. Vṛdham, as the accent shows, is here an infinitive governed by gushanta.

Verse 5.

See von Bradke, Dyaus Asura, p. 76.

Verse 6.

I translate arkâ by poet. The construction would become too cumbersome if we translated, 'as soon as the hymn with the libations was there for you, as soon as the sacrificer sang his song.'

Verse 7.

The meaning of the second line is obscure, unless we adopt Ludwig's ingenious view that Rodasî is here conceived as Eileithyia, the goddess who helps mothers in childbirth. I confess that it is a bold conjecture, and there is nothing in Vedic literature to support it. All I can say is that Eileithyia is in Greek, like Hebe (Yavyâ) and Ares (Marut), a child of Hera, and that lightning as well as dawn might become a symbol of birth. The etymology and the

^a Wir müssen ein vorgriechisches yâvâ oder möglicherweise yâvyâ annehmen.

^b Il. V, 905.

very form of *Ελλείθνια* is doubtful, and so is that of *Rodasī*. It is tempting to connect *rodasī*, in the sense of heaven and earth, with O. S. *radur*, A. S. *rodor* (Grimm, *Myth.* p. 662), but that is impossible. Cf. I, 101, 7.

Verse 8.

Note 1. I do not see how *pānti*, the plural, can refer to *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, nor how these gods could here be introduced as acting the part of the *Maruts*. I therefore refer *pānti* to the *Maruts*, who may be said to protect *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, day and night, and all that belongs to them, from evil and disgrace. *Aryaman* is then brought in, as being constantly connected with *Mitrâ-varuṇau*, and the finding out, the perceiving from a distance, of the infamous enemies, who might injure *Mitrâ-varuṇau*, is parenthetically ascribed to him. See Ludwig, *Anmerkungen*, p. 239.

Note 2. *Kyavante* cannot and need not be taken for *kyāvayanti*, though *akyutaḥ* is a common epithet of the *Maruts*. It is quite true that the shaking of the unshakable mountains is the work of the *Maruts*, but that is understood, even though it is not expressed. In V, 60, 3, we read, *pārvataḥ kit māhi vṛiddhāḥ bibhāya*, even the very great mountain feared, i. e. the *Maruts*.

Note 3. *Dāti* in *dātivāra* has been derived by certain Sanskrit scholars from *dā*, to give. It means, no doubt, gift, but it is derived from *dā* (*do*, *dyati*), to share, and means first, a share, and then a gift. *Dātivāra* is applied to the *Maruts*, V, 58, 2; III, 51, 9, and must therefore be applied to them in our passage also, though the construction becomes thereby extremely difficult. It means possessed of a treasure of goods which they distribute. The growing, too, which is here predicated by *vavṛidhe*, leads us to think of the *Maruts*, as in I, 37, 5, or of their friend *Indra*, I, 52, 2; 81, 1; VI, 30, 1. It is never, so far as I know, applied to the sacrificer.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Dhrīshatā* is used as an adverb; see I, 71, 5; 174, 4; II, 30, 4, &c. Perhaps *tmanā* may be supplied as in I, 54, 4.

MANDALA I, HYMN 168.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 6-7.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. To every sacrifice¹ you hasten together², you accept prayer after prayer, O quick Maruts! Let me therefore bring you hither by my prayers from heaven and earth, for our welfare, and for our great protection;

2. The shakers who were born to bring food and light¹, self-born and self-supported, like springs², like thousandfold waves of water, aye, visibly like unto excellent bulls³,

3. Those Maruts, like Soma-drops¹, which squeezed from ripe stems dwell, when drunk, in the hearts of the worshipper—see how on their shoulders there clings as if a clinging wife; in their hands the quoit is held and the sword.

4. Lightly they have come down from heaven of their own accord: Immortals, stir yourselves with the whip! The mighty Maruts on dustless paths, armed with brilliant spears, have shaken down even the strong places.

5. O ye Maruts, who are armed with lightning-spears, who stirs you from within by himself, as the jaws are stirred by the tongue¹? You shake the sky², as if on the search for food; you are invoked by many³, like the (solar) horse of the day⁴.

6. Where, O Maruts, is the top, where the bottom of the mighty sky where you came? When you throw down with the thunderbolt what is strong, like brittle things, you fly across the terrible sea!

7. As your conquest is violent, splendid, terrible, full and crushing, so, O Maruts, is your gift delightful, like the largess of a liberal worshipper, wide-spreading, laughing like heavenly lightning.

8. From the tires of their chariot-wheels streams gush forth, when they send out the voice of the clouds; the lightnings smiled upon the earth, when the Maruts shower down fatness (fertile rain).

9. *Prisni*¹ brought forth for the great fight the terrible train of the untiring Maruts: when fed they produced the dark cloud³, and then looked about for invigorating food².

10. May this praise, O Maruts, this song of Mândârya, the son of Mâna, the poet, ask you with food for offspring for ourselves! May we have an invigorating autumn, with quickening rain!

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Agastya. Verses 1-7, *Gagatī*; 8-10, *Trishāubh*. No verse of this hymn occurs in the SV., VS., TS., AS.

Verse 1.

There can be little doubt that the text of the first line is corrupt. Ludwig admits this, but both he and Grassmann translate the verse.

GRASSMANN: *Durch stetes Opfer möchte ich euch gewinnen recht, Gebet, das zu euch Göttern drengt, empfängt ihr gern.*

LUDWIG: *Bei jedem opfer ist zusammen mit euch der siegreich thätige, in jedem lied hat der fromme an euch gedacht.*

Ludwig proposes to read *ādīdhiye* or *devayād ā dīdhiye*, but even then the construction remains difficult.

Note 1. *Yagñā-yagñā*, an adverbial expression, much the same as *yagñe yagñe* (I, 136, 1); it occurs once more in VI, 48, 1.

Note 2. *Tuturvāniḥ* does occur here only, but is formed like *gugurvāni*, I, 142, 8, and *susukvāni*, VIII, 23, 5. Possibly *tuturvāniḥ* might stand for the host of the Maruts in the singular, 'you hasten together to every sacrifice.' As to *dadhidhve*, used in a similar sense, see IV, 34, 3; 37, 1.

As a conjecture, though no more, I propose to read *evayāḥ u*.

Eva, in the sense of going, quick, is used of the horses of the Maruts, I, 166, 4. More frequently it has the sense of going, moving, than of manner (*mos*), and as an adverb *eva* and *evam* mean in this way (K. Z. II, 235). From this is derived *evayāḥ*, in the sense of quickly moving, an epithet applied to *Vishṇu*, I, 156, 1, and to the Maruts, V, 41, 16: *kathā dāsema nāmasā su-dānūn eva-yā marūtaḥ akkha-ukthaiḥ*, How shall we worship with praise and invocations the liberal quick-moving Maruts? I read, with Roth, *eva-yāḥ*; otherwise we should have to take *evayā* as

an adverbial instrumental, like *âsayâ* from *âsâ*; see Grassmann, s. v. *âsayâ*.

In one hymn (V, 87) *Evayâ-marut*, as one word, has become an invocation, reminding us of *ἥϊα Φοῖβε*, or *Evoe Bacche*, and similar forms. Possibly *ἥϊα* may be *viatica*, though the vowels do not correspond regularly (see *yayi*, I, 87, 2, note 1).

From *eva* we have also *eva-yâvan* (fem. *evayâvari*, VI, 48, 12), which Benfey proposed to divide into *evayâ-van*, quick, again an epithet of *Vishnu* and the *Maruts*. If then we read *evayâh* u, without the accent on the last syllable, we should have a proper invocation of the *Maruts*, 'You, quick *Maruts*, accept prayer after prayer.'

Verse 2.

Note 1. *Îsham svâr* are joined again in VII, 66, 9. *sahâ îsham svâh ka dhimahi*. It seems to mean food and light, or water and light, water being considered as invigorating and supporting. *Abhigâyanta* governs the accusative.

Note 2. The meaning of spring was first assigned to *vavra* by Grassmann.

Note 3. Though I cannot find *gâvaḥ* and *ukshânaḥ* again, used in apposition to each other, I have little doubt that Grassmann is right in taking both as one word, like *ταῦρος βοῦς* in Greek.

Verse 3.

Note 1. The first line of this verse is extremely difficult. GRASSMANN translates:

Den Somasäften gleichen sie, den kräftigen,
Die eingeschlürft sich regen, nimmer wirkungslos.

LUDWIG: Die wie Soma, das gepresst aus saftvollen stengel, aufgenommen ins innere freundlich weilen.

It may be that the *Maruts* are likened to *Somas*, because they refresh and strengthen. So we read VIII, 48, 9:

tvám hí naḥ tanvâḥ Soma gopâḥ gâtre-gâtre ni-sasâttha.

For thou, O Soma, has sat down as a guardian in every member of our body.

It is possible, therefore, though I shall say no more, that the poet wished to say that the *Maruts*, bringing rain and

cooling the air, are like Somas in their refreshing and invigorating power, when stirring the hearts of men. In X, 78, 2, the Maruts are once more compared with Somas, *su-sármāṇāḥ ná sómāḥ ritám yaté*. Should there be a dative hidden in *ásate*?

Rambhīṇī I now take with *Sāyana* in the sense of a wife clinging to the shoulders of her husband, though what is meant is the spear, or some other weapon, slung over the shoulders; see I, 167, 3.

Verse 5.

Note 1. *Hánvā-iva gihváyā* gives no sense, if we take *hanvā* as an instrum. sing. *Hanu* is generally used in the dual, in the *Rig-veda* always, meaning the two jaws or the two lips. Thus Ait. Br. VII, 11. *hanû sagihve*; AV. X, 2, 7. *hanvor hi gihvām adadhâḥ*, he placed the tongue in the jaws. I should therefore prefer to read *hanû iva*, which would improve the metre also, or take *hanvā* for a dual, as *Sāyana* does.

One might also translate, 'Who amongst you, O Maruts, moves by himself, as the jaws by the tongue,' but the simile would not be so perfect. The meaning is the same as in the preceding verse, viz. that the Maruts are self-born, self-determined, and that they move along without horses and chariots. In X, 78, 2, the Maruts are called *svayug*, like the winds.

Note 2. I feel doubtful about *dhanvaḥkyút*, and feel inclined towards *Sāyana*'s explanation, who takes *dhanvan* for *antariksha*. It would then correspond to *parvata-kyút*, *dhruva-kyút*, &c.

Note 3. *Purupraisha* may also be, You who have the command of many.

Note 4. As to *ahanyâḥ ná étasaḥ*, see V, 1, 4. *svetâḥ vâgī gāyate agre áhnām*.

Verse 6.

Vithura translated before, I, 87, 3, by broken, means also breakable or brittle. *Sāyana* explains it by grass, which may be true, though I see no authority for it. Grassmann translates it by leaves. It is derived from *vyath*.

Verse 7.

Sâtí and râtí are used on purpose, the former meaning the acquisition or conquest of good things, the latter the giving away of them. The onslaught of the Maruts is first described as violent and crushing; their liberality in giving away what they have conquered, chiefly rain, is represented as delightful, like the gifts of a liberal worshipper. Then follows *prithugráyī asuryēva gāṅgātī*. Here *asuryā* reminds us of the *asuryā* in the preceding hymn, where it occurred as an epithet of *Rodasī*, the lightning. *Prithugráyī*, wide-spreading, seems to apply best to the rain, that is, the *râtī*, though it might also apply to the lightning. However, the *râtī* is the storm with rain and lightning, and I therefore propose to read *gāgghātī* for *gāṅgātī*. *Gāṅg* is a root which occurs here only, and *gaggh* too is a root which is unknown to most students of Sanskrit. Benfey*, to whom we owe so much, was the first to point out that *gaggh*, which Yaska explains by to make a noise and applies to murmuring waters, is a popular form of *gaksh*, to laugh, a reduplicated form of *has*. He shows that *ksh* is changed into *kkh* in *akkkā* for *akshā*, and into *gh* and *ggh*, in Pāli and Prakrit, e.g. *ghā* for *kshā*. The original form *gaksh*, to laugh, occurs I, 33, 7. *tvām etān rudatāh gākshatah ka āyodhayaah*, thou foughest them, the crying and the laughing.

That the lightning is often represented as laughing we see from the very next verse, *āva smayanta vidyūtah*, the lightnings laughed down; and the very fact that this idea occurs in the next verse confirms me in the view that it was in the poet's mind in the preceding one. See also I, 23, 12. *haskārāt vidyūtah pāri ātah gātāh avantu nah marūtah mri-layantu nah*.

In the only other passage where *gāṅg* occurs, VIII, 43, 8, *arkīshā gāṅganābhāvan*, applied to Agni, admits of the same correction, *gagghanābhāvan*, and of the same translation, 'laughing with splendour.'

Benfey's objection to the spelling of *gaggh* with two

* Gött. Nachr., 1876, No. 13, s. 324.

aspirates is just with regard to pronunciation, but this would hardly justify our changing the style of our MSS., which, in this and in other cases, write the two aspirates, though intending them for non-aspirate and aspirate.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Prisni*, the mother of the Maruts, who are often called *Prisni-mâtaraḥ*, *gô-mâtaraḥ*, and *sîndhu-mâtaraḥ*.

Note 2. As to *svadhâ* in the sense of food, see before, I, 6, 4, note 2, and X, 157, 5.

Note 3. *Abhva* is more than dark clouds, it is the dark gathering of clouds before a storm, ein Unwetter, or, if conceived as a masculine, as in I, 39, 8, ein Ungethüm. Such words are simply untranslatable.

MANDALA I, HYMN 170.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 8-9.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN INDRA AND HIS WORSHIPPER,
AGASTYA.

1. Indra : There is no such thing to-day, nor will it be so to-morrow. Who knows what strange thing¹ this is? We must consult the thought of another, for even what we once knew seems to vanish.

2. Agastya : Why dost thou wish to kill us, O Indra? the Maruts are thy brothers; fare kindly with them, and do not strike¹ us in battle.

3. The Maruts : O brother Agastya, why, being a friend, dost thou despise us? We know quite well what thy mind was. Dost thou not wish to give to us?

4. Agastya : Let them prepare the altar, let them light the fire in front! Here we two will spread² for thee the sacrifice, to be seen¹ by the immortal.

5. Agastya : Thou rulest, O lord of treasures; thou, lord of friends, art the most generous. Indra, speak again with the Maruts, and then consume our offerings at the right season.

NOTES.

Although this hymn is not directly addressed to the Maruts, yet as it refers to the before-mentioned rivalry between the Maruts and Indra, and as the author is supposed to be the same, namely Agastya, I give its translation here.

None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., TS., AV.

The Anukramanikâ ascribes verses 1, 3, 4 to Indra, 2 and 5 to Agastya ; Ludwig assigns verses 1 and 3 to the Maruts, 2, 4, and 5 to Agastya ; Grassmann gives verse 1 to Indra, 2 and 3 to the Maruts, and 4 and 5 to Agastya.

The hymn admits of several explanations. There was a sacrifice in which Indra and the Maruts were invoked together, and it is quite possible that our hymn may owe its origin to this. But it is possible also that the sacrifice may be the embodiment of the same ideas which were originally expressed in this and similar hymns, namely, that Indra, however powerful by himself, could not dispense with the assistance of the storm-gods. I prefer to take the latter view, but I do not consider the former so untenable as I did formerly. The idea that a great god like Indra did not like to be praised together with others is an old idea, and we find traces of it in the hymns themselves, e. g. II, 33, 4. *mā dúḥstutî, mā sáhûti*.

It is quite possible, therefore, that our hymn contains the libretto of a little ceremonial drama in which different choruses of priests are introduced as preparing a sacrifice for the Maruts and for Indra, and as trying to appease the great Indra, who is supposed to feel slighted. Possibly Indra and the Maruts too may have been actually represented by some actors, so that here, as elsewhere, the first seeds of the drama would be found in sacrificial performances.

I propose, though this can only be hypothetical, to take the first verse as a vehement complaint of Indra, when asked to share the sacrifice with the Maruts. In the second

verse Agastya is introduced as trying to pacify Indra. The third verse is most likely an appeal of the Maruts to remind Indra that the sacrifice was originally intended for them. Verses 4 and 5 belong to Agastya, who, though frightened into obedience to Indra, still implores him to make his peace with the Maruts.

Verse 1.

Note 1. In the first verse Indra expresses his surprise in disconnected sentences, saying that such a thing has never happened before. I do not take ádbhuta (nie da gewesen) in the sense of future, because that is already contained in svas. The second line expresses that Indra does not remember such a thing, and must ask some one else, whether he remembers anything like it. We ought to take abhisamkárénya as one word, and probably in the sense of to be approached or to be accepted. Abhisamkârin, however, means also changeable.

Verse 2.

Note 1. Vadhî is the augmentless indicative, not subjunctive; see, however, Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. I, pp. 21, 115.

Verse 4.

Note 1. Ketana refers to yagña as in VIII, 13, 8. It means that which attracts the attention of the gods (IV, 7, 2), and might be translated by beacon.

Note 2. The dual tanavāvahai is strange. It may refer, as Grassmann supposes, to Agastya and his wife, Lopamudrá, but even that is very unusual. See Oldenberg, K. Z. XXXIX, 62. Professor Oldenberg (K. Z. XXXIX, 60 seq.) takes this and the next hymn as parts of the same Âkhyâna hymn, and as intimately connected with the Marutvatiya Sâstra of the midday Savana, in the Soma sacrifice.

MANDALA I, HYMN 171.

ASHTAKA II, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 11.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. I come to you with this adoration, with a hymn I implore the favour¹ of the quick (Maruts). O Maruts, you have rejoiced² in it clearly³, put down then all anger and unharness your horses!

2. This reverent praise of yours, O Maruts, fashioned in the heart, has been offered by the mind¹, O gods! Come to it, pleased in your mind, for you give increase to (our) worship².

3. May the Maruts when they have been praised be gracious to us, and likewise Maghavat (Indra), the best giver of happiness, when he has been praised. May our trees (our lances)¹ through our valour stand always erect, O Maruts!

4. I am afraid of this powerful one, and trembling in fear of Indra. For you the offerings were prepared,—we have now put them away, forgive us!

5. Thou through whom the Mānas¹ see the mornings, whenever the eternal dawns flash forth with power², O Indra, O strong hero, grant thou glory to us with the Maruts, terrible with the terrible ones, strong and a giver of victory.

6. O Indra, protect thou these bravest of men¹ (the Maruts), let thy anger be turned away² from the Maruts, for thou hast become³ victorious together with those brilliant heroes. May we have an invigorating autumn, with quickening rain!

NOTES.

The Anukramanî assigns verses 1 and 2 to the Maruts, the rest to Indra Marutvat. The poet is again Agastya. The whole hymn corresponds to the situation as described in the preceding hymns, and leads on to a kind of compromise between the Maruts, who seem really the favourite gods of the poet, and Indra, an irresistible and supreme deity whose claims cannot be disregarded.

None of the verses of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., TS., AV.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Sumati here means clearly favour, as in I, 73, 6, 7; while in I, 166, 6 it means equally clearly prayer.

Note 2. Ludwig takes rarânâtâ as referring to sùkténa and námasâ. The accent of rarânâtâ is irregular, and likewise the retaining of the final long â in the Pada text. Otherwise the form is perfectly regular, namely the 2 p. plural of the reduplicated aorist, or the so-called aorist of the causative*. Pânini (VII, 4, 2, 3) gives a number of verbs which form that aorist as √ √ -, and not as √ - √, e. g. asasâsat, not asîsasat; ababâdhat, ayayâkat, &c. Some verbs may take both forms, e. g. abibhragat and ababhrâgat. This option applies to all Kânyâdi verbs, and one of these is ran, which therefore at the time of Kâtyâyana was supposed to have formed its reduplicated aorist both as ârarânat and as ârîranat. Without the augment we expect rîranata or rârânata. The question is why the final a should have been lengthened not only in the Samhitâ, that would be explicable, but in the Pada text also. The conjunctive of the perfect would be rârânata. See also Delbrück, Verbum, p. 111.

Note 3. Vedyâbhis, which Ludwig translates here by um dessentwillen, was ihr erfahren sollt, I have translated by clearly, though tentatively only.

* See Sanskrit Grammar, § 372, note.

Verse 2.

Note 1. The same idea is expressed in X, 47, 7. *hridi-sprīṣaḥ mánasā vakyámānāḥ*.

Note 2. *Námasaḥ vridhásāḥ* is intended to convey the idea that the Maruts increase or bless those who worship them.

Verse 3.

Note 1. The second line has given rise to various interpretations.

GRASSMANN:

Uns mögen aufrecht stehn wie schöne Bäume

Nach unsrem Wunsch, O Maruts, alle Tage.

LUDWIG: Hoch mögen sein unsere kämpfenden lanzen, alle tage, O Marut, sigesstreben.

As *komyā* never occurs again, it must for the present be left unexplained.

There was another difficult passage, I, 88, 3. *medhā vānā nā kṛinavante ūrdhvā*, which I translated, 'May the Maruts stir up our minds as they stir up the forests.' I pointed out there that *ūrdhva* means not only upright, but straight and strong (I, 172, 3; II, 30, 3), and I conjectured that the erect trees might have been used as a symbol of strength and triumph. *Vana*, however, may have been used poetically for anything made of wood, just as cow is used for leather or anything made of leather. In that case *vana* might be meant for the wooden walls of houses, or even for lances (like *δοῦπα* from *δόρυ* = Sk. *dāru*), and the adjective would probably have to determine the true meaning. If connected with *komala* it might have the same meaning as *εὐχεστός*.

Prof. Oldenberg suggests that *vanāni* may be meant for the wooden vessels containing the Soma.

Verse 5.

Note 1. The *Mānas* are the people of *Mānya*, see I, 165, 15, note 1, and there is no necessity for taking *māna*, with Grassmann, as a general name for poet (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xvi, p. 174).

Note 2. It is doubtful to which word *savasâ* belongs. I take it to be used adverbially with *vyushîshu*.

Verse 6.

Note 1. We might also translate, 'protect men from the stronger one,' as we read I, 120, 4. *pâtâm ka sâhyasâh yuvâm ka râbhyasâh nah*; and still more clearly in IV, 55, 1. *sâhiyasâh varuṇa mitra mâtât*. But I doubt whether *nṛñ* by itself would be used in the sense of our men, while *naraḥ* is a common name of the Maruts, whether as *divâḥ nâraḥ*, I, 64, 4, or as *nâraḥ* by themselves, I, 64, 10; 166, 13, &c.

Note 2. On the meaning of *avayâ* in *âvayâtaheḥ*, see Introduction, p. xx:

Note 3. On *dadhânaḥ*, see VIII, 97, 13, &c.

MANDALA I, HYMN 172.

ASHTAKA II, ADHYÂYA 4, VARGA 12.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. May your march be brilliant, brilliant through your protection, O Maruts, you bounteous givers, shining like snakes!

2. May that straightforward shaft of yours, O Maruts, bounteous givers, be far from us, and far the stone which you hurl!

3. Spare, O bounteous givers, the people of *Trinaskanda*, lift us up that we may live!

NOTES.

The hymn is ascribed to Agastya, the metre is Gâyatrî. None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., TS., AV.

Verse 1.

Prof. Oldenberg conjectures *kitrá ûtíh*, and possibly *mahibhânavaḥ* for *ahibhânavaḥ*. See for *yāmaḥ kitráh ûtī* V, 52, 2. *té yāman pānti*; also VI, 48, 9.

MANDALA II, HYMN 34.

ASHṬAKA II, ADHYĀYA 7, VARGA 19-21.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. The Maruts charged with rain¹, endowed with fierce force, terrible like wild beasts², blazing³ in their strength⁴, brilliant like fires, and impetuous⁵, have uncovered the (rain-giving) cows by blowing away the cloud⁶.

2. The (Maruts) with their rings¹ appeared like the heavens with their stars², they shone wide like streams from clouds as soon as Rudra, the strong man, was born for you, O golden-breasted Maruts, in the bright lap of *Prisni*³.

3. They wash¹ their horses like racers in the courses, they hasten with the points of the reed² on their quick steeds. O golden-jawed³ Maruts, violently shaking (your jaws), you go quick⁴ with your spotted deer⁵, being friends of one mind.

4. Those Maruts have grown to feed¹ all these beings, or, it may be, (they have come) hither for the sake of a friend, they who always bring quickening rain. They have spotted horses, their bounties cannot be taken away, they are like headlong charioteers on their ways².

5. O Maruts, wielding your brilliant spears, come hither on smooth¹ roads with your fiery² cows (clouds) whose udders are swelling; (come hither), being of one mind, like swans toward their nests, to enjoy the sweet offering.

6. O one-minded Maruts, come to our prayers, come to our libations like (Indra) praised by men¹ !

Fulfil (our prayer) like the udder of a barren cow², and make the prayer glorious by booty to the singer.

7. Grant us this strong horse for our chariot, a draught¹ that rouses our prayers, from day to day, food to the singers, and to the poet in our homesteads² luck³, wisdom, inviolable and invincible strength.

8. When the gold-breasted Maruts harness the horses to their chariots, bounteous¹ in wealth, then it is as if a cow in the folds poured out² to her calf copious food, to every man who has offered libations.

9. Whatever mortal enemy may have placed us among wolves¹, shield us from hurt, ye Vasus! Turn the wheels with burning heat² against him, and strike down the weapon of the impious fiend, O Rudras!

10. Your march, O Maruts, appears brilliant, whether even friends have milked the udder of *Prisni*, or whether, O sons of Rudra, you mean to blame him who praises you, and to weaken those who are weakening Trita, O unbeguiled heroes¹.

11. We invoke you, the great Maruts, the constant wanderers, at the offering of the rapid *Vishnu*¹; holding ladles (full of libations) and prayerful we ask the golden-coloured and exalted Maruts for glorious wealth.

12. The *Dasagvas* (Maruts?)¹ carried on² the sacrifice first; may they rouse us at the break of dawn. Like the dawn, they uncover the dark nights with the red (rays), the strong ones, with their brilliant light, as with a sea of milk.

13. With the (morning) clouds, as if with glittering red ornaments¹, these Maruts have grown great in the sacred places². Streaming down with rush-

ing splendour³, they have assumed their bright and brilliant colour.

14. Approaching¹ them for their great protection to help us, we invoke them with this worship, they whom Trita may bring near, like the five Hotri priests for victory², descending on their chariot to help.

15. May that grace of yours by which you help the wretched¹ across all anguish, and by which you deliver the worshipper from the reviler, come hither, O Maruts ; may your favour approach us like a cow (going to her calf) !

NOTES.

Hymn ascribed to *Gr̥tsamada*. Metre, 1-14 *Gagatī*, 15 *Trishṭubh*, according to the *paribhāṣhā* in the *Sarvānu-kramanī* 12, 13. See also Ludwig, III, p. 59; Bergaigne, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie védique*, 1889, pp. 66 seq.; Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 144. None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., AV. The first verse is found in TB. II, 5, 5, 4, with three various readings, viz. *tavishébhir ūrm̐bhiḥ* instead of *távishībhir ar̥kīnaḥ*, *bhrúmim* instead of *bhr̥mim*, and *rīpa* instead of *ápa*.

Verse 1.

Note 1. *Dhârāvarāḥ*, a word of doubtful import, possibly meaning wishing for rain, or the suitors of the streams of rain. The Maruts are sometimes represented as *varas* or suitors; cf. V, 60, 4.

Note 2. Cf. II, 33, 11.

Note 3. Bergaigne, II, 381, translates *ar̥kīnaḥ* by *chantres*, *singers*, deriving it, as it would seem, from *arka* which, as he maintains (*Journ. Asiat.* 1884, IV, pp. 194 seq.), means always song in the RV. (*Rel. Véd.* I, 279). This, however, is not the case, as has been well shown by Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, pp. 23 seq. Besides, unless we change *ar̥kīnaḥ* into *arkīnaḥ*, we must connect it with *arkī*, light. Thus we read VIII, 41, 8, *ar̥kīnâ padā*.

Note 4. *Tavishébhir ūrm̐bhiḥ*, the reading of the *Taittirīyas*, is explained by *Sāyana* by *balavadbhir gamanaiḥ*. It may have been taken from RV. VI, 61, 2.

Note 5. On *rigishín*, see I, 64, 12^b; I, 87, 1.

Note 6. *Bhr̥mim* seems to me a name of the cloud, driven about by the wind. The *Taittirīyas* read *bhrúmim*, and *Sāyana* explains it by *megham dhamantas k̐layantaḥ*. In most passages, no doubt, *bhr̥mim* means quick, fresh, and is opposed to *radhra*, IV, 32, 2; VII, 56, 20. In I, 31, 16, as applied to *Agni*, it may mean quick. But in our passage that meaning is impossible, and I prefer the traditional

meaning of cloud to that of storm-wind, adopted by Benfey and Roth. The expression 'to blow a storm-wind' is not usual, while *dham* is used in the sense of blowing away clouds and darkness. The cows would then be the waters in the clouds. It is possible, however, that Sâyana's explanation, according to which *bhṛīmi* is a musical instrument, may rest on some traditional authority. In this case it would correspond to *dhāmantaḥ vāṇām*, in I, 85, 10².

Verse 2.

Note 1. On *khâdin*, see I, 166, 9, note 2. On *rukma-vakshas*, I, 64, 4, note 1. Golden-breasted is meant for armed with golden chest-plates. The meaning seems to be that the Maruts with their brilliant *khâdis* appear like the heavens with their brilliant stars. The Maruts are not themselves lightning and rain, but they are seen in them, as Agni is not the fire, but present in the fire, or the god of fire. Thus we read, RV. III, 26, 6. *agnéḥ bhāmam marútām ógaḥ*, 'The splendour of Agni, the strength of the Maruts,' i.e. the lightning. It must be admitted, however, that a conjecture, proposed by Bollensen (Z.D.M.G. XLI, p. 501), would improve the verse. He proposes to read *ṛishṭayah* instead of *vṛishṭayah*. We should then have to translate, 'Their spears shone like lightnings from the clouds.' These *ṛishṭis* or spears are mentioned by the side of *khâdi* and *rukma* in RV. V, 54, 11, and the compound *ṛishṭvidyutah* is applied to the Maruts in I, 168, 5 and V, 52, 13. The difficulty which remains is *abhrīyâh*.

Note 2. On *dyāvō ná strībhiḥ*, see note to I, 87, 1.

Note 3. The second line is full of difficulties. No doubt the Maruts are represented as the sons of Rudra (V, 60, 5; VI, 66, 3), and as the sons of *Prisni*, fem., being called *Prisni-mâtaraḥ*. Their birth is sometimes spoken of as unknown (VII, 56, 2), but hardly as mysterious. Who knows their birth, hardly means more than 'the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh.' *Prisni* as a feminine is the speckled sky, and the cloud may have been conceived

as the udder at the same time that *Prisni* was conceived as a cow (I, 160, 3). Nothing seems therefore more natural than that we should translate, 'When Rudra had begotten you in the bright lap of *Prisni*.' The bright lap, *sukráṁ ūdhaḥ*, is an idiomatic expression (VI, 66, 1; IV, 3, 10), and I see no reason why we should with Roth, K.Z. XXVI, 49, change the *sukré* of the *padapāṭha* into *sukráḥ* and refer it to *vrīshā*.

The real difficulty lies in *ágani*. Can it mean he begot, as Bergaigne (*Religion Védique*, III, 35) interprets it? Wherever *ágani* occurs it means he was born, and I doubt whether it can mean anything else. It is easy to suggest *aganit*, for though the third person of the aorist never occurs in the RV., the other persons, such as *aganishṭa*, *ganishṭāḥ*, are there. But, as the verse now stands, we must translate, 'When Rudra was born for you, he the strong one in the bright udder of *Prisni*.' Could Rudra be here conceived as the son, he who in other passages is represented as the husband of *Prisni*? There is another passage which may yield the same sense, VI, 66, 3. *vidé hí mātá maháḥ mahī sá, sá it prīsnih subhvē gárḇham á adhāt*, 'for she, the great, is known as the mother of the great, that very *Prisni* conceived the germ (the Maruts) for the strong one.'

Verse 3.

Note 1. *Ukshánte* is explained by washing, cleaning the horses, before they start for a new race. See V, 59, 1. *ukshánte ásvān*, followed by *tárushante á rágaḥ*; IX, 109, 10. *ásvaḥ ná niktáḥ vāgī dhánāya*; Satap. Br. XI, 5, 5, 13. Pischel (*Ved. Stud.* I, 189) supposes that it always refers to the washing after a race.

Note 2. *Nadáśya kárnaiḥ* is very difficult. *Sâyana*'s explanation, *meghasya madhyapradesaiḥ*, 'through the hollows of the cloud,' presupposes that *nada* by itself can in the RV. be used in the sense of cloud, and that *karna*, ear, may have the meaning of a hole or a passage. To take, as BR. propose, *kárna* in the sense of *karvá*, eared, with long ears, would not help us much. Grassmann's

translation, 'mit der Wolke schnellen Fittigen,' is based on a conjectural reading, *nadasya parnaiḥ*. Ludwig's translation, 'mit des fluszes wellen den raschen eilen sie,' is ingenious, but too bold, for *karna* never means waves, nor *nada* river in the Rig-veda. The Vedārthayātṇa gives: 'they rush with steeds that make the roar,' taking *karnaiḥ* for *karṭṛibhiḥ*, which again is simply impossible. The best explanation is that suggested by Pischel, Ved. Stud., p. 189. He takes *nada* for reed, and points out that whips were made of reeds. The *karna* would be the sharp point of the reed, most useful for a whip. I cannot, however, follow him in taking *āśúbhiḥ* in the sense of accelerating. I think it refers to *asva* in the preceding pāda.

Note 3. *Hīraṇyasiprāḥ*. *Siprā*, in the dual *sipre*, is intended for the jaws, the upper and lower jaws, as in RV. I, 101, 10. *vī syasva sipre*, open the jaws. See Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 249, note. RV. III, 32, 1; V, 36, 2, *sipre* and *hánū*; VIII, 76, 10; X, 96, 9. *sipre hárinī dávidhvataḥ*; X, 105, 5. *siprābhyām siprínivān*. In the plural, however, *siprāḥ*, V, 54, 11 (*siprāḥ śirshásu vítatāḥ hīraṇyáyīḥ*), VIII, 7, 25, is intended for something worn on the head, made of gold or gold threads. As we speak of the ears of a cap, that is, lappets which protect the ears, or of the checks of a machine, so in this case the jaws seem to have been intended for what protects the jaws, and not necessarily for the real jaw-bones of an animal, used as an helmet, and afterwards imitated in any kind of metal. As to *siprin* it may mean helmeted or possessed of jaws. To be possessed of jaws is no peculiar distinction, yet in several of the passages where *siprin* occurs, there is a clear reference to eating and drinking; see VI, 44, 14; VIII, 2, 28; 17, 4; 32, 24; 33, 7; 92, 4; see also *sipravān* in VI, 17, 2. It is possible therefore that like *susipra*, *siprin* also was used in the sense of possessed of jaw-bones, i. e. of strong jaw-bones. Even such epithets as *hīraṇya-sipra*, *hári-sipra*, *híri-sipra* may mean possessed of golden, possibly of strong jaws. (M. M., Biographies of Words, p. 263, note.) Roth takes *hārisipra* as yellow-jawed, *hírisipra* as golden-cheeked, or with golden helmet, *hīraṇyasipra*, with golden

helmet. A decision between golden-jawed or golden-helmeted is difficult, yet golden-jawed is applicable in all cases.

In our passage we must be guided by *dávidhvataḥ*, which together with *sípra* occurs again X, 96, 9. *sípre vāgāya hárinī dávidhvataḥ*, shaking the golden jaws, and it seems best to translate: O ye golden-jawed Maruts, shaking (your jaws), you go to feed.

Note 4. If we retain the accent in *prīkshám*, we shall have to take it as an adverb, from *prīkshá*, quick, vigorous, like the German *snél*. This view is supported by Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, 96. If, however, we could change the accent into *prīksham*, we might defend Sâyana's interpretation. We should have to take *prīksham* as the accusative of *prīksh*, corresponding to the dative *prīkshé* in the next verse. *Prīksh* is used together with *subh*, *ish*, *ûrg* (VI, 62, 4), and as we have *subham yâ*, we might take *prīksham yâ* in the sense of going for food, in search of food. But it is better to take *prīkshám* as an adverb. In the next verse *prīkshé* is really a kind of infinitive, governing *bhúvanâ*.

Note 5. Tradition explains the *Prishatīs* as spotted deer, but *prishadasva*, as an epithet of the Maruts, need not mean having *Prishatīs* for their horses, but having spotted horses. See Bergaigne, *Rel. Véd.* II, p. 378, note.

Verse 4.

Note 1. Ludwig translates: Zu narung haben sie alle diese Wesen gebracht; Grassmann: Zur Labung netzten alle diese Wesen sie. Ludwig suggests *kitrāya* for *mitrāya*; Oldenberg, far better, *mitrāyavaḥ*, looking for friends, like *mitrāyúvaḥ*, in I, 173, 10.

Note 2. On *vayúna*, see Pischel in *Vedische Studien*, p. 301. But why does Pischel translate *rigipyá* by bulls, referring to VI, 67, 11?

Verse 5.

Note 1. *Adhvasmábhiḥ* seems to mean unimpeded or smooth. Cf. IX, 91, 3.

Note 2. The meaning of *īndhanvabhiḥ* is very doubtful.

Verse 6.

Note 1. *Narām ná sámsah*, the original form of *Narâ-samsah*, I take here as a proper name, *Männerlob* (like *Frauenlob*, the poet) referring to Indra. Bergaigne, I, p. 305, doubts whether *Narâsamsa* can be a proper name in our passage, but on p. 308 he calls it an appellation of Indra.

Note 2. *Āsvām iva*, gives a sense, but one quite inappropriate to the Veda. It would mean, 'fill the cow in her udder like a mare.' I therefore propose to read *asvām iva* (*asuam iva*), from *asû*, a cow that is barren, or a cow that has not yet calved. Thus we read, I, 112, 3. *yābhiḥ dhenúm asvām pínvathah*, 'with the same help with which you nourish a barren cow.' Cf. I, 116, 22. *staryām pipyathuh gām*, 'you have filled the barren cow.' If *asvām iva dhenúm* is a simile, we want an object to which it refers, and this we find in *dhīyam*. Thus we read, V, 71, 2; VII, 94, 2; IX, 19, 2, *pipyatam dhīyah*, to fulfil prayers. I know, of course, that such changes in the sacred text will for the present seem most objectionable to my friends in India, but I doubt not that the time will come when they will see that such emendations are inevitable. I see that in the appendix to the Petersburg Dictionary, s.v. *asû*, the same conjecture has been suggested.

Verse 7.

Note 1. Here again I have taken great liberties. *Āpânám* is explained by *Sâyana* as a participle for *âpnuvantam*. This participle, though quite correct (see Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung*, p. 54), does not occur again in the RV., nor does it yield a proper meaning. It could only mean, 'give us a horse to the chariot, an obtaining prayer, rousing the attention (of the gods) day by day.' *Āpâna* may mean a drinking or carousing, and I do not see why we should not take it in that sense. Sacrifices in ancient times were often festivals; VII, 22, 3. *imā bráhma sadhamāde gushasva*, 'accept these prayers at our feast.' If we suppose that *âpâna* refers to the drinking of Soma, then

nothing is more appropriate than to call the drinking *kitáyat*, exciting, *bráhma*, a hymn. Anyhow I can discover no better meaning in this line. Grassmann, who knows that *kitayati* means to excite, yet translates: 'Gebt Gebet, das durchdringt, euch erinnernd Tag für Tag.' Ludwig: 'Das erfolgreiche brahma, das erinnernde tag für tag.' Possibly we should have to change the accent from *ápáná* to *ápána*. *Ápáná* in IX, 10, 5 is equally obscure.

Note 2. On *vrigana*, see I, 165, 15³. For fuller discussions of the various meanings of *vrigana*, see Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* I, 139; Oldenberg, *Göttinger gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 410 seq.; Ph. Colinet, *Les principes de l'exégèse védique d'après MM. Pischel et Geldner*, p. 28; Ludwig, *Über Methode bei Interpretation des Rigveda*, 1890, pp. 27 seq.

Note 3. *Saní* means acquiring, success, luck, gain, and is often placed in juxtaposition with *medhá*, wisdom. If they are thus placed side by side, *saní* looks almost like an adjective, meaning efficient. RV. I, 18, 6. *saním medhám ayáśisham*, 'I had asked for efficient, true, real wisdom,' or, 'I had asked for success and wisdom.' In such passages, however, as V, 27, 4. *dádat riká saním yaté dádat medhám ritáyaté*, it is clear that *saní* was considered as independent and different from *medhá* (*rikáyaté* = *ritáyaté*).

Verse 8.

Note 1. On *sudánavaḥ*, see note to I, 64, 6. It must often be left open whether *sudánu* was understood as bounteous, or as having good rain or good Soma.

Note 2. *Pinvate*, lit. to make swell or abound.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Vrikatáti* is an old locative of *vrikatát*, wolfhood. To place us in wolfhood means to treat us as wolves, or as *vogelfrei*. Others take it to mean treating us as a wolf would treat us.

Note 2. *Tápushâ kakríyâ*. According to Lanman (p. 571) *tápushâ* might be taken as an acc. dual fem. I know,

however, of no strictly analogous cases, and prefer to take *tápushâ* as an instrumental, this being its usual employment.

Verse 10.

Note 1. The second line is obscure. Neither Grassmann nor Ludwig nor Sâyaṇa can extract any intelligible meaning from it. I have translated it, but I am far from satisfied. There may be an antithesis between the friends (the Maruts themselves, see V, 53, 2), milking the udder of *Prisni*, and the Maruts coming to blame their friends for not offering them sacrifices, or for offering them sacrifices in common with Indra. In the first case when they, as friends, milk the cloud, their approach is brilliant and auspicious. In the second case, when they come to blame those who ought to celebrate them, or those who are actually hostile to them by causing the ruin or decay of a friend of the Maruts, such as Trita, their approach is likewise brilliant, but not auspicious. Trita is a friend of the Maruts whom they assist in battle, and it is possible that this legend may be alluded to here. Sometimes Trita seems also connected with the third libation which was offered at sunset, just as *Vishṇu* represented the second libation which was offered at noon*. Thus we read, VIII, 12, 16. *yát sómam indra víshṇavi yát vâ gha trité âptyé yát vâ marútsu mándase*, 'whether you, Indra, enjoy the Soma near *Vishṇu*, or near Trita *Âptya*, or among the Maruts.' *Sâkapûṇi*, as quoted by Yâska (Nir. XII, 19), explains the three steps of *Vishṇu* as earth, sky, and heaven; *Aurṇavâbha* distinguishes *Samârohana*, *Vishṇupada*, and *Gayasiras*. But all this does not help us to disentangle our verse. It should be added that Bergaigne makes *Tritám* to be governed by *duhúh* (Rel. Véd. II, 327). We should then have to translate, 'or whether they milk Trita in order to blame the singer, to make them old who make

* *Odinn* is styled *Thridi*, by the side of *Hâr* and *Tafnhâr* (the high and the even high) as the Third High. At other times he is *Tveggi* (*secundus*). Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. i, p. 162.

others old, or who themselves become old.' This, however, does not help us much. Professor Oldenberg conjectures that possibly *gurátām* might be changed to *gurátā*, and that the dual of the verb might refer to Rudra and *Prisni*; or we might read *gurátā* for *guráta*, if it refers to Rudriyas. *Návamānasya* might also be used in the sense of making a noise (see I, 29, 5), and possibly *návamānasya nidé* might have been intended for shouting and laughing to scorn. But all this leaves the true meaning of the verse as unfathomable as ever.

Verse 11.

Note 1. *Vishṇor esháya prabhṛithé* is obscure. At the offering of the rapid *Vishṇu* is supposed to mean, when the rapid *Vishṇu* offers Soma. The same phrase occurs again, VII, 40, 5. In VIII, 20, 3, we can translate, 'we know the strength of the Maruts, and of the hasting *Vishṇu*, the bounteous gods.' In VII, 39, 5, the reading is *vishṇum eshām*. Bergaigne (II, 419) is inclined to take *vishṇu esha* as Soma. We should then translate, 'at the offering of Soma.'

Verse 12.

Note 1. The *Daragvas* are mentioned as an old priestly family, like the *Āngiras*, and they seem also, like the *Āngiras*, to have their prototypes or their ancestors among the divine hosts. Could they here be identified with the *Maruts*? They are said to have been the first to carry on the sacrifice, and they are asked to rouse men at the break of the day. Now the same may be said of the *Maruts*. They are often connected with the dawn, probably because the storms break forth with greater vigour in the morning, or, it may be, because the chasing away of the darkness of the night recalls the struggle between the darkness of the thunderstorm and the brightness of the sun. The matutinal character of the *Maruts* appears, for instance, in V, 53, 14 (*usrí bhesagám*), and their father *Dyaus* is likewise called *vṛishabhák usríyah*, V, 58, 6. In the second line *úrñute*, though in the singular, refers also to the *Maruts* in the plural; see Bergaigne, *Mélanges Renier*,

Paris, 1886, p. 80. There still remain two difficult words, *maháh* and *gó-arnasá*. The former (see Lanman, p. 501) may be taken as an adjective referring to the Dasagvas or Maruts, unless we take it as an adverb, quickly, like *makshu*. If we could change it into *mahá*, it would form an appropriate adjective to *gyotishá*, as in IV, 50, 4. On *gó-arnasá* all that can be said is that it mostly occurs where something is uncovered or revealed, so I, 112, 18; X, 38, 2.

Note 2. On *yagñam vah*, to carry on the sacrifice like a wagon, see Bergaigne, *Rel. Véd.* II, 259–260. See also RV. VIII, 26, 15; 58, 1, and *yagña-vâhas*.

Verse 13.

Note 1. In interpreting this obscure verse we must begin with what is clear. The *arunáh aṅgáyah* are the well-known ornaments of the Maruts, mentioned I, 37, 2, note; I, 64, 4, note, &c. The Maruts shine in these ornaments or paints, I, 85, 3; 87, 1; V, 56, 1; X, 78, 7. Though we do not know their special character, we know that, like the daggers, spears, and bracelets of the Maruts, they were supposed to contribute to their beautiful appearance. Again, we know that when the Maruts are said to grow (*vavridhu*), that means that they grow in strength, in spirits, and in splendour, or, in a physical sense, that the storms increase, that the thunder roars, and the lightnings flash, see V, 55, 3; 59, 5. Now if it is said that the Rudras grew with *kshonís*, as if with bright red ornaments, we must have in these *kshonís* the physical prototype of what are metaphorically called their glittering ornaments. And here we can only think either of the bright morning clouds (referring to *usháh ná râmíh arunáh ápa ūrnute* in the preceding verse), or lightnings. These bright clouds of heaven are sometimes conceived as the mothers (III, 9, 2. *apáh mātṛíh*), and more especially the mothers of the Maruts, who are in consequence called *Síndhu-mátarah*, X, 78, 6, a name elsewhere given to Soma, IX, 61, 7, and to the Asvins, I, 46, 2. It is said of a well-known hero, *Purúravas* (originally a solar hero), that as soon as he was born the women (*gnáh*) were there, and immediately after-

wards that the rivers increased or cherished him, X, 95, 7. In other passages too these celestial rivers or waters or clouds are represented as women, whether mothers or wives (X, 124, 7). A number of names are given to these beings, when introduced as the companions of the Apsaras Urvasī, and it is said of them that they came along like *aṅgāyah* *arunāyah*, like bright red ornaments, X, 95, 6. It seems clear therefore that the *arunāḥ aṅgāyah* of the Maruts have to be explained by the bright red clouds of the morning, or in more mythological language, by the Apsaras, who are said to be like *arunāyah aṅgāyah*. Hence, whatever its etymology may have been, *kshonībhiḥ* in our passage must refer to the clouds of heaven, and the verse can only be translated, 'the Rudras grew with the clouds as with their red ornaments,' that is, the clouds were their red ornaments, and as the clouds grew in splendour, the Maruts grew with their splendid ornaments.

Professor Geldner arrived at a similar conclusion. In Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, XI, p. 327, and more recently in *Ved. Stud.*, p. 277, he assigned to *kshonī* the meaning of woman, which is quite possible, and would make it a synonym of the celestial *gnās*. But he translates, 'the Maruts excite themselves with red colours as with women.' These are hardly Vedic thoughts, and the position of *nā* would remain anomalous. Nor should we gain much if we read *te kshonayah arunebhiḥ na aṅgibhiḥ*, 'these Rudras were delighted like wives by bright ornaments.' The bright ornaments have once for all a settled meaning, they are peculiar to the Maruts, and cannot in a Marut hymn be taken in any other sense.

Then comes the question, how is the meaning assigned to *kshonī*, namely cloud, or, as personified, Apsaras, applicable to other passages? In X, 95, 9, it seems most appropriate: 'So long as the mortal (*Purūravas*), longing for the immortal (*Apsaras*), does not come near with strength to those *kshonīs*, i. e. those Apsaras, or morning clouds, they beautified their bodies like ducks' (an excellent image, if one watches ducks cleaning themselves in the water), 'like sporting horses biting each other.' Geldner

translates this verse somewhat differently, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. 276.

Having disposed of these two passages where *kshonī* occurs in the plural, we have next to consider those where it stands in the dual. Here *kshonī* always means heaven and earth, like *rodasi*, *dyāvāprithivī*, &c.

VIII, 7, 22. *sām u tyé mahatīh apáh sām kshonī sām u sūryam . . . parvasáh dadhuh*. They, the Maruts, set the great waters (the sky), heaven and earth and the sun piece-meal (or, they put them together piece by piece).

VIII, 52, 10. *sám índrah ráyah bṛihatīh adhūnuta sām kshonī sām u sūryam*. Indra shook the great treasures, heaven and earth, and the sun.

VIII, 99, 6. *ánu te sūshmam turáyantam iyatuḥ kshonī sīsum ná mātárā*. Heaven and earth followed thy rapid strength, like mother-cows their calf.

II, 16, 3. *ná kshonībhyám paribhvē te indriyám*. Thy strength is not to be compassed by heaven and earth.

If after this we look at the passage translated by Professor Geldner, I, 180, 5. *apáh kshonī sakate máhinā vām*, we see at once that *apáh* and *kshonī* cannot be separated, and that we must translate, your *Máhinā* reaches heaven and earth and the sky. *Máhinā*, according to Professor Geldner, means the magnificent woman, namely *Sūryā*, but it is possible that it may have been meant for 'mahimā, your greatness reaches heaven and earth and the sky.' *Apáh*, which Professor Geldner translates 'from the water,' is the acc. plural, meaning the waters between heaven and earth, or the sky. It occurs again in connection with heaven and earth, the sun, heaven, and generally without any copula. Thus, VIII, 7, 22. *apáh, kshonī, sūryam*, i.e. the waters (the sky), heaven and earth, the sun. I, 36, 8. *ródasi apáh*, heaven and earth and the waters; cf. V, 31, 6. Likewise I, 52, 12. *apáh svāh paribhūh eshi á dívam*; V, 14, 4. *ávindat gáh apáh svāh*; VI, 47, 14. *apáh gáh*; cf. VI, 60, 2. VII, 44, 1. *dyāvāprithivī apáh svāh*, cf. X, 36, 1; IX, 90, 4; 91, 6.

There remain five passages where *kshonīh* occurs, and where Professor Geldner's conjecture that it means women

holds good. In I, 54, 1, it may mean real women, or the women of the clouds. In I, 57, 4; 173, 7; VIII, 3, 10; 13, 17; also in X, 22, 9, women seems the most plausible translation.

Note 2. *Rítasya sádanâni* is almost impossible to translate. It may be the places in heaven where the Maruts are supposed to be, or the places where sacrifices are offered to them.

Note 3. *Átyena págasâ* has been explained in different ways. *Sâyana* renders it by always moving power; Grassmann by 'mit schnell erregtem Schimmer;' Ludwig, 'mit eilender kraft,' though he is no longer satisfied with this meaning, and suggests 'net for catching.' Roth has touched several times on this word. In the *Allgemeine Monatsschrift* of 1851, p. 87, he suggested for *págas* the meaning of 'impression of a foot or of a carriage, perhaps also reflection.' In his *Notes on the Nirukta*, p. 78 seq., he is very hard on the Indian commentators who explain the word by strength, but who never go conscientiously through all the passages in which a word occurs. He then still maintained that the word ought to be translated by track.

It seems, however, that the most appropriate meaning in the passages in which *págas* occurs is splendour, though of course a stream of light may be conceived as a bright train or path. In some the meaning of light seems quite inevitable, for instance, III, 15, 1. *ví págasâ prithúnâ sórukânah*. Agni, shining with broad light.

VIII, 46, 25. *á . . . yâhí makháya págase*. Come hither, Vâyu, for strong light.

III, 14, 1. (*agníh*) *prithivyám págah asret*. Agni assumed (or spread) splendour on earth.

VII, 10, 1. *usháh ná gárah prithú págah asret*. (Agni,) like the lover of the dawn, assumed (or spread) wide splendour.

III, 61, 5. *úrdhvám madhudhá diví págah asret*. The dawn assumed rising splendour in the sky.

VII, 3, 4. *ví yâsya te prithivyám págah áset*. Thou (Agni) whose splendour spread on earth.

IX, 68, 3. *abhivrágan ákshitam págaḥ á dade*. (Soma) approaching assumed imperishable splendour. This splendour of Soma is also mentioned in IX, 109, 21, and the expression that he shakes his splendour (*vr̥thā kar*) occurs IX, 76, 1; 88, 5. (Cf. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. 117.)

In VI, 21, 7. *abhi tvā págaḥ rakshásaḥ ví tasthe*, it would, no doubt, seem preferable to translate, 'the power of the Rakshas came upon thee,' but the *ugrám págaḥ*, the fierce light, is not out of place either, while in most of the passages which we have examined, the meaning of power would be entirely out of place.

In I, 121, 11, heaven and earth seem to be called *pāgasī*, the two splendours. Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* p. 87, translates *átyena págasá* by 'durch das stattliche Ross,' namely the Soma, but *pāgas* seems to be something that belongs to Soma, not Soma himself.

Verse 14.

Note 1. Grassmann suggests *iyānāḥ* instead of *iyānāḥ*.

Note 2. *Abhishṭaye*, for superiority or victory, rather than for assistance. *Abhishṭi*, with accent on the last syllable, means conqueror or victorious; see RV. I, 9, 1; III, 34, 4; X, 100, 12; 104, 10.

Verse 15.

Note 1. On *radhra* and its various applications, see Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. 124.

MANDALA V, HYMN 52.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 8-10.

TO THE MARUTS (THE-STORM-GODS).

1. O Syāvāsva, sing boldly with¹ the Maruts, the singers who, worthy themselves of sacrifice, rejoice in their guileless glory² according to their nature.

2. They are indeed boldly the friends of strong power; they on their march protect all who by themselves are full of daring¹.

3. Like rushing bulls, these Maruts spring over¹ the dark cows (the clouds)², and then we perceive the might of the Maruts in heaven and on earth.

4. Let us boldly offer praise and sacrifice to your Maruts, to all them who protect the generation of men, who protect the mortal from injury.

5. They who are worthy, bounteous, men of perfect strength, to those heavenly Maruts who are worthy of sacrifice, praise the sacrifice!

6. The tall men¹, coming near with their bright chains, and their weapon, have hurled forth their spears. Behind these Maruts there came by itself the splendour of heaven, like laughing lightnings².

7. Those who have grown up on earth, or in the wide sky, or in the realm of the rivers, or in the abode of the great heaven,

8. Praise that host of the Maruts, endowed with true strength and boldness¹, whether those rushing heroes have by themselves harnessed (their horses) for triumph,

9. Or whether these brilliant Maruts have in the (speckled) cloud clothed themselves in wool¹, or

whether by their strength they cut the mountain asunder with the tire of their chariot;

10. Call them comers, or goers, or enterers, or followers, under all these names, they watch on the straw¹ for my sacrifice.

11. The men (the Maruts) watch, and their steeds watch. Then, so brilliant are their forms to be seen, that people say, Look at the strangers¹!

12. In measured steps¹ and wildly shouting² the gleemen³ have danced toward the well (the cloud). They who appeared one by one like thieves, were helpers to me to see the light⁴.

13. Worship, therefore, O seer, that host of Maruts, and keep and delight them with your voice, they who are themselves wise¹ poets, tall heroes armed with lightning-spears.

14. Approach, O seer, the host of Maruts, as a woman approaches a friend, for a gift¹; and you, Maruts, bold in your strength², hasten hither, even from heaven, when you have been praised by our hymns.

15. If he, after perceiving them, has approached them as gods with an offering, then may he for a gift remain united with the brilliant (Maruts), who by their ornaments are glorious on their march.

16. They, the wise¹ Maruts, the lords, who, when there was inquiry for their kindred, told me of the cow, they told me of *Prisni* as their mother, and of the strong *Rudra* as their father.

17. The seven and seven heroes¹ gave me each a hundred. On the *Yamunâ* I clear off glorious wealth in cows, I clear wealth in horses.

NOTES.

This hymn is ascribed to Syāvārva Ātreya. Metre, Anuṣṭubh, 1-5, 7-15; Pañkti, 6, 16, and 17. Sāyana seems to take verse 16 as an Anuṣṭubh, which of course is a mistake. No verse of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., TS., TB., MS., AV.

Verse 1.

Note 1. One expects the dative or accusative after *arkā*. The instrumental leaves us no choice but to translate, 'Sing with the Maruts, who are themselves famous as singers.' Cf. I, 6, 8; V, 60, 8.

Note 2. On *śrāvaḥ mādanti*, see Gaedicke, Accusativ, p. 75.

Verse 2.

Note 1. *Dhrīśadvīnas* may also refer to the Maruts.

Verse 3.

Note 1. One expects *ádhi* instead of *āti*, see Gaedicke, Accusativ, p. 95 seq.

Note 2. See note to I, 37, 5; also, Bartholomae in Bezenberger's Beiträge, XV, 211. The whole verse has been discussed by Benfey, *Vedica und Verwandtes*, p. 152 seq.

Verse 6.

Note 1. This verse has been discussed before, I, 168, 7, note. Benfey (*Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1876, 28 Juni; comp. *Vedica und Verwandtes*, p. 141) translated it: 'Heran... haben die Helden, die ehren, ihre Speere geschleudert; ihnen, den Maruts, nach (erheben sich) traun gleichsam lachende Blitze, erhebt sich selbst des Himmels Glanz.' *Rīshvāḥ* seems here, as in verse 13, to refer to the Maruts, as in IV, 19, 1, *rīshvám* refers to Indra, though it can be used of weapons also, see VI, 18, 10. As to the instrumentalis comitativus in *rukmaḥ* and *yudhā*, see Lanman, p. 335.

Note 2. Benfey's explanation of *gāghghatīh* is ingenious, though it leaves some difficulties. The writing of *ghgh* in Devanāgarī may have been meant for *ggh*, as in *akhhkhali-kṛītya*, VII, 103, 3. But there remains the fact that *gaksh* occurs in the sense of laughing, I, 33, 7, and one does not see why it should have undergone a Prakritic change in our passage, and not there. It might be a mimetic word, to express the sound of rattling and clattering; cf. *gañganābhāvan*, VIII, 43, 8.

Verse 8.

Note 1. As to the adjective in the masculine gender after *sārdhas*, see I, 37, 1, note. The meaning of *rābhvas*, bold, rabid, is doubtful; see Bergaigne, *Rel. Véd.* II, 408.

Verse 9.

Note 1. Sāyana takes *Parushnī* as the name of one of the rivers of the Punjab, called the *Irāvati*, and at present the *Ravi*. *Parushnī* might mean speckled, muddy, as a synonym of *prīni*. Roth has suggested that *parushnī* might here mean cloud. But what is the meaning of *parushnī* in a similar passage, IV, 22, 2. (*Indrah*) *sriyé párushnīm ushāmānah ūrnām yásyāh párvāni sakhyāya vivyé?* If it means that Indra clothed himself in speckled wool, that wool might be intended for what we call woolly or fleecy clouds. As the Maruts often perform the same acts as Indra, we might read in our verse *utá sma té párushnis ūrnāh*, and pronounce *utá sma té párushnia ūrnāh*, though Lanman, p. 395, objects to *ias* for *is* in the acc. plur. See, however, *hetīh ádevīh* in VIII, 61, 16. The instrumental singular is possible, but again unusual with *vas*, *párushnyā ūrnā*. Possibly the original meaning of *parushnī* may have been forgotten, and if the name of the river *Parushnī* was generally known, it might easily have taken the place of *parushnī*, the cloud. For other explanations see Roth, *Über gewisse Kürzungen*, Wien, 1887; Bartholomae, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXIX, 583; Schmidt, *Die Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra*, 1889, p. 307.

Verse 10.

Note 1. *Vishṭārāḥ* does not occur again, and Lanman is therefore quite justified in assigning to it the meaning of straw (p. 339). He paraphrases: 'Let their customs carry them where they may, yet when I sacrifice, they wait quietly on the straw, i.e. the altar, for it.' He reads in the Pada text *vi-stāré* for *vi-stārāḥ*. *Vishṭārīn*, which occurs AV. IV, 34, 1, does not throw much light on the exact meaning of *vishṭāra* in this place. If we retain *vishṭārāḥ*, the nominative, we must assign to it the meaning of crowd, and refer it to the Maruts.

Verse 11.

Note 1. *Pārāvata* is a turtle-dove (VS. XXIV, 25), and it is just possible that the Maruts might have been compared to them. But *pārāvata* is used in VIII, 100, 6, as an epithet of *vasu*, wealth, and in VIII, 34, 18, we read of *rātis* (not *rātris*), i.e. gifts of *Pārāvata*. The river *Sarasvatī* is called *pārāvataḡṇī*, killing *Pārāvata*, VI, 61, 2, and in the *Pañkav.* Br. IX, 4, 11, we hear that *Turasravas* and the *Pārāvatas* offered their *Somas* together. I am therefore inclined to take *Pārāvata*, lit. distant people, extranei, strangers, as a name of an Aryan border clan with whom the Vedic Aryas were sometimes at war, sometimes at peace. In that case the frontier-river, the *Sarasvatī*, might be called the destroyer or enemy of the *Pārāvatas*. As their wealth and gifts have been mentioned, to compare the Maruts with the *Pārāvatas* may mean no more than that the Maruts also are rich and generous. Ludwig thinks of the *Παρυῆται*, which seems more doubtful. For a different interpretation see Delbrück, *Syntax*, p. 531.

Verse 12.

Note 1. I take *khandaḥstúbh* in the sense of stepping (according to) a measure, as explained in my Preface (1st ed.), p. cii, though I do not doubt that that meaning was afterwards forgotten, and replaced by the technical meaning of *stubbh*, to shout. See Böhtlingk-Roth, s.v. *stubbh*, and

stobhagrantha, Sâma-veda, Bibl. Ind., II, p. 519. It can hardly be supposed that such artificial performances of Vedic hymns, as are preserved in the Sâma-veda, could have suggested the first names of the ancient metres.

Note 2. Kubhanyú can only be derived from bhan, to shout.

Note 3. The *kirīṇah* are probably intended here for strolling minstrels who, when they approached the well of a village (here the cloud), might be taken either for friends or foes.

Note 4. *Drīśī* tvishé. Grassmann translates: 'Wie Räuberbanden schienen sie geschart zum Andrang meinem Blick.' Ludwig better: 'Helfer waren sie, glanz zu sehn.' We must either read *drīśé* tvishé, to see the light, or *drīśé* tvishī, to be seen by light. See, however, P. G., Ved. Stud. p. 225.

Verse 13.

Note 1. Vedhas, wise. The different possible meanings of this word have been discussed by Ludwig, Z.D.M.G. XL, p. 716; and by Bartholomae, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXVII, p. 361.

Verse 14.

Note 1. On *dānā*, see Lanman, pp. 533, 335; P. G., Ved. Stud. p. 101.

Note 2. *Dhrishṇavaḥ* ógasā to be read - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ.

Verse 15.

This verse, as Roth says, is very obscure, and the translation is purely tentative. Grassmann derives *vak-shánā* from *vah* in the sense of an offering. It may more easily be derived from *vaksh*, i.e. what gives increase, and be taken as an instrumental. Pischel shows that in many passages *vakshanā* in the plural has the meaning of *yoni*, also of the *yoni* on the altar. But even this meaning does not throw much light on our passage. The first *pāda* may possibly be taken in an interrogative and conditional sense, or we may translate: 'Now, having perceived them, may he, as a refreshing draught goes to the gods, come

together with the Maruts for his reward.' Whatever the verse may mean, *eshâm devân* cannot mean the gods of the Maruts, or prove the existence of idols, as Bollensen (Z. D. M. G. XXII, 587) and even Muir (S. T. V, 454) imagined. The translation of Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* p. 101, *sûr(bhi) aṅgibhi* mit 'Herren, die schmieren, d. h. ordentlich bezahlen,' seems too exclusively German. Could *aṅgin* be an adjective, in the sense of possessed of *aṅgis*?

Verse 16.

Note 1. If *sîkvas* is not to be derived from *sak* (see Hübschmann, *Vocalsystem*, pp. 64, 186), we should have to derive *nis*, night, from a root altogether different from that which yields *nakt*, *nákta*, &c. But how does *sîkvas* come to mean, according to Ludwig, both bunch of flowers, and flaming? Does he connect it with *sikhâ*? Surely, if *siksh* may stand for *sirak-s*, why not *sik-vas* for **sirisak-vas*? 'Bright' leaves it doubtful whether it means clever or flaming.

Verse 17.

Note 1. The seven, seven heroes need not be the Maruts, but some liberal patrons who rewarded *Syâvârva*. See Bergaigne, *Rel. Véd.* II, 371.

MANDALA V, HYMN 53.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 11-13.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Who knows their birth? or who was of yore in the favour of the Maruts, when they harnessed the spotted deer¹?

2. Who has heard them when they had mounted their chariots, how they went forth? For the sake of what liberal giver (Sudās) did they run, and their comrades followed¹, (as) streams of rain (filled) with food?

3. They themselves said to me when day by day¹ they came to the feast with their birds²: they (the Maruts) are manly youths and blameless; seeing them, praise them thus;

4. They who shine by themselves in their ornaments¹, their daggers, their garlands, their golden chains, their rings, going² on their chariots and on dry land.

5. O Maruts, givers of quickening rain, I am made to rejoice, following after your chariots, as after days¹ going with rain.

6. The bucket which the bounteous heroes shook down from heaven for their worshipper, that cloud they send¹ along heaven and earth, and showers follow on the dry land.

7. The rivers having pierced¹ the air with a rush of water, went forth like milk-cows; when your spotted deer roll about² like horses that have hasted to the resting-place on their road.

8. Come hither, O Maruts, from heaven, from the sky, even from near¹; do not go far away!

9. Let not the Rasâ, the Anitabhâ, the Kubhâ, the Krumu, let not the Sindhu delay you ! Let not the marshy Sarayu prevent you ! May your favour be with us alone !

10. The showers come forth after the host of your chariots, after the terrible Marut-host of the ever-youthful heroes ¹.

11. Let us then follow with our praises and our prayers each host of yours, each troop, each company ¹.

12. To what well-born generous worshipper have the Maruts gone to-day on that march,

13. On which you bring to kith and kin the never-failing seed of corn ? Give us that for which we ask you, wealth and everlasting happiness !

14. Let us safely pass through our revilers, leaving behind the unspeakable and the enemies. Let us be with you when in the morning ¹ you shower down health, wealth ², water, and medicine, O Maruts !

15. That mortal, O men, O Maruts, whom you protect, may well be always beloved by the gods, and rich in valiant offspring. May we be such !

16. Praise the liberal Maruts, and may they delight on the path of this man here who praises them, like cows in fodder. When they go, call after them as for old friends, praise them who love you, with your song !

NOTES.

Ascribed to *Syāvāsya Ātreya*. Metre, 1, 5, 10, 11, 15 *Kakubh*; 2 *Bṛīhati*; 3 *Anuṣṭubh*; 4 *Pura-ushṇih*; 6, 7, 9, 13, 14, 16 *Satobṛīhati*; 8, 12 *Gāyatrī*. No verse of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., AV.; the sixth verse is found in TS. II, 4, 8, 1; MS. II, 4, 7; *Kāṭhaka* XI, 9.

Verse 1.

Note 1. *Kilāṣi*, as fem. of *kilāsa*, does not occur again. It seems to have meant spotted or marked with pocks, and would be intended for the *prīshatis*. Does *Kailāsa* come from the same source?

Verse 2.

Note 1. *Kāśmai sasruḥ* is much the same as *kāśmai adyā sūgātāya* ... *prā yayuḥ*, in verse 12. We must then begin a new sentence, *ānu āpāyaḥ*, their comrades after, namely *sasruḥ*. Thus we read in verse 10 *tām vaḥ sārđham* ... *ānu prā yanti vṛiṣṭāyaḥ*, where the streams of rain are represented as the followers of the Maruts. We might also translate in our sentence: For what liberal giver did their comrades, the streams of rain with food follow after (the Maruts).

Verse 3.

Note 1. *Ūpa dyūbhiḥ* occurs again VIII, 40, 8, and seems to mean from day to day.

Note 2. The birds of the Maruts, probably of the same character as the birds of the *Asvins*.

Verse 4.

Note 1. I translate *aṅgi* by ornament in general, not by paint or ointment, though that may have been its original meaning.

Note 2. On *srāya*, see *Pān.* III, 3, 24. *Dhānvasu* may possibly have been intended as governed by *svābhānavaḥ*, and not by *srāyāḥ*; see, however, VIII, 33, 6. *smāsrushu sritāḥ*.

Verse 5.

Note 1. On *dyāvāḥ*, nom. plur., and *rāthān*, acc. plur., compare Bergaigne, *Mélanges Renier*, p. 88. The text is doubtful, and may be a corruption of *vrishṭīḥ dyāvāḥ yatīḥ* iva.

Verse 6.

Note 1. The *Taittirīyas*, TS. II, 4, 8, 1, read *pargānyāḥ*; the *Maitreyas*, *prā pargānyāḥ śṛigatām* and *yantu*.

Verse 7.

Note 1. *Tatridānā*, as *trid* occurs in the Veda in the *Parasmaipada* only, may be intended for a passive, bored, dug out, tapped. One would, however, expect in that case an instrumental, *marudbhiḥ*, by whom they were brought forth.

Note 2. The words *vī yād vārtanta enyāḥ* have received various explanations. Wilson translates: 'When the rivers rush in various directions.' *Sāyana* admits also another meaning: 'When the rivers grow.' Ludwig translates: 'Sich verteilend gehn die schimmernden auseinander.' Grassmann, very boldly: 'Wie Hengste träufelnd, wenn vom Wege heimgekehrt, sie zu den bunten Stuten gehn.' *Vi-vṛit* seems, however, to have a very special meaning, namely, rolling on the ground, and this the spotted deer are here said to have done, like horses at the end of their journey. We read of the sacrificial horse, Sat. Br. XIII, 5, 1, 16. *sa yady ava vā gighred vī vā varteta, samṛiddho me yagñā iti ha vidyāt*; cf. XI, 2, 5, 3. In the TS. VII, 1, 19, 3, the commentator explains *vivartanam* by *nirgatya bhūmau viluṭhanam*, the rolling on the ground. The same meaning is applicable to *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, p. 66 (Childers), where the *Bhikkhus* are said to roll on the ground when they hear of Buddha's death; also to *Mahābh. III, 11953* (of a wild boar). The meaning therefore in our passage seems to be, when the deer roll on the ground, as horses are wont to do at the end of a journey.

Verse 8.

Note 1. *Amāt* corresponds here to *prithivī* in other places. Originally it may have meant from the home.

Verse 9.

This verse has often been discussed on account of the names of the rivers which it contains. Syāvārṣa had mentioned the Yamunā in 52, 17, and some interpreters have been inclined to give to parushnī in 52, 9 a geographical meaning, taking it for the river Ravi, instead of translating it by cloud. The geographical names are certainly interesting, but they have been discussed so often that I need not dwell on them here. (See M. M., India, p. 163.)

The Rasā, known to the Zoroastrians as the Razhā, was originally the name of a real river, but when the Āryas moved away from it into the Punjāb, it assumed a mythical character, and became a kind of Okeanos, surrounding the extreme limits of the world.

Anitabhā seems to be the name of a new river or part of a river. It can hardly be taken as an epithet of Rasā, as Ludwig suggests. Anitabhā, whose splendour has not departed (Ludwig), or, amitabhā, of endless splendour, would hardly be Vedic formations. (Chips, I, p. 157; Hibbert Lect., p. 207; India, pp. 166, 173, notes.)

Kubhā is the Κωφῆν or Κωφῆς of the Greeks, the Kabul river. The Krumu I take to be the Kurrum. (India, p. 177, note.)

The Sindhu is the Indus, though it is difficult to say which part of it, while the Sarayu has been supposed to be the Sarayū, the affluent of the Gaṅgā, but may also be a more general name for some more northern river in the Punjāb. (See Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, pp. 17 f., 45; Muir, S. T. II, p. xxv, note.)

Verse 10.

Note 1. Návyasīnām has been a puzzle to all interpreters. Sāyana seems to me to give the right interpretation, namely, nūtanānām. As from aṅgasā, instr. sing., straightway, aṅgasīna was formed, straightforward; from návyasā, instr. sing., anew, návyasīna seems to have been formed in the sense of new. Návyasīnām might then be a somewhat

irregular gen. plur., referring to *gaṇám mārutam*, the Marut-host of the young men; see V, 58, 1. Lanman (p. 515) takes it for a gen. plur. fem., but in that case it could not refer to *rāthānām*. Zimmer translates *endlos*, Bergaigne (II, 400) thinks of new or rejuvenescent mothers.

Verse 11.

Note 1. See III, 26, 6.

Verse 14.

Note 1. *Uśrí*, in the morning. Lanman (p. 427) proposes to read *ushári*, but the metre would be better preserved by reading *vṛishṭvī* as trisyllabic. The difficulty is the construction of the gerund *vṛishṭvī*, which refers to the Maruts, and *syāma sahá*, which refers to the sacrificers.

Note 2. On *sám yóh*, see I, 165, 4, note 2.

The metrical structure of this hymn is interesting. If we represent the foot of eight syllables by a, that of twelve by b, we find the following succession:

| | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| I { | 1 a b a | II { | 3 a a a a |
| | 2 a a b a | | 4 b a a |
| III { | 5 a a a | IV { | 8 a a a |
| | 6 b a b a | | 9 b a b a |
| | 7 b a b a | | 12 a a a |
| V { | 10 a b a | VI { | 13 b a b a |
| | 11 a b a | | 14 b a b a |
| | | VII { | 15 a b a |
| | | | 16 b a b a |

We find that I contains the question, II the answer, III description of rain, IV prayer and invitation, V praise of the companions, VI prayer, VII conclusion. Comp. Oldenberg's *Prolegomena*, p. 106 seq.

MANDALA V, HYMN 54.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 14-16.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. You have fashioned¹ this speech for the brilliant Marut-host which shakes the mountains : celebrate then the great manhood in honour of that host who praises the warm milk (of the sacrifice), and sacrifices on the height of heaven², whose glory is brilliant.

2. O Maruts, your powerful men (came) forth searching for water, invigorating, harnessing their horses, swarming around. When they aim with the lightning, Trita shouts, and the waters murmur, running around on their course.

3. These Maruts are men brilliant with lightning, they shoot with thunderbolts, they blaze with the wind, they shake the mountains, and suddenly, when wishing to give water¹, they whirl the hail ; they have thundering strength, they are robust, they are ever-powerful.

4. When you drive forth¹ the nights, O Rudras, the days, O powerful men, the sky, the mists, ye shakers, the plains, like ships, and the strongholds, O Maruts, you suffer nowhere.

5. That strength of yours, O Maruts, that greatness extended far as the sun extends its daily course, when you, like your deer on their march, went down to the (western) mountain with untouched splendour¹.

6. Your host, O Maruts, shone forth when, O sages, you strip, like a caterpillar, the waving tree¹.

Conduct then, O friends, our service ² to a good end, as the eye conducts the man in walking.

7. That man, O Maruts, is not overpowered, he is not killed, he does not fail, he does not shake, he does not drop, his goods do not perish, nor his protections, if you lead him rightly, whether he be a seer or a king.

8. The men with their steeds, like conquerors of clans, like Aryaman (Mitra and Varuna)¹, the Maruts, carrying waterskins², fill the well; when the strong ones roar, they moisten the earth with the juice of sweetness³.

9. When the Maruts come forth this earth bows, the heaven bows, the paths in the sky bow, and the cloud-mountains with their quickening rain.

10. When you rejoice at sunrise, O Maruts, toiling together¹, men of Svar (sun-light), men of Dyū (heaven), your horses never tire in running, and you quickly reach the end of your journey.

11. On your shoulders are the spears, on your feet rings, on your chests golden chains, O Maruts, on your chariot gems; fiery lightnings in your fists, and golden headbands tied round your heads¹.

12. O Maruts, you shake the red apple¹ from the firmament, whose splendour no enemy² can touch; the hamlets bowed when the Maruts blazed, and the pious people (the Maruts) intoned their far-reaching shout.

13. O wise Maruts, let us carry off¹ the wealth of food which you have bestowed on us; give us², O Maruts, such thousandfold wealth as never fails³, like the star Tishya⁴ from heaven!

14. O Maruts, you protect our wealth of excellent men, and the seer, clever in song; you give to

Bharata (the warrior)¹ a strong horse ², you make the king to be obeyed ³.

15. O you who are quickly ready to help, I implore you for wealth whereby we may overshadow all men, like the sky. O Maruts, be pleased with this word of mine, and let us speed by its speed over a hundred winters !

NOTES.

The same poet, *Syāvārva* *Ātreya*. Metre, 1-13, 15 *Gagati*; 14 *Trishṭubh*. None of the verses of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB., MS.

Verse 1.

Note 1. *Anaga*, explained as a 2nd pers. plur. perf., referring to the same people who are addressed by *arkata*. It may be also the first person of the imperative; see Benfey, *Über die Entstehung der mit r anlautenden Personalendungen*, p. 5, note.

Note 2. Possibly the second line of this verse may refer to ceremonial technicalities. *Gharma* means heat and summer, but also the sacrificial vessel (*formus*) in which the milk is heated, and the warm milk itself. *Yagvan* can only mean sacrificing, and *diváh prishtha* is the back of heaven, the highest roof of heaven; see *triprishtha*. Thus we read, I, 115, 3. *haritah . . . diváh á prishthám asthuh*. See also I, 164, 10; 166, 5; III, 2, 12; IX, 36, 6; 66, 5; 69, 5; 83, 2; 86, 27. It would seem therefore as if the Maruts themselves were here represented as performing sacrificial acts in the highest heaven, praising the milk, that is, the rain, which they pour down from heaven to earth. Possibly the text is corrupt. If *yagyu* could have the same meaning as *prayagyu*, I should like to conjecture, *diváh á prishthám yágyave*. In IX, 61, 12. *indrāya yágyave* seems to mean 'to the chasing Indra.' See also *āyagi* (*erjagend*), obtaining. Might we conjecture *divá á prikshayāvane*? *Prikshayāma* occurs as a name; see also II, 34, 3.

Verse 3.

Note 1. *Abdā*, wish to give water, is very doubtful. Both *abda* and *abdi*, in *abdimat*, mean cloud. The text seems corrupt.

Verse 4.

Note 1. The meaning of *vyag* is doubtful. It may simply mean to make visible.

Verse 5.

Note 1. The last words *ánasvadâm yát ní áyâtana girím* are difficult. *Sâyana* has an explanation ready, viz. when you throw down the cloud or the mountain which gives no water or which does not give up the horses carried off by the *Panis*. Grassmann too is ready with an explanation: 'Als ihr unnahbar glänzend, Hirschen gleich, den Berg auf eurer Fahrt durchranntet, den kein Ross erreicht.' Ludwig: 'Als ihr nider gehn machtet den nicht vergängliches gebenden (d. i. die waszer; oder: die rosse verweigernden?) berg.'

Giri may be the cloud, and nothing could be more appropriate than that the *Maruts* should come down upon the cloud or go over it, in order to make it give up the rain. But *asvadâ* means 'giving horses,' and though rain-clouds may be compared to horses, it does not follow that *asva* by itself could mean rain. *Asvadâ* is used of the dawn, I, 113, 18, possibly as giving horses, that is, wealth, but possibly also, as bringing the horses to the morning sun. These horses start with the dawn or the sun in the morning, and they rest in the evening. The legend that *Agni* hid himself in an *Asvattha* tree (*Sâyana*, RV. I, 65, 1) may owe its origin to *asvattha*, i. e. horse-stable, having been a name of the West (K. Z. I, 467); cf. *tishtadgu*, at sunset. In X, 8, 3, the Dawns are called *ásvabudhnâh*, which may mean that they had their resting-place among the horses. The *Maruts*, more particularly, are said to dwell in the *Asvattha* tree, when *Indra* called them to his help against *Vṛitra*; cf. Sat. Brâhm. IV, 3, 3, 6; Pâr. Grîhy. II, 15, 4. Possibly therefore, though I say no more, possibly the Dawn or the East might have been called *asvadâ*, the West *anasvadâ*, and in that case it might be said that the *Maruts* are of unsullied splendour, when they

go down to the western mountain. M. Bergaigne explains, 'La montagne qui ne donne pas, qui retient le cheval, le cheval mythique, soleil ou éclair.' My own impression, however, is that *anasvadâm* is an old mistake, though I cannot accept Ludwig's conjecture *a-nasva-dâm*. Why not *ánu svadhâm*, or *anasva-yâh*, moving without horses? cf. V, 42, 10.

Verse 6.

Note 1. This is, no doubt, a bold simile, but a very true one. In one night caterpillars will eat off the whole foliage of a tree, and in the same way a violent storm in the autumn will strip every leaf. *Ar̥nasám* as an adjective, with the accent on the last syllable, does not occur again, but it can hardly mean anything but waving. If it will stand for the sea, we might translate, 'When you clear the waving sea (or air), as the caterpillar a tree.'

Note 2. *Arámati* seems here to mean service or obedience, not a person who is willing to serve.

Verse 8.

Note 1. To translate *aryamánah* by friends is unsatisfactory. Bergaigne takes it for *Aryaman*, *Mitra*, and *Varuṇa*, the three *Aryamans*, as we say the two *Mitras*, and points out that these three gods do send rain, in I, 79, 3; VII, 40, 4.

Note 2. It ought to be *kavandhína* as much as *kāvandha*, V, 85, 3.

Note 3. *Mádhva* *ándhasâ*; Grassmann, 'mit des Honigs Seim.'

Verse 10.

Note 1. *Sabharas* is evidently a recognised epithet of the *Maruts*, see VS. XVII, 81 and 84, but its meaning is doubtful. We have *visvábharasam*, IV, 1, 19, as an epithet of *Agni*, which does not help us much. If *bharas* means burden, *sabharas* may mean those who work together, companions, friends.

Verse 11.

Note 1. See Muir, S. T. V, p. 149. On *síprāḥ* &c., see II, 34, 3, note.

Verse 12.

Note 1. The red apple to be shaken from the firmament can only be the lightning. *Vi-dhû* is construed with two accusatives, as in III, 45, 4; V, 57, 3. Gaedicke, *Accusativ*, p. 266.

Note 2. *Aryáḥ* cannot be a vocative, on account of the accent, nor a nominative on account of the context. There remains nothing but to take it as a genitive, and connect it with *agrībhīta*, though such a construction has few parallels, except perhaps in such sentences as *hávyaḥ karshanínám*, VI, 22, 1, &c. Possibly it may be intended as an epithet of the Maruts. Bergaigne (*Journ. As.* 1884, p. 190), 'au profit du pauvre.' Geldner (*Ved. Stud.* I, p. 148) proposes a very bold translation: 'The sacrificial nets are being contracted, when the Maruts rush on. The priests (*ritāyu*) roar their (as catching-net) extended shouting.' The sense is said to be that when the Maruts appear, all priests try to catch them by shouting. See, however, Oldenberg in *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 414.

Verse 13.

Note 1. For *rathyāḥ*, see II, 24, 15. *rāyáḥ syāma rathyāḥ váyasvataḥ*; VI, 48, 9.

Note 2. *Rāranta*, 2nd pers. plur. imp. intens., but *Pada* has *raranta*. Why not *rarāta*?

Note 3. *Yukkkhati* has been compared by Kuhn (*K. Z.* III, 328) with *δύσκει*; but see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, I, pp. 110, 118.

Note 4. *Tishya* must be the name of a star, hardly, as *Sâyana* suggests, of the sun. It ought to be a star which does not set. See Weber, *Über alte iranische Sternnamen*, p. 14. Ludwig quotes from TS. II, 2, 10, 1 seq., an identification of *Tishya* with *Rudra*.

Verse 14.

Note 1. Grassmann marks this verse as late, Ludwig defends it. We must know what is meant by late before we decide. Bharata may mean simply a warrior, or a Bharata ; see Ludwig, III, 175-176 ; Oldenberg, Buddha (1st edition), p. 413.

Note 2. Árvantam vāgam, a horse, his strength. See Bergaigne, Rel. Véd. II, 405 ; Pischel, Ved. Stud. p. 46.

Note 3. Could srushámat here mean obedient ?

MANDALA V, HYMN 55.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 8, VARGA 17-18.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. The chasing¹ Maruts with gleaming spears, the golden-breasted, have gained great strength, they move along on quick well-broken horses;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

2. You have yourselves, you know, acquired power; you shine bright and wide, you great ones. They have even measured the sky with their strength;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

3. The strong heroes, born together, and nourished together, have further grown to real beauty. They shine brilliantly like the rays of the sun;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

4. Your greatness, O Maruts, is to be honoured, it is to be yearned for like the sight of the sun. Place us also in immortality;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

5. O Maruts, you raise¹ the rain from the sea, and rain it down, O yeomen²! Your milch-cows, O destroyers³, are never destroyed;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

6. When you have joined the deer as horses¹ to the shafts, and have clothed yourselves in golden garments, then, O Maruts, you scatter all enemies;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

7. Not mountains, not rivers have kept you back, wherever you see, O Maruts, there you go. You

go even round heaven and earth ;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

8. Be it old, O Maruts, or be it new, be it spoken, O Vasus, or be it recited, you take cognisance of it all ;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

9. Have mercy on us, O Maruts, do not strike us, extend to us your manifold protection. Do remember the praise, the friendship ;—when they went in triumph, the chariots followed.

10. Lead us, O Maruts, towards greater wealth, and out of tribulations, when you have been praised. O worshipful Maruts, accept our offering, and let us be lords of treasures !

NOTES.

The same poet, Syâvârva Âtreya. Metre, 1-9 *Gagati*; 10 *Trishubh*. None of the verses occurs in SV., VS., AV. Verse 5 is found in TS. II, 4, 8, 2; MS. II, 4, 7. The refrain probably means that when the Maruts march in triumph, the chariots of their army, or the chariots of other gods, follow. The latter view is taken by Sâyana, TS. II, 4, 8, 2.

Verse 1.

Note 1. *Práyagyu*, generally explained by rushing forward, but in that sense hardly to be derived from *yag*, to sacrifice, may stand for an old Vedic form *prayakshyu*, changed into *prayagyu* by priests who had forgotten the root *yaksh*, and thought of nothing but sacrifices. This root *yaksh* has been identified by Grassmann with OHG. *jagôn* (venari, persequi), originally to rush after, to hunt, to try to injure or kill (cf. *mṛiganyávaḥ*, X, 40, 4). This would explain most derivations from *yaksh*, not excepting the later *Yakshas*, and would yield an excellent sense for *prayakshyu*, as an epithet of the Maruts. See note to VII, 56, 16. Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. 98, is satisfied with deriving *prayagyu* and *prishthaprayag* from the root *yag*, to sacrifice, and translates it by sacrificing, but in the sense of causing sacrifices to be offered.

Verse 5.

Note 1. The verb *irayatha* is transitive; see Gaedicke, *Accusativ*, p. 54, and compare AV. IV, 27, 4. *apáh samudrád dívam úd vahanti*.

Note 2. I have translated *purishinaḥ* by yeomen, in the sense of cultivators of the land. I have followed Roth, who shows that *purisha* means soil, and that *purishin* is used for an occupier of the soil, a landlord. See K. Z. XXVI, p. 65.

Note 3. *Dasra*, powerful, a common epithet of the *Asvins*, seems here, when joined with *dasyanti*, to retain something

of its etymological meaning, which comes out clearly in *dâs*, to attack, unless it is derived from *dams*.

Verse 6.

Note 1. I prefer to translate here 'the deer as horses,' not 'the speckled horses.' See, however, II, 34, 4, and Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* p. 226.

MANDALA V, HYMN 56.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 19-20.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. O Agni, on to the strong host (of the Maruts), bedecked with golden chains and ornaments¹. To-day I call the folk of the Maruts down from the light of heaven.

2. As thou (Agni) thinkest in thine heart, to the same object my wishes have gone. Strengthen thou these Maruts, terrible to behold, who have come nearest to thy invocations.

3. Like a bountiful lady¹, the earth comes towards us, staggering, yet rejoicing; for your onslaught, O Maruts, is vigorous, like a bear, and fearful, like a wild bull.

4. They who by their strength disperse wildly¹ like bulls, impatient of the yoke, they by their marches make the heavenly stone, the rocky mountain (cloud)² to shake.

5. Arise, for now I call with my hymns¹ the troop of these Maruts, grown strong together, the manifold, the incomparable, as if calling a drove of bulls.

6. Harness the red mares to the chariot, harness the ruddy horses to the chariots, harness the two bays, ready to drive in the yoke, most vehement to drive in the yoke.

7. And this red stallion too, loudly neighing, has been placed here, beautiful to behold; may it not cause you delay on your marches, O Maruts; spur him forth on your chariots.

8. We call towards us the glorious chariot of the Maruts, whereon there stands also Rodasi¹, carrying delightful gifts, among the Maruts.

9. I call hither this your host, brilliant on chariots, terrible and glorious; among which she, the well-born and fortunate, the bounteous lady, is also magnified among the Maruts.

NOTES.

The same poet and deity, though Agni is invoked in the first, possibly in the second verse also. Metre, 1, 2, 4-6, 8, 9 *Bṛihatī*; 3, 7 *Satobṛihatī*. None of the verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., MS.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Here again some interpreters of the Veda take *añgi* in the sense of paint, war-paint. It may be so, but the more general meaning of colours or ornament seems, as yet, safer.

Verse 3.

Note 1. The earth is frequently represented as trembling under the fury of the Maruts. Here she is first called *mīlūśmatī*, a curious compound which, in our verse, may possibly have a more special meaning. As the earth is not only struck down by the storm, but at the same time covered with water and fertilised, she is represented as struck down and staggering, but likewise as rejoicing, possibly, as drunk.

Verse 4.

Note 1. *Vṛthā* means pell-mell, confusedly, wildly; see also Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* p. 115.

Note 2. *Āsmā svaryāḥ* seems to mean the thunderbolt like *vāgraḥ svaryāḥ* in I, 32, 2; 61, 6. See also V, 30, 8. In that case we should have to translate, 'they let the heavenly bolt fall down on the rocky mountain.' But *kyāvayati* is never used for the hurling of the thunderbolt, nor is it construed with two accusatives. It always means to shake what is firm, and we have therefore to translate, 'they shake the heavenly stone (the sky), the rocky mountain (the cloud).' *Parvata* and *giri* often occur together, as in I, 37, 7; VIII, 64, 5.

Verse 5.

Note 1. *Stómaiḥ* may possibly refer to *sámukshitânām*.

Verse 8.

Note 1. On *Rodasī*, see before, I, 167, 3.

MANDALA V, HYMN 57.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 21-22.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. O Rudras, joined by Indra, friends on golden chariots, come hither for our welfare! This prayer from us is acceptable to you like the springs of heaven to a thirsty soul longing for water.

2. O you sons of *Prisni*, you are armed with daggers and spears, you are wise, carrying good bows and arrows and quivers, possessed of good horses and chariots. With your good weapons, O Maruts, you go to triumph!

3. You shake¹ the sky and the mountains (clouds) for wealth to the liberal giver; the forests bend down out of your way from fear². O sons of *Prisni*, you rouse the earth when you, O terrible ones, have harnessed the spotted deer for triumph!

4. The Maruts, blazing with the wind, clothed in rain, are as like one another as twins, and well adorned. They have tawny horses, and red horses, they are faultless, endowed with exceeding vigour; they are in greatness wide as the heaven.

5. Rich in rain-drops, well adorned, bounteous, terrible to behold, of inexhaustible wealth, noble by birth, golden-breasted, these singers of the sky¹ have obtained their immortal name².

6. Spears are on your two shoulders, in your arms are placed strength, power, and might. Manly thoughts dwell in your heads, on your chariots are weapons, and every beauty has been laid on your bodies.

7. O Maruts, you have given us wealth of cows, horses, chariots, and heroes, golden wealth! O men of Rudra, bestow on us great praise, and may I enjoy your divine protection!

8. Hark, O heroes, O Maruts! Be gracious to us! You who are of great bounty, immortal, righteous, truly listening to us, poets, young, dwelling on mighty mountains¹, and grown mighty.

NOTES.

The same poet and deity. Metre, 1-6 Gagatī; 7, 8 Trishūbh. None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS.; verse 6 in MS. IV, 11, 4.

Verse 3.

Note 1. Dhû is construed with two accusatives, see RV. III, 45, 4; otherwise vâsu might be connected with dârúshe. The third pāda is almost literally repeated soon after, V, 60, 2; see note 1 to I, 37, 7.

Note 2. Yámanah bhiyá may be from fear of your approach.

Verse 5.

Note 1. In diváh arkáh even Bergaigne allows that arká may mean singer, not song.

Note 2. Náma, name, is here as elsewhere what is meant by the name, therefore immortal being or immortality.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Bríhadgirayah cannot well mean with a powerful voice. The Maruts are called girishṭha, VIII, 94, 12, dwelling on mountains, and like bríhaddiva, bríhadgiri seems to have been intended for dwelling on high mountains.

MANDALA V, HYMN 58.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 8, VARGA 28.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. I praise¹ now the powerful company of these ever-young Maruts, who drive violently along with quick horses; aye, the sovereigns are lords of *Amṛita* (the immortal).

2. The terrible company, the powerful, adorned with quoits on their hands, given to roaring, potent, dispensing treasures, they who are beneficent, infinite in greatness, praise, O poet, these men of great wealth!

3. May your water-carriers come here to-day, all the Maruts who stir up the rain. That fire which has been lighted for you, O Maruts, accept it, O young singers!

4. O worshipful Maruts, you create for man an active king, fashioned by Vibhvan¹; from you comes the man who can fight with his fist, and is quick with his arm, from you the man with good horses and valiant heroes.

5. Like the spokes of a wheel, no one is last, like the days they are born on and on, not deficient in might. The very high sons of *Prisni* are full of fury, the Maruts cling firmly to their own will¹.

6. When you have come forth with your speckled deer as horses¹ on strong-fellied chariots, O Maruts, the waters gush, the forests go asunder²;—let *Dyu*³ (Sky) roar down, the bull of the Dawn.

7. At their approach, even the earth opened wide,

and they placed (sowed) their own¹ strength (the rain), as a husband the germ. Indeed they have harnessed the winds as horses to the yoke, and the men of Rudra have changed their sweat into rain.

8. Hark, O heroes, O Maruts! Be gracious to us! You who are of great bounty, immortal, righteous, truly listening to us, poets, young, dwelling on mighty mountains, and grown mighty.

NOTES.

The same poet and deity. Metre, Trishubh. None of the verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS. Verses 3 and 5 are found in TB. II, 5, 5, 3; II, 8, 5, 7; MS. IV, 11, 2; IV, 4, 18.

Verse 1.

Note 1. On *stushé*, see M. M., Selected Essays, I, p. 162; Wilhelm, De infinitivi forma et usu, p. 10; Bartholomae, in Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XV, p. 219. I take *stushé* as 1 pers. sing. Aor. Átm. (not, as Avery, of the Present) in many places where it has been taken as an infinitive. For instance, II, 31, 5; VI, 49, 1; 51, 3 (with *voke*); 62, 1 (with *huve*); VIII, 5, 4; 7, 32; 74, 1; 84, 1 (here the second *páda* must begin with *stushé*). It may be an indicative or a subjunctive. As to *stushe*, without an accent, its character cannot be doubtful; see I, 122, 8; 159, 1; V, 33, 6; VI, 21, 2; 48, 14; VIII, 21, 9; 23, 2; 23, 7 (*grine*). In II, 20, 4, *tám u stushe índram tám griníshe*, *griníshe* is an aorist with *vikarana*, like *punishé*, I praise that Indra, I laud him. In I, 46, 1, *stushé* may be the infinitive, but not necessarily. It is an infinitive in I, 122, 7. *stushé sâ vâm varuna mitra rátih*, your gift, Varuna and Mitra, is to be praised. Likewise in VIII, 4, 17 (see BR. s. v. *sâman*); 24, 1; 63, 3, though in several of these passages it must remain doubtful whether *stushé* should be taken as an absolute infinitive, or as a finite verb. In VIII, 65, 5, *indra griníshe u stushé*, means, 'Indra, I laud and praise,' as in II, 20, 4.

Verse 4.

Note 1. *Vibhva-tashá* is generally explained as made by a master, or by *Vibhvan*, one of the *Rîbhush*. This may be so, though it seems a bold expression (see Bergaigne, II, 410-411). But may it not be a mere synonym of *sutashá*, and intended for *vibhvane tashá*? see Selected Essays, I, p. 143.

Verse 5.

Note 1. See Taitt. Br. II, 8, 5, 7. As to *mimikshuḥ*, see note to I, 165, 1.

Verse 6.

Note 1. On *prīshatībhiḥ āsvaiḥ*, see II, 34, 4; V, 55, 6. Bergaigne's note (II, p. 378) does not settle the question whether the horses of the Maruts were speckled, or whether they had speckled deer for their horses.

Note 2. On *rizaté vānāni*, see V, 57, 3.

Note 3. Dyaus, the father of the Maruts, the oldest and highest god of heaven, the strong bull, or, it may be, the man of the dawn. See v. Bradke, Dyaus Asura, p. 63; Bergaigne, I, p. 316.

Verse 7.

Note 1. Roth conjectures *svām* for *svām*, taking it as a locative of *sū*, genetrix. This is not without difficulties, nor is it necessary. That we find in the Rig-veda no other locative in *ām* after monosyllabic stems in *ū* is perhaps no serious objection. But the text as it stands can be translated, 'as a husband the germ, they have placed (sown) their own strength.' *Sāvas* is the same as *vrīshnyam* and *vrīshni sāvaḥ* in VIII, 3, 8; 10. *Dhuḥ* is used like *dhā* in *retodhā*.

MANDALA V, HYMN 59.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 24.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. They truly¹ tried to make you grant them welfare. Do thou sing² praises to Heaven (Dyu), I offer sacrifice (*rita*) to the Earth. The Maruts wash their horses and race to the air, they soften their splendour by waving mists.

2. The earth trembles with fear from their onset. She sways like a full ship, that goes rolling¹. The heroes who appear on their marches, visible from afar, strive together within the great (sacrificial) assembly².

3. Your horn is exalted for glory¹, as the horns of cows; your eye is like the sun², when the mist is scattered. Like strong racers, you are beautiful, O heroes, you think of glory, like manly youths³.

4. Who could reach, O Maruts, the great wise thoughts, who the great manly deeds of you, great ones? You shake the earth like a speck of dust, when you are carried forth for granting welfare.

5. These kinsmen¹ (the Maruts) are like red horses, like heroes eager for battle, and they have rushed forward to fight. They are like well-grown manly youths, and the men have grown strong, with streams of rain they dim the eye of the sun.

6. At their outbreak there is none among them who is the eldest, or the youngest, or the middle: they have grown by their own might, these sons of *Prisni*, noble by birth, the boys of Dyaus; come hither to us!

7. Those who like birds flew with strength in rows¹ from the ridge of the mighty heaven to its ends, their horses shook the springs² of the mountain (cloud) so that people on both sides³ knew it.

8. May¹ Dyaus Aditi (the unbounded)² roar for our feast, may the dew-lighted Dawns come striving together; these, the Maruts, O poet, (the sons) of Rudra, have shaken the heavenly bucket (cloud), when they had been praised.

NOTES.

The same poet and deity. Metre, 1-7 Gagati; 8 Tri-shūbh. None of the verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TB., TS., MS.

Verse 1.

Note 1. If we accept the text as it stands, we have to translate, 'The spy called out to you to grant welfare.' The spy is then either Agni (Bergaigne, II, p. 378) or the priest. See also VIII, 61, 15; X, 35, 8. But there are many objections to this. Pra-krand is not used in that sense, and we should expect pra krānt suvitāya. Pra-kar, when it is construed with a dative, means generally to prepare some one for something, to cause some one to do a thing. Thus, I, 186, 10. *pró asvínau ávase krínudhvam*, get the Asvins to protect. VI, 21, 9. *prá útāye várunam mitráṁ índram marútaḥ kríshva ávase naḥ adyá*, make Varuna, Mitra, and Indra to protect, make the Maruts to protect us to-day. X, 64, 7. *prá vaḥ váyúm—stómaiḥ krínudhvam sakhyāya pūshānam*, make Vāyu by your praises to be your friend. I, 112, 8. *prá andhām sronām kákshase étave krítháḥ*, whereby you make the blind and lame to see and to walk. The poet therefore seems to have said in our verse also, 'They (my men or priests) made you or wished you to give them welfare.' What *spaṭ* can mean in such a sentence, is difficult to say. Till we know better, we must simply accept it as a particle of asseveration, like *baṭ*.

Note 2. *Árkā* may also be the first person.

Verse 2.

Note 1. With regard to *vyáthir yatí*, cf. I, 117, 15. *samudráṁ avyathír gaganván*, and VIII, 45, 19. *vyáthir gaganvámsaḥ*; Bergaigne, Journ. As. 1884, p. 490.

Note 2. *Mahé vidátḥ* must be taken as a locative sing. It occurs again X, 96, 1. We have similar forms in *mahé ráne*, IX, 66, 13, &c. The locative is governed by *antáḥ*,

as in II, 27, 8. *vidáthe antáh eshám*. The etymology and the meaning of *vidatha* have been often discussed, for the last time by M. Regnaud, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1890. Prof. Roth, as M. Regnaud states, explains it by *conseil, avis, réunion où l'on délibère, assemblée, troupe, armée*. Grassmann takes it generally for *réunion, rencontre, combat*. Geldner derives it from *vid*, in the sense of *art, science*. Ludwig derives it likewise from *vid*, but in the sense of *Bekanntschaft*, then *Gesellschaft*, and lastly as synonymous with *yagña*, *sacrifice, assemblage*. M. Regnaud differs from all his predecessors, and derives *vidatha* from *vidh*, to *sacrifice*. He maintains that **vidhatha* would become *vidatha*, like *adhak* from *dah* or *dhagh*, and *phaliga* for *parigha*. I know nothing about the etymology of *phaliga*, but if it stands for *parigha*, the second aspirate has lost its aspiration and thrown it on the initial. In *adhak*, the final has lost its aspiration, and thus allowed its appearance in the initial. But in *vidatha*, if it stood for *vidhatha*, there would be no phonetic excuse whatever for changing *dh* into *d*, at least in Sanskrit. It is possible that in Sanskrit such a form as *vidhatha* might have been avoided, but there is no phonetic law to prevent the formation of such a word as *vidhatha*, like *ukátha*, *yagátha*, &c. We say *vidhatha* in the 2 pers. plur., as we say *bodhatha*. No Sanskrit grammarian could derive *vidatha* from *vidh*. If therefore *vidatha* signifies *sacrifice*, this is not because it is derived from *vidh*, to *sacrifice*. *Vidatha* may have been the name of a sacred act, as *veda* is of sacred knowledge. But the fact remains that it is best translated by *assembly*, particularly an *assembly for sacrificial purposes*.

Verse 3.

Note 1. On *sriyáse*, see I, 87, 6.

Note 2. I see no necessity for changing *sûrya* into *sûra*, see Bergaigne, *Mélanges Renier*, p. 94. He would translate, 'they are like the eye of the sun.'

Note 3. *Máryâ* may be bridegrooms, as in V, 60, 4

(*varāh iva*), but there is nothing to indicate that meaning here. The difficulty is to find a word to express *sriyāse*. It means to shine, but at the same time to excel. Possibly it may have even a more definite meaning, such as to shine in battle, or to triumph.

Verse 5.

Note 1. As to *sabandhu*, see VIII, 20, 21.

Verse 7.

Note 1. On *srénih*, see Gaedicke, p. 164; Bergaigne, *Mél. Renier*, p. 94.

Note 2. The meaning of *nabhanú*, spring, is doubtful.

Note 3. *Ubháye* refers to many on both sides, and cannot be taken for *ubhe*, heaven and earth. It may mean all, particularly when there are two sides only, as in a battle.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Ludwig seems to have seen the true meaning of this verse, namely that, though *Dyaus* may roar for the feast, and though the Dawns may strive to come near, the *Maruts* alone deserve the sacrifice, because they opened the chest of rain.

Note 2. On *Dyaus Aditi*, see note to I, 166, 12, p. 261, where the translation has to be corrected.

MANDALA V, HYMN 60.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 25.

TO AGNI AND THE MARUTS.

1. I implore¹ Agni, the gracious, with salutations, may he sit down here, and gather what we have made². I offer³ (him sacrifice) as with racing chariots; may I, turning to the right, accomplish this hymn to the Maruts.

2. Those who approached on their glorious deer, on their easy chariots, the Rudras, the Maruts,—through fear of you, ye terrible ones, the forests even bend down, the earth shakes, and also the mountain (cloud).

3. At your shouting, even the mountain (cloud), grown large, fears, and the ridge of heaven trembles. When you play together, O Maruts, armed with spears, you run together like waters.

4. Like rich suitors the Maruts have themselves¹ adorned their bodies with golden ornaments; more glorious for glory², and powerful on their chariots, they have brought together splendours on their bodies.

5. As brothers, no one being the eldest or the youngest, they have grown up together to happiness. Young is their clever father Rudra, flowing with plenty is *Prīṣni* (their mother), always kind to the Maruts.

6. O happy Maruts, whether you are in the highest, or in the middle, or in the lowest heaven, from thence, O Rudras, or thou also, O Agni, take notice of this libation which we offer.

7. When Agni, and you, wealthy Maruts, drive down from the higher heaven over the ridges, give then, if pleased, you roarers, O destroyers of enemies¹, wealth to the sacrificer who prepares (Soma-juice).

8. Agni, be pleased to drink Soma with the brilliant Maruts, the singers, approaching in companies¹, with the men (Āyus²), who brighten and enliven everything; do this, O Vaisvânara (Agni), thou who art always endowed with splendour.

NOTES.

This hymn, by the same poet, is supposed to be addressed either to the Maruts alone, or to the Maruts and Agni. The same might have been said of hymn 56 and others which are used for the Âgnimâruta Sastra. See Bergaigne, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie védique*, p. 38. Metre, 1-6 Trishubh ; 7, 8 Gagatî. No verse of this hymn occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB., except verse 1 in AV. VII, 50, 3 ; TB. II, 7, 12, 4 ; MS. IV, 14, 11 ; verse 3 in TS. III, 1, 11, 5 ; MS. IV, 12, 5 ; verse 6 in TB. II, 7, 12, 4.

Verse 1.

The AV. reads svâvasum, prasaktó, pradakshinám, all of them inferior readings. The TB. agrees with RV., except that it seems to read prasapták (prakarshena samâgatah).

Note 1. That *îd* or *îd* has originally the meaning of imploring, asking, begging, we see from such passages as RV. III, 48, 3. upasthâya mâtâram ánnam aîta, 'he, having approached his mother, asked for food,' unless we prefer to construe *îd* with two accusatives, 'he, having approached, asked his mother for food.' The same verb is also construed with the accusative of the god implored, the dative of the object, and the instrumental of the means by which he is implored. See RV. VIII, 71, 14. agním îishva ávase gáthâbhih, implore Agni with songs for his protection. Whether the root *îd* is distantly connected with either *ish*, to desire (Brugmann, I, 591), or with *ard*, to stir, or with *ar*, to go, is a question which admits of many, or of no answer.

Note 2. *Viki* *krítam* seems to have the settled meaning of gathering in what one has made at play, or in battle ; see X, 42, 9 ; 43, 5 ; IX, 97, 58 ; X, 102, 2. The same meaning is applicable here, though we may also translate, 'Take notice of our *kríta* or our karma, i. e. the sacrifice.' A similar thought is expressed in verse 6. Sâyaṇa explains *vigânâtu* and *vikinuyât*.

Note 3. Perhaps *prá bhare* means, 'I am carried forth,' as in V, 59, 4, where it is applied to the Maruts.

Verse 4.

Note 1. See note 2 to I, 6, 4. Instead of *svadhābhiḥ* we have *svayām* in VII, 56, 11.

Note 2. *Sriyé sréyāmsaḥ* is difficult to translate ; cf. II, 33, 3. *sréshthaḥ sriyá asi*. Ludwig translates, zu herlichkeit die herlichen.

Verse 7.

Note 1. On *risâdas*, see Aufrecht, Bezenb. Beitr. XIV, p. 32.

Verse 8.

Note 1. On *ganasrî*, see BR. s. v. ; Lanman, 372 ; Benfey, *Vedica und Verwandtes*, p. 108 ; Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, 53 seq. Ludwig translates *scharenherlich*, but what does that mean ? 'Shining in their companies' is a possible meaning, but the analogy of *abhisrî* and *adhvarasrî* points in another direction.

Note 2. On the *Âyus* as a proper name, see Bergaigne, *Rel. Véd.* I, 62 ; II, 323.

MANDALA V, HYMN 61.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 26-29.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Who are you, O men, the very best, who have approached one by one, from the furthest distance¹?

2. Where are your horses, where the bridles? How could you, how did you come?—the seat on the back, the rein in the nostrils?

3. Their goad is on the croup¹, the heroes stretched their legs apart². . .

4. Move along, heroes, young men, the sons of an excellent mother¹, so that you may warm yourselves at our fire².

5. (1.) May the woman, if she stretched out her arm¹ as a rest for the hero, praised by Syâvâsva², gain cattle consisting of horses, cows, and a hundred sheep.

6. (2.) Many a woman is even more often kindlier than a godless and miserly man,

7. (3.) A woman who finds out the weak, the thirsty, the needy, and is mindful of the gods.

8. (4.) Even though many an unpraiseworthy miser (Pani) is called a man, she is worth as much in weregild.

9. (5.) Also the young woman joyfully whispered to me, to Syâva, the road,—and the two bays went straight to Purumî//a¹, the wise, the far-famed,

10. (6.) Who gave me a hundred cows, like Vaidadasvi, like Taranta, in magnificence.

11. (1.) The Maruts, who drive on their quick horses, drinking the delightful mead, have gained glory here;

12. (2.) They on whose chariots Rodas¹ glitters in glory², like the golden disk above in heaven ;

13. (3.) That youthful company of the Maruts, with blazing chariots, blameless, triumphant, irresistible.

14. (4.) Who now knows of them where the strikers rejoice, the well-born, the faultless ?

15. (5.) You who are fond of praise, become the leaders of the mortal, listening to his imploring invocations, thus is my thought¹.

16. (6.) Bring then to us delightful and resplendent¹ treasures, ye worshipful Maruts, destroyers of enemies.

17. (1.) O night, like a charioteer, carry away this hymn to Dârbhya, and these songs, O goddess.

18. (2.) And then tell him thus from me, 'When Rathavîti offers Soma, my desire never goes away from me.'

19. (3.) That mighty Rathavîti dwells among people rich in cattle¹, retired among the mountains.

NOTES.

This hymn is of a very composite nature. It is addressed to the Maruts by Syâvâsya. According to the Anukramanî, however, the Maruts are addressed in vv. 1-4, 11-16 only; vv. 5-8 are addressed to Sasîyasî Tarantamahishî, 9 to Purumîlha Vaidadarvi, 10 to Taranta Vaidadarvi, 17-19 to Rathavîti Dârbhya. None of the verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB., MS. Metre, 1-4, 6-8, 10-19 Gâyatri; 5 Anushûbh; 9 Satobṛihatî.

It has been pointed out that in the hymns addressed to the Maruts beginning with V, 52, and ending with V, 60, there is the usual decrease in the number of verses of each successive hymn, viz. 17, 16, 15, 10, 9, 8, 8, 8, 8. Our hymn, however, which is the last in the collection of hymns addressed by Syâvâsya to the Maruts, breaks the rule, and it has been suggested with great plausibility that it contains a number of verses thrown together at random. Possibly the four verses in the beginning formed an independent hymn, addressed to the Maruts, and again 5-10, and 11-16, followed by an appendix, 17-19. These verses refer to a legend which will have to be discussed at verse 5.

Verse 1.

Note 1. As to paramâsyâḥ parâvâtaḥ, see TS. IV, 1, 9, 3, where we also find (IV, 1, 9, 2) pârasya âdhi samvâtaḥ.

Verse 3.

Note 1. Gaghâne, like gaghanataḥ, may mean simply behind, as agre and agrataḥ mean before.

Note 2. It is clear that the Maruts are here supposed to sit astride on their horses. This is also shown by prishthé sâdas (v. 2), and by putrakṛithé ná gânayah, they stretched out their legs, ὡς γυναῖκες ἐν τεκνοποιίᾳ. Zimmer (p. 230) says, 'Zum Reiten wurde das Ross nicht benutzt.' On p. 295 he modifies this by saying, 'Keine einzige klare Stelle des Rigveda ist mir bekannt, wo das Reiten beim Kampfe erwähnt würde; man fährt immer zu Wagen, wie die Griechen in homerischen Zeiten.'

Verse 4.

Note 1. Bhádragānaya^h, generally rendered by 'possessed of beautiful wives,' seems really to mean 'possessed of an excellent mother.' Gāni clearly means mother, when Agni dvimâtâ, having two mothers, is called dvigāni^h; for it is never said that he has two wives. Besides, the Maruts are constantly addressed as the sons of their mother, *Prisni*, while their wives are mentioned but rarely. However, the other meaning is not impossible. See also Bergaigne, II, 387 seq.

Note 2. The fire here intended is, I suppose, the sacrificial fire, to which the Maruts are here invited as they had been in former hymns.

Verse 5.

Note 1. Ludwig compares the A. S. expression *healsgebedde*; see also RV. X, 10, 10.

Note 2. I have very little belief in the legends which are told in the *Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Anukramanī* in illustration of certain apparently personal and historical allusions in the hymns of the Veda. It is clear in many cases that they are made up from indications contained in the hymns, as in IX, 58, 3, and it seems best therefore to forget them altogether in interpreting the words of the Vedic hymns.

The story told in the introductory verses, quoted by Sāyana, is this:—'Arkanānas Ātreya was chosen by Rathavīti Dārbhya to be his *Ritvig* priest. At the sacrifice Arkanānas saw the daughter of Rathavīti and asked her in marriage for his son Syāvāsva. Rathavīti consulted his wife, but she declined on the ground that no daughter of theirs had ever been given to a man who was not a poet (*Rishi*). Thereupon Syāvāsva performed penance, and travelled about collecting alms. He thus came to Sasiyaśi, who recommended him, as a *Rishi*, to her husband, king Taranta. King Taranta was very generous to him, and sent him on to his younger brother, Purumīlla. On his way to Purumīlla, Syāvāsva saw the Maruts, and composed a hymn in their praise (vv. 11–16). He had thus become a real poet or *Rishi*, and on returning home, he received from Rathavīti his daughter in marriage.'

Saunaka confirms the same story, see Sâyana's commentary to V, 61, 17. Here therefore we have to deal with two princely brothers, both Vaidadarvis, namely Taranta and Purumîḥa. They both give presents to Syâvârva, who is a Brâhmana, and he marries the daughter of another prince, Rathavîti Dârbhya.

In the Tândya-Brâhmana, however, XIII, 7, 12, another story is told, which I quoted in my edition of the Rig-veda at IX, 58, 3 (vol. v, p. xxxiii). Here Dhvasra and Purushanti are introduced as wishing to give presents to the two Vaidadarvis, Taranta and Purumîḥa. These hesitate for a while, because they have no right to accept a present without deserving it or having done something for it. They then compose a hymn in praise of Dhvasra and Purushanti, and after that feel justified in accepting their present.

Here therefore the Vaidadarvis are receivers, not givers of presents, therefore of princely, not, as has been supposed, of priestly rank, and this would agree better with the words of verse 9, purumîḥâya víprâya. See on all this Oldenberg in Z. D. M. G. XLII, p. 232.

If we accept this story, we have to take sâsîyasî in verse 6 as a proper name.

But sâsîyasî may be a comparative of sas-vat (see B.-R. s.v.), and would then mean, more frequent. We expect, no doubt, an adverb rather like sasvat, but a feminine corresponding to vâsyasî is perhaps admissible. In that case we should have simply to deal with some woman, tvâ strî, who, as the poet says, is as good as, if not better than, many a man.

Verse 8.

This verse is very obscure. Sâyana translates: 'And the other half (the husband of Sasîyasî, viz. Taranta) is a man not praised (enough), thus I, the poet, say: and that Taranta is equal or just in the giving of wealth.' Grassmann translates: 'Und dagegen ist mancher nicht lobenswerth geizig, der ein Mann sich nennt, ein solcher ist der Strafe verfallen.' Ludwig: 'Auch mancher halbmensch,

ungepriesen, der "mensch" zwar heisst, doch ein *Pani* ist, der ist auf böse gabe nur bedacht.'

The first light that was thrown on this verse came from Prof. Roth. He showed (Z. D. M. G. XLI, p. 673) that *vairadeya* means *weregild*, the German *wergelt*, the price to be given for a man killed. *Vaira* would here be derived from *vira*, man, the Goth. *waír*, the Latin *vir*, and *vairadeya* would mean what is to be given as the value of a man. Still I doubt whether Prof. Roth has discovered the true meaning of the verse. He translates: 'So ist auch mancher Mann nicht zu loben, mehr ein *Pani* (unfromm, gegen die Götter karg, zugleich Bezeichnung habstüchtiger Dämonen), obschon man ihn einen Menschen nennt—nur am Wergeld steht er den andern gleich.' I confess I do not see much point in this. It is quite clear that the poet praises a charitable woman, and wishes to say that she is sometimes better than a man, if he gives nothing. Now the *weregild*, if we may say so, for women was generally, though not always, less than that for men, and I therefore propose to read *sá vaíradeye ít samá*, and translate: 'Even though many an unpraiseworthy miser (*Pani*) is called man, she is like him in *weregild*, i.e. she is worth as much, even though she is a woman.' On *uta*, see Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, V, p. 528.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Purumi/ha* is here clearly the man from whom benefits are expected, and therefore could not be the same as *Purumi/ha Vaidadarvi*, mentioned by the commentator, who accepted gifts from *Dhvasra* and *Purushanti*. Nor can *Taranta Vaidadarvi* in the next verse be taken for a recipient, but only for a giver, and therefore, most likely, a prince. The whole story, however, is by no means clear, and I doubt whether the commentator drew his information from any source except his own brain.

Verse 11.

I agree with Ludwig that a new hymn begins with verse 11.

Verse 12.

Note 1. I have adopted the reading Rodasī vibhrāgate in my translation; cf. VI, 66, 6, where Rodasī is compared with a rōkaḥ.

Note 2. Roth (K. Z. XXVI, 51) takes sriyādhi as sriyās adhi, but such a sandhi has not yet been established in the hymns of the Rig-veda, see Oldenberg, Proleg. p. 459, Anm. 1. Oldenberg himself suggests sriyó-dhi, and would translate, 'They whose charms shine over the two worlds on their chariots.' Pischel (Ved. Stud. p. 54) translates yéshām sriyā by 'for whose sake.'

Verse 15.

Note 1. On itthā dhiyā, see Pischel, Ved. Stud. p. 184.

Verse 16.

Note 1. The Pada ought to have puru-kandrá, as suggested by Grassmann and Ludwig.

Verses 17-19.

These verses are very peculiar, and may refer to historical events, for Dālbhya or Dārbhya and Rathavīti sound like real names. Of course the Indian commentators are never at a loss to tell us what it all refers to, but we can never say how little they knew, and how much they invented. The invocation of Ūrmyā, if it is meant for the Night, and the request that she may convey the hymn to Dārbhya, is different from the usual style of the hymns. See, however, VIII, 24, 28, and Oldenberg, Z. D. M. G. XXXIX, 89.

The following names, occurring in our hymn, have the sanction of the Anukramanī: Sasīyasi Tarantamahishī (V, 61, 5; 8), Purumīḥa Vaidadarvi (V, 61, 9), Taranta Vaidadarvi (V, 61, 10), Rathavīti Dālbhya (V, 61, 17-19). There is another Purumīḥa, a Sauhotra, in IV, 43, and a Purumīḥa Āngirasa in VIII, 71.

Verse 19.

Note 1. See Oldenberg, Z. D. M. G. XXXIX, 89. He corrects gómatīḥ to gómatīm, the name of a river, mentioned in a very similar way in VIII, 24, 30.

MANDALA V, HYMN 87.

ASHTAKA IV, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 33-34.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Let your voice-born¹ prayers go forth to the great Vishṇu, accompanied by the Maruts, Evayāmarut, and to the chasing host, adorned with good rings, the strong, in their jubilant throng, to the shouting power (of the Maruts).

2. O Maruts, you who are born great, and proclaim it yourselves by knowledge, Evayāmarut, that power of yours cannot be approached by wisdom, that (power) of theirs (cannot be approached) by gift or might¹; they are like unapproachable mountains.

3. They who are heard with their voice from the high heaven, the brilliant and strong, Evayāmarut, in whose council no tyrant¹ reigns, the rushing chariots² of these roaring Maruts come forth³, like fires with their own lightning.

4. The wide-striding (Vishṇu)¹ strode forth from the great common seat, Evayāmarut. When he has started by himself from his own place along the ridges, O ye striving, mighty² Maruts, he goes together with the heroes (the Maruts), conferring blessings.

5. Impetuous, like your own shout, the strong one (Vishṇu) made everything tremble, the terrible, the wanderer¹, the mighty, Evayāmarut; strong with him you advanced self-luminous, with firm reins, golden coloured, well-armed², speeding along.

6. Your greatness is infinite, ye Maruts, endowed

with full power, may that terrible power help, Evayâmarut. In your raid¹ you are indeed to be seen as charioteers ; deliver us therefore from the enemy, like shining fires.

7. May then these Rudras, lively like fires and with vigorous shine, help, Evayâmarut. The seat of the earth is stretched out far and wide¹, when the hosts of these faultless Maruts come quickly to the races.

8. Come kindly on your path, O Maruts, listen to the call of him who praises you, Evayâmarut. Confidants of the great Vishṇu, may you together, like charioteers, keep all hateful things far¹, by your wonderful skill.

9. Come zealously¹ to our sacrifice, ye worshipful, hear our guileless call, Evayâmarut. Like the oldest mountains in the sky, O wise guardians, prove yourselves for him irresistible to the enemy.

NOTES.

This hymn is evidently a later addition at the end of the fifth *Mandala*. It is addressed to the Maruts, and is ascribed to Evayāmarut Ātreya. None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB., MS., except the first, which is found in SV. I, 462. Metre, Atigagati.

The name of the poet is due to the refrain Evayāmarut which occurs in every verse, and sometimes as an integral portion of the verse. Evayāmarut is a sacrificial shout, much like *Evoî* in Greek, *Evoe* in Latin, though I do not mean to say that the two are identical. Evayāh, as I explained in note to I, 168, 1, is an epithet of Vishṇu, as well as of the Maruts, meaning quickly moving. Evayāmarut, therefore, may mean the 'quick Marut.' This is strange, no doubt, because in the Rig-veda the Maruts always occur in the plural, except in some doubtful passages. Still Evayāmarut, the quick Marut, might be a name of Vishṇu. It cannot be taken as a Dvandva, Vishṇu and the Maruts.

This hymn was translated by Benfey in his glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39. Benfey takes evayā as identical with *εὐοῖ*, and explains it as an adverbial instrumental, like *ἄσυνά*, in the sense of *stürmisch*. But this would leave evayāvan unexplained.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Giri-gāh may mean 'produced on the mountains,' but it may also mean 'produced in the throat or voice,' and it is so explained elsewhere, for instance in SV. I, 462 (Bibl. Ind., vol. i, p. 922). girau vāki nishpannāh; [also by another commentator, hridaye gâtā, yagñagâtā vā ity uktam]. Oldenberg suggests girige, which would be much better, considering how Vishṇu is called girikshit, girishthā, &c.; see Bergaigne, II, 47. Most of the epithets have occurred before. I take sāvase as a substantive, like sardhas, not as an adjective. As to dhūnivrata, see V, 58, 2; as to prāyagyu, V, 55, 1.

Verse 2.

Note 1. Krátvá, dáná, and mahná seem to me in this place to belong together. The difficulty lies in the transition from *va* to *eshám*, but this is not uncommon. On *mahiná*=*mahimná*, *dáná*, and *mahná*, see Wenzel, *Instrumentalis*, p. 17; Lanman, p. 533. Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* p. 101, translates, 'Ihre Macht gereicht ihnen zu grosser Gabe.' See also VIII, 20, 14. *Gâtá* *mahiná*, born by greatness, seems to mean born in greatness, or born great. It would be easy to write *mahíná*.

Verse 3.

Note 1. The translation of *íri* is purely conjectural.

Note 2. *Syandrása*, as suggested by Oldenberg, are probably meant for *rathá*. *Syandana* is a carriage in later Sanskrit. In VIII, 20, 2, we have to supply *rathai*; in VI, 66, 2, *rathá*.

Note 3. *Prá*, with the verb understood, they come forth; cf. VII, 87, 1. *prá árnámsi samudríyá nadínám*; X, 75, 1. *Dhuni*, like *dhûti*, has become almost a name of the Maruts, see I, 64, 5.

Verse 4.

Note 1. The god here meant seems to be *Vishnu*, mentioned already in verse 1, and probably recalled by the *Evayá* in *Evayámarut*.

Note 2. We must either take *víspardhasa* and *vímahasa* with Benfey as names of the horses, or accept them as vocatives, addressed to the Maruts. *Vimahas* is used as an epithet of the Maruts, see I, 86, 1.

Verse 5.

Note 1. On *yayí*, see note to I, 87, 2; but it seems better to take it here as an adjective.

Note 2. On *svâyudha*, see Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. 143; Oldenberg, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 424.

Verse 6.

Note 1. *Prásiti* may be, as Ludwig translates it, *fangschnur*, a noose, but it can hardly mean *Noth*, as Grassmann

suggests. I take it here in the sense of shooting forth, onslaught, raid; cf. VII, 46, 4. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. 139, takes it for a trap. Lanman, p. 386, is right in considering the locative in *au* before consonants a sure sign of the modern origin of this hymn.

Verse 7.

Note 1. The idea that the earth is stretched out or becomes large during a thunderstorm has been met with before, V, 58, 7. We read I, 37, 8; 87, 3, that at the racings of the Maruts the earth trembled, and that the Maruts enlarged the fences in their races. I therefore translate, though tentatively only, that the earth is opened far and wide, as a race-course for the faultless Maruts, whose hosts *ā*, appear, *āgmeshu*, on the courses, *mahāh*, quickly. If the accent of *paprathe* could be changed, we might translate, 'at whose coursings (*āgmeshu ā*) the seat of the earth is quickly stretched out far and wide,' and then take *sārdhāmsi ādbhutainasām* in apposition to *rudrāsaz*. *Adbhutainas*, in whom no fault is seen.

Bergaigne translates, '*faisant du mal mystérieusement.*' See Geldner, in *K. Z.* XXVIII, 199, Anm. 2; Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, III, 169.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Cf. VI, 48, 10.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Susāmi*, generally explained as a shortened instrumental, for *suramī*=*suramyā*, used in an adverbial sense. *Susāmi* has a short *i* here, because it stands at the end of a *pāda*, otherwise the *i* is long, see VII, 16, 2; X, 28, 12, even before a vowel. The same applies in the *Rig-veda* to *samī*; it has short *i* at the end of a *pāda*, see II, 31, 6; VIII, 45, 27; X, 40, 1. The phrase *dhiyā sāmī*, which has short *i* in II, 31, 6; X, 40, 1, has long *i* in IX, 74, 7. *dhiyā sāmī*. It is shortened, however, before vowels in the middle of a *pāda*, and written *samy*; see I, 87, 5; III, 55, 3.

MANDALA VI, HYMN 66.

ASHTAKA V, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 7-8.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. This may well be a marvel, even to an intelligent man, that anything should have taken the same name *dhenu*, cow :—the one is always brimming to give milk among men, but *Prisni* (the cloud, the mother of the Maruts) poured out her bright udder once (only).

2. The Maruts who shone like kindled fires, as they grew stronger twice and thrice,—their golden, dustless (chariots¹) became full of manly courage and strength.

3. They who¹ are the sons of the bounteous Rudra, and whom she indeed was strong enough to bear ; for she, the great, is known as the mother of the great, that very *Prisni* conceived the germ for the strong one (Rudra).

4. They who do not shrink from being born in this way¹, and who within (the womb) clean themselves from all impurity², when they have been brought forth brilliant, according to their pleasure, they sprinkle their bodies with splendour.

5. Among them there is no one who does not strive to be brought forth quickly ; and they assume the defiant name of Maruts. They who are not (unkind¹), never tiring in strength², will the generous sacrificer be able to bring down these fierce ones ?

6. Fierce in strength, followed by daring armies, these Maruts have brought together heaven and earth¹, both firmly established² ; then the self-

shining Rodast stood among the impetuous Maruts, like ³ a light.

7. Even though your carriage, O Maruts, be without your deer ¹, without horses, and not driven by any charioteer, without drag², and without reins, yet, crossing the air³, it passes between heaven and earth, finishing its courses.

8. No one can stop, no one can overcome him whom you, O Maruts, protect in battle. He whom you protect in his kith, his cattle, his kin, and his waters, he breaks the stronghold at the close of the day¹.

9. Offer a beautiful song to the host of the Maruts, the singers, the quick, the strong, who resist violence with violence; O Agni, the earth trembles before the champions.

10. Blazing like the flame of the sacrifices, flickering like the tongues of the fire, shouters, like roaring fighters, the flame-born Maruts are unassailable.

11. I invite with my call this strong and Marut-like son of Rudra¹, armed with flaming spears. Bright thoughts, like wild waters from the mountain², strove to reach the host of heaven.

NOTES.

Hymn ascribed to Bharadvāga Bārhaspatya. None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., AV. Verse 2 in MS. IV, 14, 11. Verse 9 in TS. IV, 1, 11, 3; TB. II, 8, 5, 5; MS. IV, 10, 3. Verse 10 in MS. IV, 14, 11. Metre, Trishṭubh.

Verse 1.

The meaning seems to be that it is strange that two things, namely, a real cow and the cloud, i.e. *Prisni*, the mother of the Maruts, should both be called *dhenu*, cow; that the one should always yield milk to men, while the other has her bright udder milked but once. This may mean that *dhenu*, a cow, yields her milk always, that *dhenu*, a cloud, yields rain but once, or, that *Prisni* gave birth but once to the Maruts. See also VI, 48, 22; Gaedicke, *Accusativ*, p. 19; Delbrück, *Tempuslehre*, p. 102. *Dhenu* must be taken as the neuter form, and as a nominative, as is shown by II, 37, 2. *dadīh yāh nāma pátiate*.

Verse 2.

Note 1. It seems necessary to take *arenávaḥ hiranyáśaḥ* for *ratháḥ*, chariots, as in V, 87, 3. *Sáyana* takes the same view, and I do not see how the verse gives sense in any other way. The first *páda* might be referred to the Maruts, or to the chariots.

Verse 3.

Note 1. The relative pronouns may be supposed to carry on the subject, viz. *Marútaḥ*, from the preceding verse, unless we supply *eshām mâtá*. I am doubtful about *mahó mahī*; cf. I, 102, 1; II, 33, 8. Grassmann proposes to read *mahâm*, gen. plur.; Ludwig thinks of *garbha*. It may also be a compound, as in *mahámaha*, *mahámahivrata*, or an adverb, but the construction remains difficult throughout. Oldenberg suggests that the second *páda* may have been *yān ko nú prīsnīh dādhrivīh bháradhyai*.

Verse 4.

Note 1. A tentative rendering and no more. I take *áyá* for *ayá* as an adverb in the sense of thus, in this way, see I, 87, 4, note 2. Grassmann seems to take it as an instr. fem., dependent on *ganúsha*, which is possible, but without analogy. Lanman, p. 358, takes it for *áyá*, nom. plur. of *aya*, wanderer, and translates, 'as long as the ones now wanderers quit not their birth.' Grassmann: 'Die nicht verleugnen die Geburt aus jener.' But is *gan* with instrumental ever used of a woman giving birth to a child? Ludwig: 'Die sich nicht weigern der geburt.'

Note 2. *Pû* with accusative occurs AV. XIX, 33, 3.

Verse 5.

This verse is again very obscure. It would be more honest to say that it is untranslatable. Possibly the poet may have taken *doháse* in the same sense as *duhré* in verse 4. The Maruts are born as by being milked from the udder of *Prisni*. It would then mean, 'Among whom there is no one not striving to be born quickly.'

Note 1. *Stauna* is an unknown word. *Sáyana* explains it as *stena*, thieves. It probably meant something not favourable, something that must be denied of the Maruts. This is all we can say. It cannot be a corruption of *staváná*, praised.

Note 2. *Ayás* can hardly refer to *Prisni*, never tiring to suckle the Maruts. In B.-R. *ayás* is explained as *sich nicht anstrengend, behende, leicht, unermüdlich*. See also Windisch, K. Z. XXVII, 170; also Johansson, Bezzenb. Beitr. XV, p. 180.

Verse 6.

Note 1. To join together heaven and earth is, as Bergaigne remarks (II, p. 374, n. 1), the apparent effect of a thunderstorm, when the clouds cover both in impenetrable darkness. We have the same expression in VIII, 20, 4.

Note 2. On *suméke*, see Geldner, K. Z. XXIV, 145; and Windisch, Festgruss an Böhrling, p. 114.

Note 3. The *ná*, placed before *róka*, is irregular, see Bergaigne, Mélanges Renier, p. 79. Oldenberg suggests

narokāḥ = *nri-okāḥ*, 'she who is fond of the men,' namely, of the Maruts. The corruption may be due to the writers of our text.

Verse 7.

Note 1. *Anenāḥ* is strange, and might be changed into *anetāḥ*; it cannot be *anenāḥ*, without guilt.

Note 2. If *avasa* in *an-avasa* comes from *ava-so*, it may mean the step for descending or ascending, or possibly a drag. Bergaigne explains it by *sine viatico*.

Note 3. *Ragaḥ-tūḥ*, according to Ludwig, den Staub aufwirbelnd, which seems too much opposed to *areṇu*, dustless. *Ragas + tar* means to pass through the air, and in that sense only conquering the air. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* p. 123, ignores the various shades of meaning in *tur* at the end of compounds.

Verse 8.

Note 1. *Pārye dyóḥ*, according to Grassmann, 'on the decisive day,' like *pārye divi*.

Verse 11.

Note 1. I have translated *Rudrāsya sūnúm* by the son of Rudra. It is true that a single Marut, as the son of Rudra, is not mentioned; but on the other hand, one could hardly call the whole company of the Maruts, the *māruta* scil. *gana*, the son of Rudra. In I, 64, 12, we have *Rudrasya sūnu-* in one *pāda*, and *māruta gana* in the next. The *R̥ibhus* also are called in the same line *savasaḥ napātaḥ*, and *indrasya sūno*, IV, 37, 4. Here *sūnu* corresponds almost to the English offspring, only it is masculine.

Note 2. *Girāyaḥ* may have been meant for *giryāḥ*, a possible ablative of *giri*; see Lanman, p. 383. *Ugrāḥ* would then refer to *āpaḥ*, unless we break the sentence into two, viz. 'my bright thoughts tend to the host of heaven,' and 'the fierce Maruts strive like waters from the mountain.' If we compare, however, IX, 95, 3. *apām iva íd ūrmāyaḥ tārturānāḥ prá manishāḥ írate sómam ákkha*, we see that the whole verse forms one sentence. All would be right if we could change *girayaḥ* into *giribhyaḥ*, but is not this a conjecture *nimis facilis*?

MANDALA VII, HYMN 56.

ASHTAKA V, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 23-26.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Who are these resplendent men, dwelling together, the boys of Rudra, also ¹ with good horses ?

2. No one indeed knows their births, they alone know each other's birthplace.

3. They plucked each other with their beaks ¹; the hawks, rushing like the wind, strove together.

4. A wise man understands these secrets ¹, that *Prisni*, the great, bore an udder.

5. May that clan be rich in heroes by the Maruts, always victorious, rich in manhood !

6. They are quickest to go, most splendid with splendour, endowed with beauty, strong with strength.

7. Strong is your strength, steadfast your powers, and thus by the Maruts is this clan mighty.

8. Resplendent is your breath, furious are the minds of the wild host, like a shouting maniac ¹.

9. Keep from us entirely your flame, let not your hatred reach us here.

10. I call on the dear names of your swift ones, so that the greedy should be satisfied ¹, O Maruts,

11. The well-armed, the swift, decked with beautiful chains, who themselves adorn their bodies.

12. Bright are the libations for you, the bright ones, O Maruts, a bright sacrifice I prepare for the bright. In proper order came those who truly follow the order, the bright born, the bright, the pure.

13. On your shoulders, O Maruts, are the rings,

on your chests the golden chains are fastened; far-shining like lightnings with showers¹, you wield your weapons, according to your wont.

14. Your hidden¹ splendours come forth; spread out your powers (names), O racers! Accept, O Maruts, this thousandfold, domestic share, as an offering for the house-gods².

15. If you thus listen, O Maruts, to this praise, at the invocation of the powerful sage, give him quickly a share of wealth in plentiful offspring, which no selfish enemy shall be able to hurt.

16. The Maruts, who are fleet like racers, the manly youths, shone like Yakshas¹; they are beautiful like boys standing round the hearth, they play about like calves who are still sucking.

17. May the bounteous Maruts be gracious to us, opening up to us the firm heaven and earth. May that bolt of yours which kills cattle and men, be far from us! Incline to us, O Vasus, with your favours.

18. The Hotri priest calls on you again and again, sitting down and praising your common gift, O Maruts. O strong ones, he who is the guardian of so much wealth, he calls on you with praises, free from guile.

19. These Maruts stop the swift, they bend strength by strength¹, they ward off the curse of the plotter, and turn² their heavy hatred on the enemy.

20. These Maruts stir up even the sluggard¹, even the vagrant², as the gods³ pleased. O strong ones, drive away the darkness, and grant us all our kith and kin.

21. May we not fall away from your bounty, O

Maruts, may we not stay behind, O charioteers, in the distribution of your gifts. Let us share in the brilliant wealth, the well-acquired, that belongs to you, O strong ones.

22. When valiant men fiercely fight together, for rivers, plants, and houses¹, then, O Maruts, sons of Rudra, be in battles our protectors from the enemy.

23. O Maruts, you have valued¹ the praises which our fathers have formerly recited to you ; with the Maruts the victor is terrible in battle, with the Maruts alone the racer wins the prize.

24. O Maruts, may we have a strong son, who is lord among men, a ruler, through whom we may cross the waters to dwell in safety, and then obtain our own home for you¹.

25. May Indra then, Varuna, Mitra, Agni, the waters, the plants, the trees of the forest be pleased with us. Let us be in the keeping, in the lap of the Maruts ; protect us always with your favours.

NOTES.

Ascribed to Vasishṭha. Verse 1 occurs in SV. I, 433; verse 10 in TS. II, 1, 11, 1; MS. IV, 11, 2; verse 12 in TB. II, 8, 5, 5; MS. IV, 14, 18; verse 13 in TB. II, 8, 5, 5; MS. IV, 14, 18; verse 14 in TS. IV, 3, 13, 6; MS. IV, 10, 5; verse 16 in TS. IV, 3, 13, 7; MS. IV, 10, 5; verse 19 in TB. II, 8, 5, 6; MS. IV, 14, 18. Metre, 1-11 Dvipadā Virāg; 12-25 Trishṭubh.

Verse 1.

Note 1. The SV. reads athā for the older adhā. Sanikā in the edition of the Bibl. Ind. is a misprint for sanīā.

Verse 3.

Note 1. Sva-pû is explained by Roth as possibly a broom, raising the dust. Grassmann translates it by light, Ludwig by blowing. I suggest to take it for *vapû, in the sense of beak or claw, from vap, which follows immediately. See note to I, 88, 4. I do not see how the other meanings assigned to svapû give any sense. Oldenberg therefore suggests pavanta, 'Sie strömten hell auf einander zu mit ihren svapûs.'

Verse 4.

Note 1. Sâyana explains etāni ninyā by svetavarṇāni marudātmakāni bhûtāni. He takes ūdhas as a locative.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Geldner translates: 'Der Spielmann des wilden Heeres ist wie ein Muni,' and adds, 'Aber was ist ein Muni im Veda?'

Verse 10.

Note 1. I read tripān for tripāt of the Pada text, and refer vāvasānā to the Maruts. The TS. has tripāt, and the commentary explains it by triptim. The first line is Virāg, the second Trishṭubh, and the Trishṭubh metre is afterwards carried on.

Verse 11.

This verse refers to the Maruts, not, as Ludwig thinks, to the priests. Dr. v. Bradke (Dyaus Asura, p. 65) proposes to join verses 10 and 11 into one Trishubh, and possibly to insert *ā* before *huve*. I doubt whether for the present such changes are justified. On the structure of this hymn, see Oldenberg, Prol. 96, Anm. 3; 200, Anm. 5.

Verse 13.

Note 1. TB. II, 8, 5, 6, reads *vyrishābhiḥ* (not *vrishābhiḥ*), and the commentator explains, *vyrishābhir āyudhaviśeshair vyriṣṭyākhyair, viśeshena rokamānāḥ sthitāḥ*. And again, *riṣṭaya eva viśiṣṭatvād vyriṣṭaya ity ukyante*. Bollensen, Z. D. M. G. XLI, 501, conjectures *riṣṭābhiḥ* for *vrishābhiḥ*, which is very ingenious. See also note 1 to II, 34, 2.

Verse 14.

Note 1. *Budhnyā*, explained by *budhne bhavāni*, and also by *kālapravṛttāni*.

Note 2. *Gṛihamedhīya* may refer to the Maruts as *gṛihamedhās* or *gṛihamedhinas*; see RV. VII, 59, 10; VS. XXIV, 16. The *gṛihamedhīyā ishī* in Sat. Br. XI, 5, 2, 4, is meant for the Maruts.

Verse 16.

Note 1. *Yakshadrīśaḥ* is explained as wishing to see a sacrifice or feast. Ludwig retains this meaning. Grassmann translates, 'wie feurige Blitze funkeln.' *Yaksha* may mean a shooting star or any meteor, literally what shoots or hastens along; see VII, 61, 5. *nā yāsu kītrām dādriṣe nā yakshām*; also note to V, 55, 1. But *driś* is not *sadrīś*. If we follow the later Sanskrit, *yaksha* would mean a class of spirits, followers of Kuvera, also ghosts in general. If this is not too modern a conception for the Rīg-veda, we might translate *yakshadrīś*, 'appearing as ghosts' (see Kaus. Sūtra 95 in BR.), or, considering the expression *ātyaḥ nā yamsat yakshabhṛt vīketāḥ*, I, 190, 4, take it for a name of horses.

Verse 19.

Note 1. Does not *sáhasa á* stand for *sáhasá á*, and not for *sáhasaḥ á*? Comp. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, 465 seq.

Note 2. On *dadhanti*, see Hübschmann, *Indogerm. Vocal-system*, p. 12.

Verse 20.

Note 1. On *radhra*, see Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* pp. 124 seq.

Note 2. *Bhrími* is doubtful, but as it stands by the side of *radhra*, it seems to have a bad meaning, such as a vagrant, unsteady.

Note 3. The *Vasus* are often mentioned with the *Ādityas* and *Rudras*, see III, 8, 8; X, 66, 12; 128, 9. By themselves they became almost synonymous with the *Devas*. Thus in VII, 11, 4, we read that *Agni* became the master of all sacrifices, *krátum hí asya Vāsavaḥ gushánta átha deváḥ dadhire havyaváham*, 'for the *Vasus* liked his wisdom, therefore the *Devas* made him the carrier of offerings.' See also V, 3, 10. *pitá Vaso yádi tát gosháyāse*. In one passage, VI, 50, 4, *Vasavaḥ* means the *Maruts*. In our passage it seems better to take it in the sense of gods, but we might also refer it to the *Maruts*.

Verse 22.

Note 1. With *páda b*, compare VII, 70, 3 b.

Verse 23.

Note 1. I have taken *bhūri kakra* in the sense of *magni facere*, though I can find no analogous passages.

Verse 24.

Note 1. This verse has been well explained by Dr. v. Bradke, *Dyaus Asura*, p. 66. *Svám ókaḥ*, our own home, occurs IV, 50, 8; V, 33, 4; VI, 41, 1; VIII, 72, 14. *Abhyas* means generally to obtain what is not our own. See also VII, 48, 2. *Vaḥ*, which I have translated 'for you,' may also mean 'from you.'

Verse 25.

This verse is marked as a *galita* taken from VII, 34, 25, while the last *páda* is a *galita* taken from VII, 1, 25.

MANDALA VII, HYMN 57.

ASHTAKA V, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 27.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. O ye worshipful, your company of Maruts is fond of honey, they who delight in their strength at the sacrifices, the Maruts, who shake even the wide heaven and earth, and fill the well, when they move about, the terrible ones.

2. Truly the Maruts find out the man who praises them, and guide the thoughts of the sacrificer. Sit down then to rejoice to-day, on the altar¹ in our assemblies² well pleased.

3. Others do not shine so much as these Maruts with their golden chains, their weapons, and their own bodies; the all-adorned, adorning heaven and earth, brighten themselves with the same brightness, when starting for triumph.

4. May your shining thunderbolt be far from us, O Maruts, whatever sin we may commit against you, men as we are: O worshipful, let us not fall under¹ its power, let your best favour rest on us.

5. May the Maruts be pleased with whatever little we have done here, they the faultless, the bright, the pure. Protect us, ye worshipful, with your favours, lead us to prosperity through booty.

6. And let the manly Maruts, when they have been praised, under whatever names, enjoy these offerings! Grant that our offspring may not die¹, raise up for us riches², glory, and wealth.

7. O Maruts, when you have thus been praised, come all together with help towards our lords who with their hundredfold wealth freely prosper us;—protect us always with your favours!

NOTES.

Ascribed to Vasishtha. None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB., MS. Metre, Trishubh.

Verse 1.

This hymn has been translated by Geldner and Kaegi. The first verse is most difficult. G.-K. avoid all difficulties by translating, 'Beim Fest des süßen Trankes weiss man tüchtig euch zu begeistern, hehre Schaar der Marut.' Ludwig grapples with them by translating: 'An eures madhu kraft, o zu vererende, freut bei den opfern sich der Marut geschlecht.' I doubt, however, whether savas is ever ascribed to madhu, though it is ascribed to Soma. Oldenberg suggests, 'The sweet ones' is your Marut-name, O worshipful, they who rejoice in their strength at the sacrifices.' Here the difficulty would be that Mārutam nāma is the recognised term for the name, i.e. the kin of the Maruts. Still, unless we venture on a conjecture, this would seem to be the best rendering. Could we change mādхваḥ vaḥ nāma mārutam into madhvād vaḥ nāma mārutam? Madhvād is a Vedic word, though it occurs once only, in I, 164, 22, and as trisyllabic. Its very rarity would help to account for the change. The meaning would then be, 'your Marut kin eats honey, is fond of honey.'

It has been proved that the present mādāti is always neutral, meaning to rejoice, while mand (Par.) is transitive, to make rejoice. Otherwise madhvaḥ might possibly have been taken in the sense of sweet things, as in I, 180, 4; IX, 89, 3, and construed with madanti.

Verse 2.

Note 1. Barhis, which I translate by altar, is the simplest form of an altar, mere turf or kusa-grass, on which the offerings are placed. See note to VII, 46, 4.

Note 2. On vidatha, see my note, V, 59, 2.

Verse 3.

See Gaedicke, *Accusativ*, p. 241; his rendering would be acceptable but for the *â*. Without any verb of motion *â ragas* can hardly mean 'through the air,' nor *â rôdasî* 'through the worlds.'

Verse 4.

Note 1. On *api bhû* and *api as*, see B.-R. s. v.

Verse 6.

Note 1. *Amrita* cannot be rendered by immortality in our sense, it simply means not dying.

Note 2. *Gigritâ*, imp. aor. caus. of *gar*. *Râyâk*, acc. plur.

MANDALA VII, HYMN 58.

ASHTAKA V, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 28.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Sing to the company (of the Maruts), growing up together, the strong among the divine host¹: they stir heaven and earth by their might, they mount up to the firmament from the abyss of Nirṛiti².

2. Even your birth¹ was with fire and fury, O Maruts! You, terrible, wrathful, never tiring! You who stand forth with might and strength; every one who sees the sun², fears at your coming.

3. Grant mighty strength to our lords, if the Maruts are pleased with our praise. As a trodden path furthers a man, may they further us; help us with your brilliant favours.

4. Favoured by you, O Maruts, a wise man wins a hundred, favoured by you a strong racer wins a thousand, favoured by you a king also kills his enemy: may that gift of yours prevail, O ye shakers.

5. I invite these bounteous sons of Rudra¹, will these Maruts turn again to us? Whatever they hated secretly or openly, that sin we pray the swift ones to forgive.

6. This praise of our lords has been spoken: may the Maruts be pleased with this hymn. Keep far from us, O strong ones, all hatred, protect us always with your favours!

NOTES.

Ascribed to Vasishṭha. None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB., MS. Metre, Trishṭubh.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Dhâman is one of the cruces of translators, and it remains so after all that has been written on the subject by Bergaigne, III, 210 seq. There are many words in the Veda which it is simply impossible to translate, because their meaning has not yet been differentiated, and they convey such general or rather vague concepts that it is utterly impossible to match them in our modern languages. Translators are often blamed that they do not always render the same Vedic by the same English word. It would be simply impossible to do so, because, according to the different surroundings in which it occurs, the same word receives different shades of meaning which in English can only be approximately expressed by different words. Bergaigne is, no doubt, right when he says that dhâ-man is derived from dhâ, to set or settle, and that it therefore meant at first what is settled. From this he proceeds to argue that the original meaning of dhâman, from which all others are derived, is law. But law is a very late and very abstract word, and we must never forget that words always progress from the concrete to the abstract, from the material to the spiritual, and but seldom, and at a much later time, in an opposite direction. Now even if we were to admit that dhâman does not occur in the Veda in the sense of settlement, i.e. abode, this is certainly its most general meaning afterwards, and no one would maintain that a settlement, i.e. a household, was called dhâman, because it involved a settlement, i.e. laws. The same applies to vratá. Bergaigne (III, 213) agrees with me that vrata should be derived from var, to surround, to guard, and not from var, to choose, but he thinks that it meant at once 'garde, protection,'

and not 'lieu clos.' I still hold that like *νομός*, *vrata* must have meant first a real hedge, or *ἔρκος*, and then only an abstract enclosure, i.e. a law, *νόμος*. In this case we can see the actual transition of thought. People would begin by saying, 'there is a fence here against your cattle,' and this would in time assume the meaning 'there is a defence against your cattle straying on my meadow.' But it would be impossible to begin, as Bergaigne (p. 216) does, with the abstract meaning of protection, law, and then return and use the word in such phrases as V, 46, 7. *apām vraté*, 'within the pale of the waters.'

Dhâman, therefore, meant originally, I still believe, what was actually laid down or settled, hence an abode. When, as in the Veda, it means law, I do not say that this was necessarily derived from the meaning of abode. I only maintain that it was a second, if not a secondary, meaning, and that, at all events, the meaning of abode cannot be derived from that of law.

After *dhâman* meant what is settled, it has sometimes to be translated by law, by nature, sometimes by class, or clan, where it comes very near to *nâman*, name, while sometimes it may best be rendered by a general and abstract suffix, or even by a plural. Thus in our passage, *daívyasya dhâmnāḥ* is not very different from *devânām*.

What is peculiar to our passage is the genitive governed by *tuvishmân*. After all the learning which Bergaigne has expended on the analysis of *dhâman*, he does not help us to a translation of our sentence. If we translate 'of the divine law, powerful,' we have words, but no sense. I take *daívyasya dhâmnāḥ* as a genitivus partitivus, such as AV. IV, 37, 5. *óshadhînam vírúdhâm víryāvatî*. See Kuhn, *Zeitschrift* XIII, 120; Siecke, *Genitivus*, p. 14. Grassmann: 'Die mächtig walten in der Götter Wohnsitz.' Ludwig: 'Die von göttlicher natur, die starke.' He denies that *tuvishmân* could be followed by the genitive. I do not maintain that I am satisfied on that point. All I say in this as in many other cases is that my translation gives something which we can understand. Let others give us something better.

Note 2. On *Nirriti*, see Hibbert Lectures, p. 245; Lect. Science of Lang., vol. ii, p. 562. *Avamsá*, literally without beams of support, or bottomless.

Verse 2.

Note 1. On *ganûs*, see Lanman, p. 571.

Note 2. *Svardrîk*, according to Grassmann, der lichte Himmel; according to Ludwig, jeder der das licht schaut. *Sâyana*, among other meanings, gives that of tree. See VII, 83, 2.

Verse 3.

On the construction of this verse, see Delbrück, Syntax, p. 384, and Bergaigne, Mélanges Renier, p. 82.

Verse 5.

Note 1. With regard to *tán mî/húsha/ rudrásya*, 'these bounteous (sons) of Rudra,' see VIII, 20, 3.

MANDALA VII, HYMN 59.

ASHTAKA V, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 29-30.

TO THE MARUTS AND RUDRA.

1. Whom you protect again and again, O gods, and whom you lead, to him, O Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, and Maruts, yield your protection.

2. He who sacrifices, O gods, overcomes his enemies by your protection on a happy day. He who gives to your delight, spreads forth his dwelling, spreads out much food.

3. This Vasishṭha will not despise even the last among you, O Maruts; drink¹ all of you, to-day, at my libation here, full of desire.

4. Your help does not indeed fail that man in battle to whom you granted it, O men! Your newest favour has turned hither, come quick then, ye who wish to drink.

5. O ye whose gifts are cheering, come to drink the (juice of the Soma) flowers: these are your libations, O Maruts, for I gave them to you, do not go elsewhere!

6. Sit down on our altar and protect¹ us, to give us brilliant riches. O Maruts, who never miss the Soma mead, hail to you here to enjoy yourselves.

7. Having adorned their bodies, the swans with dark blue backs came flying in secret¹—the whole flock sat down all around me, like gay men, delighting in the Soma offering.

8. O Maruts, that hateful man who beyond our thoughts tries to hurt us, O Vasus, may he catch the snares of Druh, kill him with your hottest bolt!

9. O you Maruts, full of heat, here is the libation ;
be pleased to accept it, O you who destroy the
enemies by your help¹.

10. O you who accept the domestic sacrifices¹,
come hither, O Maruts, do not keep away, you who
are bounteous by your help².

11. O Maruts, strong and wise, with sun-bright
skins, I choose the sacrifice for you here and there¹.

12. We sacrifice to Tryambaka¹, the sweet-
scented, wealth-increasing (Rudra). May I be de-
tached from death, like a gourd from its stem, but
not² from the immortal³.

NOTES.

Ascribed to *Vasishtha*. Verse 12 addressed to Rudra.

Verse 3 occurs SV. I, 241; verse 8, AV. VII, 77, 2; TS. IV, 3, 13, 3; MS. IV, 10, 5; verse 9, AV. VII, 77, 1; TS. IV, 3, 13, 3; MS. IV, 10, 5; verse 10, TS. IV, 3, 13, 5; MS. IV, 10, 5; verse 11, TĀ. I, 4, 3; MS. IV, 10, 3; verse 12, VS. III, 60; AV. XIV, 1, 17; TS. I, 8, 6, 2; MS. I, 10, 4; TĀ. X, 56; Sat. Br. II, 6, 2, 12.

Metre, 1, 3, 5 *Bṛīhatī*; 2, 4, 6 *Satobṛīhatī*; 7, 8 *Trishṭubh*; 9, 10, 11 *Gāyatrī*; 12 *Anuṣṭubh*.

Verse 2.

With *pāda* a compare I, 110, 7; with *c* and *d*, VIII, 27, 16.

Verse 3.

Note 1. SV. has *pibantu*, and as a various reading the comment. gives *pivanta*. *Suté sákā* is a standing phrase.

Verse 6.

Note 1. I cannot see how *avitā* can stand for *avishṭa* (Delbrück, Verb, 186; Whitney, Gram. § 908). I translate as if the text gave *ávatā*.

Verse 7.

Note 1. On the secret approach of the Maruts, see I, 88, 5.

Verse 8.

The text in the AV. VII, 77, 2, is bad, *yó no mártō maruto durhrinâyús, prāti muñkatām sáh*, and *tāpasā* for *hánmanā*. The TS. IV, 3, 13, 3, has *tiráh satyáni*. It reads besides, *yó no mártō vasavo durhrinâyús tiráh satyáni marutaḥ glghâṁsât druháh pásam*, and *tāpasā*. *Tiráh kītāni* may mean 'beyond all conception,' as Grassmann takes it, or 'unobserved,' as B.-R. suggest. *Tiráh satyáni* might mean 'in spite of all pledges,' but that is probably an emendation. All this shows the unsettled state of Vedic tradition, outside that of the Rig-veda; see Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p. 328.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Ūtī*, taken here as a dative, by Lanman, p. 382.

Verse 10.

Note 1. On the Maruts *gr̥hamedhinaḥ*, see Sat. Br. II, 5, 3, 4. Possibly the Maruts may be called *gr̥hamedhas*, i.e. *gr̥hasthas*, performing the *Gr̥hya* sacrifices. See on these names TS. I, 8, 4, 1; 2.

Note 2. The last pāda in the TS. is *pramuñḥānto no āmhasaḥ*.

Verse 11.

Note 1. On *ihéha*, see Delbrück, Syntax, p. 51. It means 'here and there,' that is, 'again and again.'

Verse 12.

Note 1. Tryambaka is a name of Rudra, but its original meaning is doubtful. Some commentators explain it by 'three-eyed,' but its natural meaning would be 'having three mothers.' The Sat. Br. II, 6, 2, 9, derives it from Stry-ambikā, because Ambikā, Rudra's sister, shares the sacrifice with him.

Note 2. On *mā* with optative, see Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. I, 194; Syntax, 338, 361, Anm. 1.

Note 3. That *amṛitāt* is right, not, as Grassmann suggests, *amṛita*, is clear from the parallel forms, *prétó muñḥāmi nāmútaḥ*, or *itó mukshīya māmútaḥ*. Pischel in Z.D.M.G. XL, 121, demands too much logical accuracy from a poet; see AV. XIV, 1, 17; VS. III, 60.

All scholars seem to agree that this hymn is a composite hymn, and that it breaks the law of decrease in the number of verses. It begins with three Pragâthas, verses 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, which may be in their right place. Then follow two Trishubhs, 7 and 8, which may form a hymn by themselves. The next three Gâyatrîs, which clearly belong together, are a later addition; so is the last verse, which ought to stand in the Atharva rather than in the Rig-veda. The Pada text does not divide this last verse. See on this subject, Oldenberg, Z.D.M.G. XXXVIII, 449 seq., Proleg. 200; 511; Bergaigne, Recherches sur l'histoire de la Samhitâ, II, 10.

MANDALA VIII, HYMN 7.

ASHTAKA V, ADHYĀYA 8, VARGA 18-24.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).'

1. When the sage has poured out the threefold¹ draught to you, O Maruts, then you shine forth in the mountains (clouds).

2. Aye, when, O bright Maruts, growing in strength, you have seen your way, then the mountains (clouds) have gone down¹.

3. The sons of *Prisni*, the bulls, have risen together with the winds, they have drawn forth the swelling draught.

4. The Maruts sow the mist, they shake the mountains (clouds), when they go their way with the winds,

5. When the mountain bent down before your march, the rivers before your rule, before your great power (blast).

6. We invoke you by night for our protection, you by day, you while the sacrifice proceeds.

7. And they rise up on their courses, the beautiful, of reddish hue¹, the bulls, above the ridge of the sky.

8. With might they send forth a ray of light, that the sun may have a path to walk¹: they have spread far and wide with their lights.

9. Accept, O Maruts, this my speech, this hymn of praise, O *R̥bhukshans*¹, this my call.

10. The *Prisni*¹ (the clouds) yielded three lakes (from their udders) as mead for the wielder of the thunderbolt (Indra), the well, the water-skin, the watering-pot².

11. O Maruts, whenever we call you from heaven, wishing for your favour, come hither towards us.

12. For you are bounteous¹, in our house, O Rudras, R̥bhukshans: you are attentive, when you enjoy (the libations).

13. O Maruts, bring to us from heaven enrapturing wealth, which nourishes many, which satisfies all.

14. When you have seen your way, brilliant Maruts, as it were from above¹ the mountains, you rejoice in the (Soma) drops which have been pressed out.

15. Let the mortal with his prayers ask the favour of that immense, unconquerable (host)¹ of them,

16. Who like torrents¹ foam along heaven and earth with their streams of rain, drawing the inexhaustible well.

17. These sons of *Prisni* rise up together with rattlings, with chariots, with the winds, and with songs of praise.

18. That (help) with which you helped Turvasa, Yadu, and Kāṇva when he carried off riches, that we pray for, greatly for our wealth.

19. O bounteous Maruts, may these draughts, swelling like butter, strengthen you, together with the prayers of Kāṇva.

20. Where do you rejoice now, O bounteous Maruts, when an altar has been prepared for you? What priest serves you?

21. For you for whom we have prepared an altar, do not, as it was with you formerly, in return for these praises, gladden the companies of our sacrifice.

22. These Maruts have brought together piece

by piece¹ the great waters, heaven and earth, the sun, and the thunderbolt;

23. And, while performing their manly work, they have trodden *Vṛitra* to pieces, and the dark mountains (clouds).

24. They protected the strength and intelligence of the fighting *Trita*, they protected *Indra* in his struggle with *Vṛitra*.

25. Holding lightnings in their hands, they hasten heavenward, golden helmets¹ are on their head; the brilliant *Maruts* have adorned themselves for beauty.

26. When with *Usanâ*² you have come from afar to *Ukshnorandhra* (ox-hollow)¹, he roared from fear, like *Dyu* (the sky).

27. O gods, come to us with your golden-hoofed horses, for the offering of the sacrifice¹.

28. When the red leader leads their spotted deer in their chariot, the brilliant *Maruts* approach and let the waters run.

29. The heroes went downwards to *Saryanâvat*, to *Sushoma*, to *Ârgika*, to *Pastyâvat*.

30. When will you come hither, O *Maruts*, to the sage who calls you so, with your consolations to the suppliant?

31. What then now? Where are your friends, now that you have forsaken *Indra*? Who is counted in your friendship?

32. O *Kâṇvas*, I praise *Agni*, together with our *Maruts*, who carry the thunderbolt in their hands, and are armed with golden daggers.

33. Might I succeed in bringing hither the strong hunters, hither with their splendid booty for the newest blessings.

34. The hills even sink low, as if they thought themselves valleys, the mountains even bow themselves down.

35. The crossing (horses) bring them hither, flying through the air; they bestow strength on the man who praises them.

36. The old fire¹ has been born, like the shine² by the splendour of the sun, and the Maruts have spread far and wide with their lights.

NOTES.

Ascribed to Punarvatsa Kāṇva. Verse 8 occurs MS. IV, 12, 5; verse 11 in TS. I, 5, 11, 4; MS. IV, 10, 4; verse 28 in AV. XIII, 1, 21. Metre, Gāyatrī.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Trishṭúbham is an adjective belonging to ísham. The same expression occurs again, VIII, 69, 1, as a galita, and is therefore of little help. In IX, 62, 24, the íshaḥ are called parishṭúbhaḥ, which seems to mean something like paríśrut, i. e. standing round about. I therefore take trishṭubh in our passage simply as threefold, referring probably to the morning, noon, and evening sacrifice. The sacrifice is often called trivṛt, X, 52, 4; 124, 1. Some scholars ascribe to stubh in trishṭubh the meaning of liturgical shouting.

Verse 2.

Note 1. Besides ní ahâsata, we find úd ahâsata, I, 9, 4, and ápa ahâsata, IX, 73, 6. On ñi, see verse 14, and V, 55, 7. It is often impossible to say whether the Vedic Aorist should be translated in English by the perfect or the imperfect. If we take the verse as describing an historical fact, it would be, 'When you saw your way, or, as soon as you had seen your way, the clouds fell.' If it is meant as a repeated event, it would be, 'when, i. e. whenever you have seen your way, the clouds have fallen.' The difficulty lies in English, and though the grammars lay down rules, usage does not conform to them. The difference in the use of tenses in English is so great that in the revised version of the Bible, a number of passages had to be translated differently for the English and for the American public. Thus in Rom. ii. 12, the English edition gives, 'For as many as have sinned without law, shall perish without law.' The American edition changes this into 'As many as sinned without the law.' Gal. iii. 22, English: 'The scripture hath shut up;' American: 'The scripture shut up.' It was on account of this and other changes of

idiom which have sprung up between English and American, that different editions of the revised version had actually to be printed for England and America. No wonder, therefore, that an American critic should in his innocence have charged me with not knowing the difference between the aorist, the imperfect, and the perfect in Vedic Sanskrit!

Verse 7.

Note 1. *Arunapsu*, perhaps reddish-coloured, an epithet of the dawn, here applied to the Maruts. The Maruts are sometimes called *vrishapsu*, *ahrutapsu*, I, 52, 4; VIII, 20, 7.

Verse 8.

Note 1. The relation between the light cast forth by the Maruts and the path of the sun is not quite clear, except that in other places also the Maruts are connected with the morning. The darkness preceding a thunderstorm may be identified with the darkness of the night, preceding the sunrise. See Bergaigne, II, 379 seq.

Verse 9.

Note 1. The meaning of *ṛibhukshan* is doubtful. It is applied to Indra and the Maruts. See Bergaigne, II, 403; 404 note; 412.

Verse 10.

Note 1. The *Prisni*s in the plural fem. are the clouds, see VIII, 6, 19. Mythologically there is but one *Prisni*, the mother of the Maruts. See also Bergaigne, II, 397.

Note 2. I am doubtful about the three lakes of Madhu, here of rain, poured from their udders by the clouds. The number three is common enough, and Ludwig has pointed out a parallel passage from the AV. X, 10, 10-12, where we read of three *pâtras*, filled with milk and Soma. Many similar passages have been collected by Bergaigne, I, 177, but again without a definite result. The question is whether the three words *utsa*, *kavandha*, and *udrin* are meant as names of the three *pâtras*, in our passage, of the three lakes, or whether they should be taken as an apposition,

the three lakes, namely, the well (of the sky), the skin full of water, and udrin, the watering-pot. Udrin is elsewhere an adjective only, but I think we must here translate, 'the well, the water-skin, the watering-pot.'

Verse 12.

Note 1. On sudánavaḥ as vocative, see Delbrück, Syntax, p. 106.

Verse 14.

Note 1. For adhi with genitive, one expects ati. But Delbrück doubts whether ati can govern the genitive. See Altind. Syntax, p. 440.

Verse 15.

Note 1. As ádábhyaśya can only refer to etávataḥ, I have taken etávāt in the sense of gāṇa, followed by eśhām. But I am not certain that the rendering is right.

Verse 16.

Note 1. I have ventured to translate drapsáḥ by torrents. Neither drops nor sparks nor banners seem to yield an appropriate simile, but I feel very doubtful. See VIII, 96, 13; IX, 73, 1.

Verse 22.

Note 1. I thought at first that by sám parvasáḥ dadhuḥ was meant the mixing or confounding together of heaven and earth; it being impossible, during a storm, to distinguish the two. But there is clearly, as Ludwig points out, an opposition between sám dadhuḥ and ví yayuḥ. I therefore take parvasáḥ in verse 22 in the sense of piece by piece, as in AV. IV, 12, 7. sám dadhat párushā páruḥ, while in verse 23 it means in pieces.

Verse 25.

Note 1. On sipráḥ, see note to II, 34, 3.

Verse 26.

Note 1. Ukshnáḥ rándhram, 'the hollow of the bull,' whatever that may be, is not mentioned again. If it is meant for

the dark cloud which hides the rain, then the roar of the bull would be the thunder of the cloud, stirred by the Maruts. Aukshnorandhra, however, is the technical name of certain Sâmans, so that Ukshnorandhra may have been, like Usanâ (later Usanas), a proper name. See Tândya Br. XIII, 9, 18; 19.

Note 2. If usânâ stands for usanayâ it might mean, 'with desire,' but it seems more likely that it refers to the *Rishi*, who is called Usanâ in the Rig-veda, and Usanas in later writings. See Lanman, p. 562, l. 21; Bergaigne, II, 338, n. 3; Schmidt, K. Z. XXVI, 402, n. 1.

Verse 27.

Note 1. On makhâsya dâvâne, see note to I, 6, 8, where I accepted the old explanation, 'Come to the offering of the priest.' But does makha mean priest? In later Sanskrit it means sacrifice, so that makhâsya dâvâne has been translated, 'for the offering of the sacrifice,' that is, 'that we may be able to offer you sacrifice.' If makha means glad and refers to Soma, which is doubtful, the sense would be the same. Possibly dâvâne may here be derived from do, to divide, but this would not help us much.

Verse 28.

The AV. reads yâm tvâ prîshatî râtî prâshîr vâhati rohita, subhâ yâsi rinânn apâh, which yields no help.

Verse 29.

This verse is very difficult. First of all, nîkkrayâ can hardly mean 'without a chariot' (B.-R.), but seems an adverb, meaning downwards. But the chief difficulty lies in this, that we must decide, once for all, whether words, such as sushoma, saryavât, ârgîka, pastyâvat, &c., are to be interpreted in their natural sense, as expressing localities, well known to the poet, or in their technical sense, as names of sacrificial vessels. That this decision is by no means easy, may be inferred from the fact that two scholars, Roth and Ludwig, differ completely, the former preferring the technical, the latter the geographical meaning. We must

remember that in the hymns to the Maruts the poets speak occasionally of the countries, far and near, visited by the storm-winds. We must also bear in mind that in our very passage the poet asks the Maruts to come to him, and not to tarry with other people. When, therefore, he says, that they went to Saryanâvat, &c., is that likely to be meant for a tank of Soma at his own or any other sacrifice?

Saryanâvat is derived from sarya, this from sara. Sara means reed, arrow; sarya, made of reeds, saryâ, an arrow, but also reeds tied together and used at the sacrifice for carrying Soma-oblations. From it, saryana, which, according to Sâyana, means lands in Kurukshetra (RV. VIII, 6, 39), and from which Saryanâvat is derived, as the name of a lake in that neighbourhood (not a Landstrich, B.-R.). When this saryanâvat occurs in the Rig-veda, the question is, does it mean that lake, evidently a famous lake and a holy place in the early settlements of the Vedic Âryas, or does it mean, as others suppose, a sacrificial vessel made of reeds? It occurs in the Rig-veda seven times.

In I, 84, 14, Indra is said to have found the head of the horse, which had been removed among the mountains (clouds) at Saryanâvat. This seems to me the lake in which the sun sets. In the 8th Mandala saryanâvat occurs three times. In VIII, 6, 39, Indra is invoked to rejoice at Saryanâvat, or, according to others, in a vessel full of Soma. In our passage the Maruts went to Saryanâvat, to Sushoma, Ârgîka, and Pastyâvat, countries, it would seem, not vessels. In VIII, 64, 11, after saying that the Soma had been prepared among the Pûrus, it is added that the Soma is sweetest in Saryanâvat, on the Sushomâ, and in Ârgîkiya. In IX, 65, 22, we read of Somas prepared far and near, and at Saryanâvat, and in the next verse we read of Somas to be found either among the Ârgîkas, among the Pastyâs, or among the Five Tribes. In IX, 113, 1; 2, Indra is asked to drink Soma at Saryanâvat, and the Soma is asked to come from Ârgîka. In X, 35, 2, the aid is implored of heaven and earth, of the rivers and the mountains, and these mountains are called saryanâvatah.

Ârgikiyâ, besides the three passages mentioned already, occurs X, 75, 5, where it is clearly a river as well as Sushomâ, while in IX, 65, 23, the Ârgikas, in the plural, could only be the name of a people.

Taking all this into account, it seems to me that we ought to accept the tradition that Saryanâvat was a lake and the adjoining district in Kurukshetra, that Ârgikâ was the name of a river, Ârgika the name of the adjoining country, Ârgikâh, of the inhabitants, Ârgikiyâ another name of Ârgikâ, the river, and Ârgikiyam another name of the country Ârgika. Sushoma in our passage is probably the name of the country near the Sushomâ, and Pastyâvat, though it might be an adjective meaning filled with hamlets, is probably another geographical name; see, however, IX, 65, 23. Ludwig takes Saryanâvat as a name of the Eastern Sarasvatî; see Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 19; but we should expect Saryanâvatî as the name of a river. See also Bergaigne, I, 206, who, according to his system, takes all these names as 'préparateurs célestes du Soma.'

Verse 31.

See I, 38, 1, note 1.

Verse 36.

Note 1. Sâyana may be right in stating that this verse was intended for an Âgnimâruta sacrifice, and that therefore Agni was praised first, and afterwards the Maruts. In that case pûrvya might mean first.

Note 2. *Khandas* is doubtful; see, however, I, 92, 6.

MANDALA VIII, HYMN 20.

ASHTAKA VI, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 36-40.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Come hither, do not fail, when you march forward! Do not stay away, O united friends, you who can bend even what is firm.

2. O Maruts, *R̥bhukshans*, come hither on your flaming strong fellows¹, O Rudras, come to us to-day with food, you much-desired ones, come to the sacrifice, you friends of the Sobharis².

3. For we know indeed the terrible strength of the sons of Rudra, of the vigorous Maruts, the liberal givers¹ of Soma² (rain).

4. The islands (clouds) were scattered, but the monster remained¹, heaven and earth were joined together. O you who are armed with bright rings, the tracts (of the sky)² expanded, whenever you stir, radiant with your own splendour.

5. Even things that cannot be thrown down resound at your race, the mountains, the lord of the forest,—the earth quivers on your marches.

6. The upper sky makes wide room, to let your violence pass, O Maruts, when these strong-armed heroes display their energies in their own bodies.

7. According to their wont these men, exceeding terrible, impetuous, with strong and unbending forms¹, bring with them beautiful light².

8. The arrow of the Sobharis is shot from the bowstrings at the golden chest on the chariot of the Maruts¹. They, the kindred of the cow (*Prisni*),

the well-born, should enjoy their food, the great ones should help us.

9. Bring forward, O strongly-anointed¹ (priests), your libations to the strong host of the Maruts, the strongly advancing.

10. O Maruts, O heroes, come quickly hither, like winged hawks, on your chariot with strong horses, of strong shape, with strong naves, to enjoy our libations.

11. Their anointing is the same, the golden chains shine on their arms, their spears sparkle.

12. These strong, manly, strong-armed Maruts, do not strive among themselves ; firm are the bows, the weapons on your chariot, and on your faces are splendours.

13. They whose terrible name¹, wide-spreading like the ocean, is the one of all that is of use, whose strength is like the vigour of their father,

14. Worship these Maruts, and praise them ! Of these shouters, as of moving spokes¹, no one is the last ; this is theirs by gift, by greatness² is it theirs.

15. Happy is he who was under your protection, O Maruts, in former mornings, or who may be so even now.

16. Or he, O men, whose libations you went to enjoy ; that mighty one, O shakers, will obtain your favours with brilliant riches and booty.

17. As the sons of Rudra, the servants of the divine Dyu¹, will it, O youths, so shall it be.

18. Whatever liberal givers may worship¹ the Maruts, and move about together as generous² benefactors, even from them turn³ towards us with a kinder heart, you youths !

19. O Sobhari, call loud with your newest song

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the young, strong, and pure Maruts, as the plougher calls the cows.

20. Worship the Maruts with a song, they who are strong like a boxer, called in to assist those who call ¹ for him in all fights; (worship them) the most glorious, like bright-shining bulls.

21. Yes, O united friends, kindred, O Maruts, by a common birth, the oxen lick one another's humps ¹.

22. O ye dancers, with golden ornaments on your chests, even a mortal comes (to ask) for your brotherhood ¹; take care of us, ye Maruts, for your friendship lasts for ever.

23. O bounteous Maruts, bring us some of your Marut-medicine, you friends, and (quick, like) steeds.

24. With the favours whereby you favour the Sindhu, whereby you save, whereby you help Krivi ¹, with those propitious favours be our delight, O delightful ones, ye who never hate your followers ².

25. O Maruts, for whom we have prepared good altars, whatever medicine ¹ there is on the Sindhu, on the Asikni, in the seas, on the mountains,

26. Seeing it, you carry it all on your bodies. Bless us with it! Down to the earth, O Maruts ¹, with what hurts our sick one,—straighten what is crooked!

NOTES.

Ascribed to Sobhari Kânva ; metre, Kâkubha pragâtha.
Verse 1 = SV. I, 401 ; verse 21 = SV. I, 404.

Verse 1.

SV. reads sthâta, and *dridhâ kid yamayishnavah*.

Verse 2.

Note 1. It might be better to supply *rathaih*, but the poet may have used *pars pro toto*.

Note 2. The Sobharis, who are mentioned in the 8th *Mandala* only, are clearly a clan of that name, and their hymns form a small collection by itself. See Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 209 seq.

Verse 3.

Note 1. *Milhvas* is sometimes used by itself in the sense of patron or benefactor, VII, 86, 7 ; 97, 2. Whether it can govern a genitive is doubtful, but see VII, 58, 5, note.

Note 2. Here again, as in II, 34, 11, *Vishnu esha* seems to mean Soma, possibly the food, or even the seed (*retas*) of *Vishnu*. *Sâyana* too takes *Vishnu* as a name of rain. In I, 154, 5, we read that the spring of *madhu* is in the highest place of *Vishnu*. Could it mean the generous sons of *Vishnu* ?

Verse 4.

Note 1. My translation is purely conjectural. I take *dvipa* for isolated or scattered clouds, different from the *dukkhunâ*, which I take for the black mass of storm-clouds, threatening destruction. Grassmann : 'Die Wolkeninseln stoben und das Unheil floh.' Ludwig : 'Empor stigen gewaltig die waszerinseln, still stand das unglück.'

Note 2. The coming together of heaven and earth and their apparent widening have been ascribed to the Maruts before. It seems hardly possible to translate *dhanvâni* here by bows. I take it for the wide expanse, as if the desert, of the sky.

Verse 7.

Note 1. On *psu* in *vṛishapsu*, see note to VIII, 7, 7.

Note 2. Possibly *srīyam vāhante* has to be taken like *subham yā*, see Gaedicke, *Accusativ*, p. 163.

Verse 8.

Note 1. In support of the translation which I proposed in I, 85, 10, note 2, all I can say is that *ag* is a verb used for shooting forth an arrow, see I, 112, 16, and that *vāna* may be used in the sense of *bāna*, reed and arrow, and that *go* is used for bowstring, see B.-R. s.v. The question, however, arises, how does this verse come in here? How does the fact that the Sobharis, who are praising the storm-gods, shoot their arrow at the golden chest on their chariot, agree with what precedes and follows?

Let us look first whether a more natural translation can be found. B.-R. translate: 'The sacrificial music of the Sobharis is furnished and therefore made more attractive by draughts of milk (or animal food).' In order to support such a translation, it should be proved, first, that *vāna* ever means sacrificial music, and that such sacrificial music can be spoken of as *agyate* (it is furnished), *gobhiḥ* (by milk-draughts). Grassmann translates: 'Durch Milchtrank wird der Sobharis Musik belohnt.' Here again it must be proved that *vāna* can mean sacrificial music, and *agyate*, it is rewarded. Ludwig translates: 'Mit der milch wird gesalbt den Sobhari der zapfen am wagen am goldnen korbe.' This is explained to mean that 'the bolt on the chariot of the Maruts is to be greased with milk, so that the milk may stream down on the Sobharis.' I doubt whether *vāna* can mean bolt, and I do not see that the intention of the poet, namely to ask for rain, would be conveyed by such words.

Sâyana interprets: 'Through the cows, i. e. the hymns, of the Sobharis the lyre of the Maruts is made evident;' or, 'by the cows, i. e. the Maruts, the lyre is manifested for the sake of the Sobharis.'

In support of my own translation I can only appeal to a

custom ascribed by Herodotus (IV, 94) to another ancient Aryan tribe, namely the Thracians, who, when there is thunder and lightning, shoot arrows against the sky. Herodotus in trying to find a motive for this says they do it to threaten the god, because they believe in no other god but their own. This may be so; the only question is whether in shooting their arrows against the sky, they hoped to drive the clouds away, or wished them to give up their treasure, namely the rain. I should feel inclined to take the latter view, but in either case we see that what the Thracians did, was exactly what the Sobharis are said to do here, namely to shoot an arrow at the golden chest or treasure on the chariot of the Maruts. This is, of course, no more than a conjecture, and I shall gladly give it up, if a more appropriate meaning can be elicited from this line. What is against it is the frequent occurrence of *aṅg* with *gobhiḥ* in the sense of covering with milk, see IX, 45, 3; V, 3, 2, &c. As to *rátke kóse hiranyáye*, see VIII, 22, 9.

Verse 9.

Note 1. *Vrishad-aṅgayak* for *vrishan-aṅgayak*, see J. Schmidt, K. Z. XXVI, 358. It cannot mean 'raining down ointments,' as Grassmann supposes, because that would be *varshad-aṅgayak*, if it existed at all. Besides, the *aṅgis* are never poured down, nor are they sacrificial viands. The repetition of the word *vrishan* is intentional, and has been discussed before.

Verse 13.

Note 1. *Nāman* is, of course, more than the mere name; but name can be used in much the same sense.

Verse 14.

Note 1. The simile of the aras, as in V, 58, 5, seems to require another negative.

Note 2. See V, 87, 2, on *dānā* and *mahnā*.

Verse 17.

Note 1. On *diváh ásurasya vedhásak*, see von Bradke, *Dyaus Asura*, pp. 44 and 46. It should be remembered,

however, that vedhas and medhas interchange. Thus in RV. IX, 102, 4, we have vedhām, in SV. I, 101, medhām. On medhās, the Zend mazdā, see Darmesteter, Ormazd, p. 29. I take servant in the sense of worshipper, from vidh.

Verse 18.

Note 1. Arhanti, in the sense of arhayanti, to worship, seems better than to be worthy of, or to have a right to.

Note 2. *Mil'kúshaḥ* can be nominative, see Lanman, p. 511; but it may also refer to the Maruts, and then be accusative.

Note 3. Instead of *ā vavridhvam*, which Ludwig translates, *Nemt uns für euch in besitz*, Grassmann translates, *Wendet euch zu uns her*. He read therefore *ā vavridhvam*, and this, the plural corresponding to *ā vavritsva*, seems to be the right reading.

Verse 20.

Note 1. Grassmann proposes to change *pritsú hótṛishu* into *yutsú pritsúshu*. But may not *hótṛishu* be used here in a sense corresponding to that of *hávya*? *Hávya* has almost the technical meaning of an ally who is to be called for assistance. Thus IV, 24, 2. *sáh vrītrahátye hávyaḥ*; VII, 32, 24. *bháre-bhare ka hávyaḥ*, &c. Now a *hávyaḥ*, one who is called, presupposes a *hótṛi*, one who calls for assistance. It is true that *hotṛi*, from *hu*, to pour out, has so completely become a technical name that it seems strange to see it used here, in a new etymological sense, as caller. But the connection with *havya* may justify what may have been meant as a play on the words. Wilson seems to have taken the verse in a similar sense, when he translates: 'and like a boxer who has been challenged over his challengers.' He, like Ludwig, takes *hotṛi* as a challenger. I prefer to take it as calling for aid. I am not satisfied, however, with either translation, nor does Grassmann or Ludwig offer anything useful.

Verse 21.

Note 1. In the SV. *marútaḥ* and *riháte* have the accent

on the second syllable. *Sábandhavaḥ* was used before of the Maruts, V, 59, 5; according to its accent it would here refer to *gávaḥ*. I can see no meaning in this verse except a very naturalistic one, namely that the Maruts, who are described as friends and brothers, as never quarrelling and always of one mind, are here compared to oxen, grazing in the same field, and so far from fighting, actually licking the humps on each other's backs.

Verse 22.

Note 1. Grassmann, 'geht euch an um eure Brüderschaft;' possibly, 'becomes your brother.'

Verse 24.

Note 1. It is, no doubt, very tempting to change *tūrvatha* into *turvásam*, as Ludwig proposes. The difficulty is to understand how such a change should have come about. *Sindhu* may mean here, not so much the river, as the people living on its shores. *Krivi* is said to be an old name of the *Pañkālas* (Sat. Br. XIII, 5, 4, 7). But, because the *Pañkālas* were called *Krivis*, and because in later times we often hear of *Kuru-Pañkālas*, it does in no way follow that the *Krivis* were identical with the *Kurus*. It proves rather the contrary. *Kuru* may be derived from *kar*, and may have meant active, but it may also have had a very different original meaning. A derivation of *krivi* from *kar* is still more objectionable.

Note 2. *Asaḥadvishaḥ*, which I translate by not hating your followers, is translated by Ludwig: 'ihr, denen kein haszer folgt.' It may also be rendered by 'hating those who do not follow you.'

Verse 25.

Note 1. The medicines are generally brought by *Rudra*, and by his sons, the *Maruts*.

Verse 26.

Note 1. As to *kshamá rápaḥ*, see X, 59, 8-10; AV. VI, 57, 3; as to *íshkarta*, VIII, 1, 12.

MANDALA VIII, HYMN 94.

ASHTAKA VI, ADHYÂYA 6, VARGA 28-29.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. The cow, wishing for glory, the mother of the bounteous Maruts, sends forth her milk; the two horses¹ have been harnessed to the chariots,—

2. She in whose lap¹ all gods observe their duties, sun and moon (also), that they may be seen;

3. Therefore all our friends¹, the singers, invite the Maruts always, to drink (our) Soma.

4. This Soma here has been prepared, the Maruts drink of it, the Asvins also drink of the lord (Soma)¹.

5. Mitra, Aryaman, Varuṇa drink of the Soma which is continually¹ clarified, dwelling in three abodes², procuring offspring.

6. May Indra also rejoice to his satisfaction in this pressed juice, mixed with milk, like a Hotri¹ at the morning-sacrifice.

7. Did the brilliant lords flare up? Endowed with pure strength they rush, like water, through their enemies.

8. Shall I now choose the favour of you, the great gods, who by yourselves shine forth marvellously,

9. The Maruts, who, when going to drink Soma, spread out the whole earth and the lights of heaven.

10. I call now them who are endowed with pure strength, you, O Maruts, from heaven, that you may drink the Soma here;

11. I call now those Maruts who hold heaven and earth asunder, that they may drink the Soma here ;

12. I call now that manly company of the Maruts, dwelling in the mountains, that they may drink the Soma here.

NOTES.

Ascribed to Bindu or Pūṭadakṣha. Metre, Gāyatrī. Verse 1=SV. I, 149; verse 4=SV. I, 174; II, 1135; verse 5=SV. II, 1136; verse 6=SV. II, 1137. The whole hymn can easily be divided into *trikas*.

Verse 1.

Note 1. I adopt Ludwig's correction of the Pada, changing *váhniḥ* to *váhni iti*, though it interrupts somewhat the connection between the first and second verses. Still it seems as impossible to change *Prisni*, the mother of the Maruts, into a cart-horse as into a sucking-calf. This we should have to do, if we took *dhayati* in its usual sense of sucking. Still *dhayati* means to suck, not to suckle. The commentary to the SV. explains *vahniḥ* as *vodhrī*, the driver.

Verse 2.

Note 1. I should prefer to take *upásthe* in the sense of proximity, which, as in the case of *vṛikshopasthe*, may be translated by shadow, or protection.

Verse 3.

Note 1. I cannot believe that we can take *aryá ā* in our passage as *aryé ā*, and translate it with Pischel (Z. D. M. G. XL, p. 125) by 'our singers among the Aryas.' With the plural *kārāvaḥ* we should expect *aryéshu ā*, not *aryé ā*; see also Bergaigne, III, 287; II, 218. Pāda a and b are *galita*, see VI, 45, 33.

Verse 4.

Note 1. *Svarāg* seems to be meant for Soma as lord, not as brilliant.

Verse 5.

Note 1. *Tánā* is generally explained by *ūrṇāstukanirmita daśāpavitra*; see also Bergaigne, I, 179.

Note 2. The three abodes are either the morning, noon,

and evening sacrifices, or the three Soma-vessels, the *Dronakalasa*, *Ādhavanīya*, and *Pūtabhrīt*.

Verse 6.

Note 1. I do not see why *hótā-iva* should not mean 'like the priest,' for the priest also rejoices in the libation; see *Arthasaṃgraha*, ed. Thibaut, pp. 10 and 20. Ludwig prefers to take *hótā* for Agni, fire.

Verse 9.

Note 1. See note to I, 6, 9, and 10, note 1.

MANDALA X, HYMN 77.

ASHṬAKA VIII, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 10-11.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Let me with my voice shower¹ wealth like cloud-showers², like sacrifices of a sage, rich in oblations. I have praised the goodly host of the Maruts³, so that they may be worthy of a Brahman⁴, so that they may be glorious.

2. These boys have prepared their ornaments for beauty, the goodly host of the Maruts, through many nights; the sons of Dyū struggled, like harts, they, the Âdityas, grew high, like banners¹.

3. They who by their own might seem to have risen above heaven and earth, like the sun above the cloud, they are glorious, like brilliant heroes, they shine forth like foe-destroying youths.

4. When you move along on the bottom of the waters, the earth seems to break and to melt¹. This perfect sacrifice is meet for you, come hither together, as if enjoying our offerings.

5. You are as drivers¹ on the poles with their reins, and as brilliant with light at daybreak; like hawks, you are famous destroyers of foes; like wells² springing forth, you scatter moisture.

6. When you, O Maruts, come from afar, knowing the great treasure of the hidden place, O Vasus, the treasure which has to be gained, then keep away also from afar all who hate us.

7. The man who, firm in his sacrifice, offers gifts to the Maruts to the end of the ceremony¹, he

gains health and wealth, blessed with offspring ; he shall also be in the keeping of the gods.

8. They are indeed our guardians, to be worshipped at all sacrifices, most blissful by their name of Ādityas ; may they, swiftly driving on their chariots, protect our prayer, quick even on their march, delighting in our sacrifice.

NOTES.

Ascribed to Syûmarasmi Bhârgava. On the metre, see Rig-veda, translation, Introd. p. civ; Benfey, Quantitätsversch. IV, 2; 38-39; Oldenberg, Prolegomena, 92. This hymn and the next belong closely together. They are both so artificial and obscure that a translation of them can only be tentative. None of its verses occurs in SV., VS., AV., TS., TB., MS.

Verse 1.

Note 1. I take prushâ for prushâni.

Note 2. I do not think that abhraprúshaḥ can be meant for the Maruts.

Note 3. The ná in many of the verses seems to be due to a mere trick, and untranslatable.

Note 4. Or, 'I have praised the priestly host, so that they may be worthy of good Marut-hood.'

Verse 2.

Note 1. Akrâḥ, banners, Grassmann; columns, Ludwig. The meaning is utterly unknown.

Verse 4.

Note 1. See Aurel Mayr, Beiträge aus dem Rig-Veda, p. 12. 'The earth melted,' see Ps. xlv. 6.

Verse 5.

Note 1. Prayug seems to mean here a driver; pra-yug is often used of the Maruts as harnessing or driving their horses; see I, 85, 5; V, 52, 8.

Note 2. Prava has been derived from pru, to float. I should prefer to derive it from pra-van, from which we have pra-vana, precipice, possibly the Latin adjective pronus, and, very irregularly, Greek πρηνής. Stems in radical n frequently enter the class of stems in â and a, and pravan would become pravâḥ or pravaḥ, as -gan becomes -gâḥ and -gaḥ; cf. Lanman,

p. 478. Others take vana for a mere suffix like vat. Prava, rushing forward, would have been a good name for a spring. This, of course, is a mere conjecture. Others derive pravâ-s from vâ, to blow. As a substantive pravâ as well as upavâ occurs AV. XII, 1, 51. vâtasya pravâm upavâm ânu vâty arêh. But these words mean the blowing before and the blowing after, and not blowers. There are the verbs pravâ and anuvâ in Tândya Br. I, 9, 7; TS. III, 5, 2, 3; IV, 4, 1, 1. They are there referred to dawn and night. These passages, however, seem too technical to allow us to fix the original meaning of prava-h. Pravâ in RV. I, 34, 8, remains unexplained.

Verse 7.

Note 1. On udriki, see Ludwig's note.

MANDALA X, HYMN 78.

ASHTAKA VIII, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 12-13.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Full of devotion like priests with their prayers, wealthy like pious men, who please the gods with their offerings, beautiful to behold like brilliant kings, without a blemish like the youths of our hamlets—

2. They who are gold-breasted like Agni with his splendour, quick to help like self-harnessed winds, good leaders like the oldest experts, they are to the righteous man like Somas, that yield the best protection.

3. They who are roaring and hasting like winds, brilliant like the tongues of fires, powerful like mailed soldiers, full of blessings like the prayers of our fathers,

4. Who hold together like the spokes of chariot-wheels, who glance forward like victorious heroes, who scatter *ghṛīta*¹ like wooing youths, who chant beautifully like singers, intoning a hymn of praise,

5. Who are swift like the best of horses, who are bounteous like lords of chariots on a suit, who are hastening on like water with downward floods, who are like the manifold¹ *Āngiras* with their (numerous) songs.

6. These noble sons of *Sindhu*¹ are like grinding-stones, they are always like *Soma*-stones², tearing everything to pieces; these sons of a good mother are like playful children, they are by their glare like a great troop on its march.

7. Illumining the sacrifice¹ like the rays of the dawn, they shone forth in their ornaments like triumphant warriors; the Maruts with bright spears seem like running rivers, from afar they measure many miles.

8. O gods, make us happy and rich, prospering us, your praisers, O Maruts! Remember our praise and our friendship, for from of old there are always with you gifts of treasures.

NOTES.

Ascribed to Syûmarasmi Bhârgava. None of its verses occurs elsewhere. Metre, 1, 3, 4, 8 Trishtubh; 2, 5-7 Gagatî.

Verse 4.

Note 1. *Ghr̥itaprush*, Fett sprühend, Gluth austheilend, according to Grassmann; *gh̥r̥ita*-sprühend, according to Ludwig. Sâyaṇa takes *vareyávaḥ* as wishing to give presents, and explains that such gifts were preceded by a gift of water, so that *gh̥r̥itaprúshaḥ* would mean, giving water or rain. The real meaning is difficult.

Verse 5.

Note 1. *Visvarûpa* may have been meant in a more special and mythological sense.

Verse 6.

Note 1. *Síndhu-mâtaraḥ* may be a synonym of *Prisni-mâtaraḥ*, *sindhu* being used as a name of the water in the sky. It may also mean, having the river *Sindhu* for their mother, i. e. coming from the region of the river. Bergaigne translates (II, 397), 'qui ont pour mère la rivière céleste. Cette rivière peut être une des formes de la vache qui passe aussi pour leur mère.'

Note 2. The *grāvānaḥ* and *ádrayaḥ* are probably meant for stones used for pounding corn and squeezing Soma.

Verse 7.

Note 1. On *adhvarasrî*, see Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* p. 53.

MANDALA I, HYMN 43.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYÂYA 3, VARGA 26-27.

TO RUDRA.

1. What could we say to Rudra, the wise, the most liberal, the most powerful, that is most welcome to his heart,—

2. So that Aditi¹ may bring Rudra's healing to the cattle, to men, to cow, and kith,

3. So that Mitra, that Varuna, that Rudra hear us, and all the united Maruts¹.

4. We implore Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of animal sacrifices¹, the possessor of healing medicines², for health, wealth³, and his favour.

5. He who shines like the bright sun, and like gold, who is the best Vasu among the gods,

6. May he bring health to our horse, welfare to ram and ewe, to men, to women, and to the cow !

7. Bestow on us, O Soma, the happiness of a hundred men, great glory of strong manhood¹;

8. O Soma¹, let not those who harass and injure overthrow us; O Indu, help us to booty !

9. Whatever beings are thine, the immortal, in the highest place of the law, on its summit¹, in its centre, O Soma, cherish them, remember them who honour thee.

NOTES.

Ascribed to Kanva Ghaura, and addressed to Rudra (1, 2, 4-6), to Rudra and Mitrâ-Varunau (3), and to Soma (7-9). Metre, Gâyatrî (1-8); Anushtubh (9). Verse 2 in TS. III, 4, 11, 2; MS. IV, 12, 6.

The hymn may be divided into two, the first from 1-6, the second from 7-9. See, however, Bergaigne, III, 32, n. 1; and Recherches sur l'hist. de la Samhitâ, I, 65. He would prefer to divide the whole into three hymns.

Verse 1.

See TÂ. X, 17, 1; Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. I, 246.

Verse 2.

Note 1. Ludwig takes Aditi here as a name of Rudra; also Hillebrandt, Über die Göttin Aditi, p. 6.

Verse 3.

Note 1. The *visve sagóshasaḥ*, following on Rudra, can hardly be meant for any but the Maruts, who are often called *sagóshasaḥ*. But it may also have been intended for all the gods together.

Verse 4.

Note 1. Gâthápatim and medhápatim are both difficult. We expect gâthápatim and medhápatim. If, as Ludwig maintains, gâtha in Zend is equivalent to *ritu*, season, then gâthapati might be *ritupati*, a name of Agni, X, 2, 1. But this is extremely doubtful. We must derive gâthápati from gâthā, I, 167, 6, and medhápati from medhā, animal sacrifice, till we know more on the subject.

Note 2. Gálâsha-bheshagam, an epithet of Rudra; see VIII, 29, 5, where Rudra is intended. In II, 33, 7, the arm of Rudra is called bheshagáh gálâshaḥ; in VII, 35, 6, Rudra himself is called gálâshaḥ. Gálâsha seems connected with gala, water. Bergaigne, III, 32, translates it by adoucissant.

Note 3. On *samyóḥ*, see note 2 to I, 165, 4.

Verse 7.

Note 1. Tuvi-*nr̥im̐na* would seem more appropriate as a vocative. In verse 8, too, I should prefer to take Soma as a vocative, like Benfey and Grassmann.

Verse 8.

Note 1. I read Soma, paribádhaḥ. See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. p. 116.

Verse 9.

Note 1. Unless we can take mûrdhá for a locative, attracted by nábhā, I should propose to read mûrdhán nábhā. It can hardly be an adverbial Dvandva, mûrdhá-nábhā, nor do I see how it can be applied as a nominative to Rudra. The whole verse is difficult, possibly a later addition. On *ritasya amṛtasya dhāman*, see IX, 97, 32 ; 110, 4 (dhárman).

MANDALA I, HYMN 114.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 8, VARGA 5-6.

TO RUDRA.

1. We offer these prayers¹ to Rudra, the strong, whose hair is braided², who rules over heroes³, that he may be a blessing to man and beast, that everything in this our village may be prosperous and free from disease.

2. Be gracious to us, O Rudra, and give us joy, and we shall honour thee, the ruler of heroes, with worship. What health and wealth father Manu acquired by his sacrifices, may we obtain the same, O Rudra, under thy guidance.

3. O bounteous Rudra, may we by sacrifice obtain the goodwill of thee, the ruler of heroes; come to our clans, well-disposed, and, with unharmed men, we shall offer our libation to thee.

4. We call down for our help the fierce Rudra, who fulfils our sacrifice, the swift, the wise; may he drive far away from us the anger of the gods; we desire his goodwill only.

5. We call down with worship the red boar of the sky, the god with braided hair, the blazing form; may he who carries in his hand the best medicines grant us protection, shield, and shelter!

6. This speech is spoken for the father of the Maruts, sweeter than sweet, a joy¹ to Rudra; grant to us also, O immortal, the food of mortals, be gracious to us and to our kith and kin!

7. Do not slay our great or our small ones, our

growing or our grown ones, our father or our mother, and do not hurt our own¹ bodies, O Rudra !

8. O Rudra, hurt us not in our kith and kin, nor in our own life, not in our cows, nor in our horses ! Do not slay our men in thy wrath : carrying libations, we call on thee always.

9. Like a shepherd¹, I have driven these praises near to thee ; O father of the Maruts, grant us thy favour ! For thy goodwill is auspicious, and most gracious, hence we desire thy protection alone.

10. Let thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying be far away¹, and let thy favour be with us, O ruler of heroes ! Be gracious to us, and bless us, O god, and then give us twofold protection².

11. We have uttered our supplication to him, desiring his help ; may Rudra with the Maruts hear our call. May Mitra, Varuna, Aditi, the River, Earth, and the Sky grant us this !

NOTES.

Ascribed to Kutsa Ângirasa. Metre, 1-9 Gagatî; 10, 11 Trishubh. Verse 1=VS. XVI, 48; TS. IV, 5, 10, 1; MS. II, 9, 9 (yáthâ naḥ sám); verse 2=TS. IV, 5, 10, 2; verse 7=VS. XVI, 15; TS. IV, 5, 10, 2; verse 8=VS. XVI, 16; TS. III, 4, 11, 2; IV, 5, 10, 3; MS. IV, 12, 6 (áyushi; havishmanto námasâ vidhema te); verse 10=TS. IV, 5, 10, 3.

Verse 1.

Note 1. TS. reads imám matím, and yáthâ naḥ sám.

Note 2. Kapardin is an epithet not only of Rudra, but also of Pûshan (VI, 55, 2; IX, 67, 11), and of a Vedic clan, the Trîtsus (VII, 83, 8) or Vasishthas; see Roth, Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda, pp. 94 seq.; Oldenberg, Z.D.M.G. XLII, p. 207. Kaparda is the name of a shell, and the hair twisted together in the form of a shell seems to have suggested the name of kapardin.

Note 3. Kshayád-vîra means 'ruling over heroes,' just as mandád-vîra (VIII, 69, 1) means 'delighting heroes.' This meaning is applicable to all passages where kshayád-vîra occurs, and there is no reason why we should translate it by 'destroyer of heroes,' which can hardly be considered as an epitheton ornans. No doubt, a god who rules and protects can also be conceived as punishing and destroying, and this is particularly the case with Rudra. Hence in certain passages Rudra may well be invoked as nrîhán (IV 3, 6), just as we read of the Maruts (VII, 56, 17): 'May that bolt of yours which kills cattle and men be far from us! Incline to us, O Vasu, with your favours!' See Muir, S.T. IV, p. 301, note.

Verse 2.

TS. reads áyagé and práñitau. See Ludwig, Notes, p. 265.

Verse 6.

Note 1. On the meaning of vardhana and vridh in Zend, see Darmesteter, Ormazd, pp. 41, 6; 92, 1.

Verse 7.

Note 1. TS. reads *priyá má nas tanúvaḥ rudra rīrishaḥ*. Priya, dear, used like φίλος, in the sense of our own. See Bergaigne, III, 152.

Verse 8.

See Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. I, p. 141 (ed. 1837); and Svetāsvat. Up. in S. B. E. XV, p. 254, note. Āyushi for āyaú is supported by VS. and TS. I propose to read āyau for āyaú. Bhāmitáḥ is supported by TS. and Svet. Up., while VS. reads bhāmínaḥ, which Mahidhara refers to virán. The last line is the same in RV. and VS., but the TS. reads *havīshmanto námasā vidhema te*, while the Svet. Up. reads *havishmantaḥ sadasi tvā havāmahe*.

Verse 9.

Note 1. As to the simile, see RV. X, 127, 8, and Muir S. T. IV, p. 304, note.

Verse 10.

Note 1. TS. reads *ārāt te, goghná (°é), purushaghné, kshayádvirāya, rākshā* for *mṛiḥ, deva brūhi*.

Note 2. I take *dvibárhāḥ*, which stands for *dvibárhaḥ*, as an adjective to *sárma*, or possibly as an adverb, see Lanman, p. 560. It can hardly refer to Rudra, as Grassmann supposes. See J. Schmidt, Pluralbildungen der Neutra, pp. 132 seq.

MANDALA II, HYMN 33.

ASHTAKA II, ADHYĀYA 7, VARGA 16-18.

TO RUDRA, THE FATHER OF THE MARUTS
(THE STORM-GODS).

1. O father of the Maruts, let thy favour come near, and do not deprive us of the sight of the sun ; may the hero (Rudra) be gracious to our horse¹, and may we increase in offspring, O Rudra !

2. May I attain to a hundred winters through the most blissful medicines which thou hast given ! Put away far¹ from us all hatred, put away anguish, put away sicknesses in all directions !

3. In beauty thou art the most beautiful of all that exists, O Rudra, the strongest of the strong, thou wielder of the thunderbolt ! Carry us happily to the other shore of our anguish, and ward off all assaults of mischief¹.

4. Let us not incense thee, O Rudra, by our worship, not by bad praise, O hero, and not by divided praise ! Raise up our men by thy medicines, for I hear thou art the best of all physicians.

5. He who is invoked¹ by invocations and libations, may I pay off² that Rudra with my hymns of praise. Let not him who is kind-hearted³, who readily hears our call, the tawny, with beautiful cheeks, deliver us to this wrath !

6. The manly hero with the Maruts has gladdened me, the suppliant, with more vigorous health. May I without mischief find shade, as if from sunshine¹, may I gain the favour of Rudra !

7. O Rudra, where is thy softly stroking hand which cures and relieves¹? Thou, the remover of all heaven-sent mischief, wilt thou, O strong hero, bear with me?

8. I send forth a great, great hymn of praise to the bright tawny bull. Let me reverence¹ the fiery god² with prostrations; we celebrate the flaring name³ of Rudra.

9. He, the fierce god, with strong limbs, assuming many forms, the tawny Rudra, decked himself with brilliant golden ornaments. From Rudra, who is lord of this wide world, divine power¹ will never depart.

10. Worthily thou bearest arrows and bow, worthily, O worshipful¹, the golden, variegated chain; worthily thou cuttest every fiend² here to pieces, for there is nothing indeed stronger than thou, O Rudra.

11. Praise him, the famous, sitting in his chariot¹, the youthful, who is fierce and attacks like a terrible wild beast² (the lion). And when thou hast been praised, O Rudra, be gracious to him who magnifies thee, and let thy armies³ mow down others than us!

12. O Rudra, a boy indeed makes obeisance to his father who comes to greet him¹: I praise the lord of brave men, the giver of many gifts, and thou, when thou hast been praised, wilt give us thy medicines.

13. O Maruts, those pure medicines of yours, the most beneficent and delightful, O heroes, those which Manu¹, our father, chose, those I crave from Rudra, as health and wealth.

14. May the weapon of Rudra avoid us¹, may the great anger of the flaring one pass us by.

Unstring thy strong bows² for the sake of our liberal lords, O bounteous Rudra, be gracious to our kith and kin.

15. Thus, O tawny and manly god, showing thyself¹, so as neither to be angry nor to kill, be mindful of our invocations², and, rich in brave sons, we shall magnify thee in the congregation.

NOTES.

Ascribed to *Gṛtsamada*. Metre, *Trishtubh*. See Muir, S. T. IV, 309; Geldner and Kaegi, p. 90. Bergaigne, III, 153; Leop. v. Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, 343. Verse 1=TB. II, 8, 6, 9; verse 2=TB. II, 8, 6, 8; verse 10=TĀ. IV, 5, 7; verse 11=TS. IV, 5, 10, 3; AV. XVIII, 1, 40; verse 14=VS. XVI, 50; TS. IV, 5, 10, 4; verse 15=TB. II, 8, 6, 9.

Verse 1.

Note 1. The words *abhi naḥ vīráḥ árvati kshameta* admit of different interpretation. Grassmann has: 'Der Held sei huldreich unsren schnellen Rossen;' Muir: 'May the hero spare our horses;' Ludwig: 'Unser held möge tüchtig zu Rosse sein.' The passages quoted by Ludwig from the Sat. Br. III, 7, 3, 1, and IV, 3, 4, 14, do not bear out the meaning of *tüchtig sein*, to be strong, they rather mean, to suffer, to submit to, with a dative. Yet *vīráḥ* by itself may mean son or offspring (III, 4, 9; VII, 1, 21; 56, 24), and if *abhi-ksham* in our passage could mean to be capable and strong, Ludwig's translation would be justified. But if we take *vīrá*, hero, as intended for Rudra, as Indra also is often called simply *vīra*, *abhi kshameta* would lend itself to the translation of 'to be gracious,' or 'to spare,' and I therefore translate: 'May the hero (Rudra) be gracious to our horse.' It should be understood in the same sense in verse 7, at least I see no reason to vary the translation as Geldner does, and also Ludwig, while Muir is right and consistent. Our poet uses the verb *abhiksham* frequently, II, 28, 3; 29, 2 (*abhikshantāraḥ*?). It seems confined to the second *Mandala*.

Verse 2.

Note 1. *Vitarám*, wherever it occurs, is always joined with *vī* in the *Rig-veda*.

Verse 3.

Note 1. If rápas is derived from rap, to whisper, it would have meant originally what is whispered, that is, slander, accusation, and then only crime. Latin crimen also meant originally what is heard, Leumund. Crimen is not connected with the Greek κρῖνω. The *î* in crimen has to be accounted for like the *î* in liber, from lubh (libh). The *r* is irregular, unless we find an analogy in increpare.

Verse 5.

Note 1. Hávate, we expect hûyáte. Ludwig's explanation has not solved the difficulty, and suháva^h points back to yo havate. Oldenberg suggests an anacoluthon, He who invokes—may I.

Note 2. I formerly took áva dishîya in the sense of 'to unloose,' used originally with reference to tethered horses. As horses are unloosed before they can do their work, so the gods are, as it were, unloosed by prayer, or set off, so that they may fulfil what they are asked to do; see RV. I, 25, 3. In the passage quoted by Ludwig from the TS. I, 8, 6, 2, the same meaning seemed quite appropriate: áva Rudrá^m adimahi—yáthá na^h sréyasa^h kárat, 'We unloosed Rudra, that he might make us happier.' Ludwig takes it to mean, 'We have bound, tied, or obliged Rudra, so that he make us happy,' but the preposition ava is against this interpretation. Muir proposes 'to avert' or 'to propitiate,' the latter being adopted by Geldner.

However, in an article lately published by Roth on Wergeld in the Veda (Z.D.M.G. XLI, 672), ava-day has been recognised as an almost technical legal term, meaning 'to pay off, to compound.' Thus, Tândya Br. XVI, 1, 12, we read yâ^h satam vairam tad devân avadayate, 'He portions off, i.e. he satisfies, or pacifies, the gods who were offended, by giving a hundred cows.' With ni^h, we find TB. I, 6, 10, 1. pragá rudrán nîr áva dayate; the same occurs in Maitr. S. I, 10, 20, where we also read, grîheshv eva Rudram nir ava dayata esha te Rudra bhâgas. See also Ait. Br. II, 7, 1. There is a verse quoted, ávâmba Rudrá^m adimahi, in TS. I, 8, 6, 2;

and again in MS. I, 10, 4; *Kāth.* IX, 7; Kap. S. VIII, 10; VS. III, 58, and this gives us the right key to our verse, namely, 'May I pay off, may I pacify, Rudra with my songs of praise,' *dishîya* being the optat. of the aorist, *adimahi* the aor. ind.

Note 3. On *ridûdârah*, see Benfey, *Quantitätsversch.* V, 1; p. 25; Geldner, *K.Z.* XXVIII, 201; Ludwig, *Süsses in seinem bauche habend*; Bergaigne, *miséricordieux*. The meaning is doubtful.

Verse 6.

Note 1. *Ghrîṇîva*, divided into *ghrîṇi-iva*, is a difficult form. Various attempts have been made to explain it. Grassmann translates: 'Wie Schatten von der Gluth mög unverseht ich des Rudra Huld erreichen,' preferring to write *ghrîner va*. Ludwig, in his notes: 'Bei hitze,' taking *ghrîṇi* as a locative. Muir: 'Shade in the heat.' Geldner: 'Vor Sonnengluth den Schatten,' taking *ghrîṇi* as an instrumental. Lanman (p. 379) takes the same view, though he admits that this would be the only example of an instrumental in the masculine, contracted to *i*. He translates: 'As by the heat unharmed, to shelter bring me.' He adds: 'It may be ablative with elision and crasis,' and this is likewise Roth's view. Weber thinks that we may retain *ghrîṇîva* in the *Samhitâ* text, but should divide it into *ghrîṇi-iva*, 'like a man suffering from heat' (*Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 58). I think we must take into account a parallel passage, VI, 16, 38. *ûpa khâyâm iva ghrîṇeh âganma sârma te vayâm*, see M.M., Preface to translation of *Rig-veda*, p. cxliii. Probably the apparent irregularity of the metre led to the change of *ghrîner iva* to *ghrîṇîva*, but *ghrîner iva* can be scanned $\cup - \cup$; see M.M., l. c., p. cxlviii.

Verse 7.

Note 1. *Gâlâsha* by itself occurs but once more as an epithet of Rudra, VII, 35, 6, and twice in composition, *gâlâshabheshaga*; see I, 43, 4. The second *pâda* begins with *hâstak*.

Verse 8.

Note 1. Namasyá is difficult, but we can hardly take it for namasyámasi, masi being supplied from *grinimasi*. Nor do we gain by taking namasyá for an instrumental. Perhaps it is best to take it as a 1st pers. of the imperative.

Note 2. The meaning of kalmalikin is unknown.

Note 3. I think it is best to translate náma by name, though, no doubt, it implies more than the mere name. Geldner's 'majestätisch Wesen' is right, but it is only one side of náma. See VIII, 20, 13, note 1.

Verse 9.

Note 1. On vai, see Delbrück, Syntax, p. 483. On asurya, see von Bradke, Dyaus Asura, pp. 29, 34.

Verse 10.

Note 1. I have changed yagatám into yagata.

Note 2. Árhan idám dayase vísvam ábhvam has been rendered in different ways. Grassmann: 'Du theilst alle diese Macht aus.' Ludwig: 'Du besitzest all diese gewalt.' Geldner: 'Du besitzest höchste Macht.' Muir: 'Thou possessest all this vast world.' Dayase is used, no doubt, in the sense of cutting and distributing, but never in the sense of possessing. In several places, however, it has been translated by to cut and to destroy, e.g. X, 80, 2. agn/*h* vrítráni dayate purúni, 'Agni cuts up many enemies.' VI, 22, 9. vísvá/*h* agurya dayase ví máyá/*h*, 'thou destroyest all deceits.' See also IV, 7, 10; VI, 6, 5. As to ábhva in the sense of fiend, we had it before in I, 39, 8. á yá/*h* na/*h* ábhva/*h* íshate, ví tám yuyota. In other places it assumes a more neutral character, meaning monster, or monstrous power; see B.-R. s.v. 'To distribute power' is not a Vedic conception, nor does ábhva ever mean power in the sense of 'ungeheure Macht, or Urkraft' (Delbrück, Chrest. p. 49).

Verse 11.

Note 1. AV. XVIII, 1, 40, has gartasádam gánânám rágânám, and anyám asmát te. Garta-sad, literally, sitting

in the hole, probably the place of the chariot where the king sat, separated from the driver. These divided chariots can be seen in the ancient monuments of Assyria and Babylon. The king seems to stand in a box of his own, fighting, while the charioteer holds the reins, so as not to interfere with the king. See, however, Bergaigne, III, 122 seq.; Z. D. M. G. XL, 681.

Note 2. The *mṛigá bhîmá* is probably meant for the lion, cf. I, 154, 2, and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 78.

Note 3. As to the *senâs* of Rudra, see TS. IV, 5, 2, 1, *senâni*; AV. XI, 2, 31; Pâr. *Grîhy.* III, 8, 11.

Verse 12.

Note 1. The sense would be better if *vândamânam* could be changed to *vândamânaḥ*.

Verse 13.

Note 1. That father Manu obtained health and wealth from Rudra was mentioned before, I, 114, 2, and it is curious that the Vedic authority of Manu's *Smṛiti* should be based on the well-known sentence, *yat kimka Manur abravīt tad bhesagam*, Taitt. *Samh.* II, 2, 10, 2; cf. M. M., *Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 89.

Verse 14.

Note 1. The VS. reads *pâri no rudrâsya hetîr vrinaktu*, *pâri tveshâsya durmatîr aghâyóh*. *Vṛigyâh* is the 3rd pers. sing. in s of the aor. opt.

Note 2. Rudra is called *sthiraadhanvan*; see also IV, 4, 5; VIII, 19, 20; X, 116, 5; 6; 120, 4; 134, 2; Maitr. S. II, 9, 9.

Verse 15.

Note 1. *Kekitâna*, the vocative of the participle.

Note 2. Muir seems to translate *bodhi*, which *Sâyana* explains by *budhyasva*, by 'think of us now.' The TB. reads *havanasrûḥ*.

MANDALA VI, HYMN 74.

ASHTAKA V, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 18.

TO SOMA AND RUDRA.

1. Soma and Rudra, may you maintain your divine dominion, and may the oblations reach you properly. Bringing the seven treasures to every house, be kind to our children and our cattle.

2. Soma and Rudra, draw far away in every direction¹ the disease² which has entered our house. Drive far away Nirṛiti³, and may auspicious glories belong to us!

3. Soma and Rudra, bestow all these remedies on our bodies. Tear away and remove from us¹ whatever evil we have committed, which clings to our bodies.

4. Soma and Rudra, wielding sharp weapons and sharp bolts, kind friends, be gracious unto us here! Deliver us from the snare of Varuna, and guard us, as kind-hearted gods!

NOTES.

Ascribed to Bhâradvâga Bârhaspatya. Verse 2 occurs TS. I, 8, 22, 5; AV. VII, 42, 1; verse 3, TS. I, 8, 22, 5; AV. VII, 42, 2. All the four verses, but in a different order (3, 1, 2, 4), in MS. IV, 11, 2; see also *Kâth.* XI, 12. Metre, Trishûbh.

This is the only hymn addressed to Soma and Rudra. In the *Khândogya* Up. III, 7 and 9, the Rudras are said to have Indra, while the Maruts have Soma at their head.

It is translated by Geldner and Kaegi.

The whole hymn betrays its secondary character; first by violating the law of decrease, secondly by duals in au before consonants, and thirdly by using a very large number of passages from other hymns. Compare verse 1, pâda c, with V, 1, 5, c; verse 2, pâda c, with I, 24, 9, c; verse 2, pâda d, with VI, 1, 12, d. Phrases like verse 1, pâda d, *sâm naḥ bhûtam dvipâde sâm kâtuḥpade*, occur again and again, with slight modifications; see I, 114, 1; 157, 3; VII, 54, 1; X, 165, 1. Sumanasyâmânâ also is suspicious. It occurs again in the next hymn, the last of the *Mandala*, in VII, 33, 14, likewise a suspected hymn, and in the tenth *Mandala*, X, 51, 5; 7.

Verse 2.

Note 1. On *vîshûkîm*, see II, 33, 2.

Note 2. *Âmivâ* has been identified with *āvīa* by Fick, *Orient und Occident*, III, p. 121. The difficulty is *m=n*.

Note 3. The AV. reads *bâdhethâm dûrâm nîrîritim*, the AV. and TS. read *parâkalî kritâm kid énah prâ mumuktam asmât*.

Verse 3.

Note 1. AV. reads *asmât* for *asmé*, and *ásat* for *ásti*.

Verse 4.

In the *Maitr. S.* the second half of this verse is, *mumuktâm asmân grastân abhîke prâ yakḥḥatam vrishanâ sântamâni*.

MANDALA VII, HYMN 46.

ASHṬAKA V, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 13.

TO RUDRA.

1. Offer ye these songs to Rudra whose bow is strong, whose arrows are swift, the self-dependent¹ god, the unconquered conqueror, the intelligent, whose weapons are sharp—may he hear us !

2. For, being the lord¹, he looks after what is born on earth ; being the universal ruler, he looks after what is born in heaven. Protecting us, come to our protecting doors, be without illness among our people, O Rudra !

3. May that thunderbolt of thine, which, sent from heaven, traverses the earth, pass us by ! A thousand medicines are thine, O thou who art freely accessible¹ ; do not hurt us in our kith and kin !

4. Do not strike us, O Rudra, do not forsake us ! May we not be in thy way when thou rushest forth furiously. Let us have our altar and a good report among men¹—protect us always with your favours !

NOTES.

Ascribed to Vasishṭha. Verse 1 occurs TB. II, 8, 6, 8. Metre, 1-3 Gagatī; 4 Trishṭubh.

Verse 1.

Note 1. The TB. has svadhāmne for svadhāvne, mîdhûshe for vedhâse, and *srinotana* for *srinotu nah*. The commentator explains both svadhāmne = svakīyasthānayuktāya, and svadhāvne = svadhārabdavākyenānnena yuktāya vā. On vedhas, see Bartholomae, K. Z. XXVII, 361; Ludwig, Z. D. M. G. XL, 716.

Verse 2.

Note 1. Geldner translates *kshayena* by 'from his high seat.' The meaning of *kshaya* in this place seems defined by the parallel expression *sāmrāgyena*.

Verse 3.

Note 1. Svapivāta has been variously translated. Grassmann gives Vielbegehrter; Ludwig, des windhauch in schlaf versenkt; Roth, wohl verstehend, denkend; Geldner, freundlicher; Muir, thou who art easy of access, which seems to me the right rendering; cf. *sūpāyana*. It is derived from *api* + *vat*, which occurs six times in the Rîg-veda. As a simple verb it means 'to go near, to attend,' as a causative, the same, or 'to bring near.' Thus, VII, 3, 10. *āpi krātum su-kétasam vatema*, may we obtain wisdom, full of good thoughts. VII, 60, 6. *āpi krātum su-kétasam vātantaḥ*, (the gods) obtaining wisdom, full of good thoughts (for their worshippers). X, 20, 1 (X, 25, 1). *bhadrām nah āpi vātaya mānaḥ*, let us obtain a good mind. I, 128, 2. *tām yagñā-sādhm āpi vātayāmasi*, we go near to, or we bring near Agni, the performer of the sacrifice. I, 165, 13. *mān-māni—api-vātayantaḥ*, bringing the prayers near, or attending to the prayers. X, 13, 5. *pitṛe putrāsaḥ āpi avivatan ritām*, the sons brought the sacrifice to the father.

Api-vāta would then mean approach, or in a more

spiritual sense, attention, regard, and *su-apivâta* would mean either of easy approach, opposed to *durdharsha*, or full of kind attention and regard. See Muir, S.T. IV, p. 314, note. Bergaigne, III, 306, does not help us much, though he points out where the difficulty lies.

The following are the Zend passages in which *api-vat* occurs, with some notes sent me by Dr. Stein: *Apivatahê*, Y. 9, 25, 2. p. sg. med. c. Gen. 'Hom, du verstehst dich auf rechte Preissprüche' d.h. 'kannst sie würdigen;' *apivatâitê daênayâo mâzdayaçnois*, V. 9, 2, 47, 'vertraut mit dem Gesetz;' *daênâm zarazca dât apaêca aotât*, yt. 9, 26: 'wer das Gesetz lernt und in dasselbe eindringt;' *verezyôtûca frâcâ vatôyôtû*, Y. 35, 6, 'das richtig erkannte führe er aus und theile es mit;' Y. 44, 18 scheint *apivaiti* 1. p. sg. med. in der Bedeutung: 'in Erfahrung gebracht haben;' die Stelle ist indess sehr dunkel.

Verse 4.

Note 1. *Ā naḥ bhaga barhīshi gīvasamsé* seems a very simple sentence. It has been translated without any misgivings by Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner and Kaegi and others.

Grassmann translates: 'Lass lange lebend uns die Streu noch schmücken.'

Ludwig: 'Gib uns anteil an dem barhis als verheiszung des lebens.'

Kaegi and Geldner (or Roth): 'Verstatt uns Theil an Opfer und an Herrschaft.'

Bergaigne often points to such translations with scorn, but after he has written several pages on the words in question, here on *gīvasamsa*, he is indeed very positive that it means 'formule qui donne la vie' (I, p. 306), but what such a 'formule' is, and how this meaning fits the whole sentence, he does not tell us.

Let us begin with what is clear. *Ā bhaga naḥ* with locative, means 'appoint us to something,' i.e. 'give us something.' Thus I, 121, 15. *ā naḥ bhaga gōshu*, means 'divide us, distribute us, appoint us to cows,' i.e. 'give us cows as our share.' The same expression is used when

instead of cows or riches, the gods are asked to give long life, glory, or sinlessness. Thus we read, I, 104, 6. *sáh tvám naḥ indra sūrye sáh apsú anâgâstvé á bhaga gīvaramsé*, that is, 'Indra, allow us to share and rejoice in the sun, in water, in sinlessness and praise of men.' X, 45, 10. *á tám bhaga sausravaséshu*, 'give him, let him share in, good renown.'

When we are once familiar with this phraseology, we cannot doubt that in our passage also we have to translate, 'let us have our barhis, our homely altar, and good report among men.'

Another word *narâsamsa* had originally the same meaning as *gīvaramsa*, but it was chiefly used as a name of Agni. He was called *Narâsamsa*, i. e. *Männerlob*, or *dyóh sámśa*, *Himmelslob*, as a German poet was once called *Frauenlob*, not only because he praised women, but because he was praised by women. As we can say, God is my song, the Vedic Rishis might call any god the *samsa*, i. e. the praise or song of men, of the fathers, or of the gods. So far from agreeing with Bergaigne, 'on comprendrait moins bien qu'une locution dont le sens propre aurait été "éloge mortel" eût désigné celui qui est loué par le mortel,' nothing is easier and better confirmed by other languages, while the invocation of 'une formule sacrée' is almost unintelligible. If in a later hymn Indra is called *gyéshtāh mántrah*, in X, 50, 4, I should translate, 'thou art the oldest or the best song,' that is, 'the theme of the oldest song,' but not thou art a magic formula. There is no necessity therefore for taking *narâsamsa* as a possessive compound, possessed of the praise of men, nor must we forget that in words which become almost proper names the accent is by no means always a safe guide.

MANDALA I, HYMN 2.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 3-4.

To VÂYU.

1. Come hither, O Vâyu, thou beautiful one!¹
These Somas are ready, drink of them, hear our call!

2. O Vâyu, the praisers celebrate thee with hymns, they who know the feast-days¹, and have prepared the Soma.

3. O Vâyu, thy satisfying stream¹ goes to the worshipper, wide-reaching, to the Soma-draught.

4. O Indra and Vâyu, these (libations of Soma) are poured out; come hither for the sake of¹ our offerings, for the drops (of Soma) long for you.

5. O Indra and Vâyu, you perceive the libations, you who are rich in booty¹; come then quickly hither!

6. O Vâyu and Indra, come near to the work¹ of the sacrificer, quick, thus is my prayer², O ye men!

7. I call Mitra, endowed with holy strength¹, and Varuṇa, who destroys all enemies; who both fulfil a prayer accompanied by fat offerings².

8. On the right way, O Mitra and Varuṇa, you have obtained great wisdom, you who increase the right and adhere to the right¹;

9. These two sages, Mitra and Varuṇa, the mighty, wide-ruling, give us efficient strength.

NOTES.

Ascribed to Madhukēkandas Vaisvāmītra, and addressed to Vāyu (1-3), Indra and Vāyu (4-6), and to Mitra and Varuṇa (7-9). Metre, Gāyatrī. Verse 4=VS. VII, 8; XXXIII, 56; TS. I, 4, 4, 1; MS. I, 3, 6. Verse 7=SV. II, 197; VS. XXXIII, 57. Verse 8=SV. II, 198. Verse 9=SV. II, 199.

This hymn, with the hymn I, 3, belongs to the Pra-uga ceremony. It consists of three *trikas*.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Darsata, as applied to the wind, may be intended for visible, but its more general meaning is conspicuous, clarus, insignis.

Verse 2.

Note 1. Aharvid, which Benfey translates by tagekundig, Grassmann, die des Tages (Anbruch) kundig, seems to have two meanings. When applied to men, poets or priests, it means those who know (vid) the right days or seasons for every sacrifice, but when it is applied to certain deities, particularly those of the morning, it means finding (vind), bringing back the day, like lucifer. Thus the Asvins are called aharvidā (VIII, 5, 9; 21). The power (daksha) of Viṣṇu is called aharvid, conquering, or bringing, the light of the day (I, 156, 4). The priests, as inviting these gods, might possibly themselves be called aharvid, bringing back the light of day, but this seems doubtful.

Verse 3.

Note 1. This verse, though it seems easy, is really full of difficulties. The meaning of dhenā is very doubtful. It is explained as lips by native authorities, and would in that case be derived from dhe, to suck. But though this meaning is possible in some passages, particularly where dhene occurs in the dual, in other passages dhenā seems clearly to

mean a stream of milk, or of some other liquid, poured out (*visrīṣhta*) from the clouds or at a sacrifice. It often occurs in the dual dhene, and has then been taken as the upper and lower lips (not the nares, as Roth suggests), distinguished from *sipre*, the upper and lower jaws. See note on II, 34, 3. Sāyana (Rv. Bh. I, 101, 10) explains it by *gihvopagihvike*. Durga adds (Nirukta Bhāṣya, VI, 17) *ādhastye damśtre vā gihvopagihvike vā, ity eke, taylor hy annam dhiyate*.

Benfey translates: 'Vāyu, deine vorkostende Lippe schreitet zum Opferer, weit hingestreckt zum Somatrank.' *Prapriṅkatī* can hardly mean vorkostend.

Verse 4.

Note 1. The instrumental *práyobhiḥ* is best translated here by 'for the sake of;' see Wenzel, Instrumental, p. 104.

Verse 5.

Note 1. On *vāginī* and *vāga*, see 'India, what can it teach us?' pp. 164, 166. The transition of meaning from *vāga*, booty, to *vāga*, wealth in general, finds an analogy in the German *kriegen*, to obtain, also in *Gewinn*, and *A.S. winnan*, to strive, to fight, to obtain. *Vāginīvasū*, in the dual, is a frequent epithet of the *Asvins*, II, 37, 5; V, 74, 6; 7; 75, 3; 78, 3; VIII, 5, 3; 12; 20; 8, 10; 9, 4; 10, 5; 22, 7; 14; 18; 26, 3; 85, 3; 101, 8; of *Indra*, III, 42, 5; X, 96, 8.

It differs little from *vāginīvat*, which is likewise applied to the *Asvins*, I, 120, 10, and comes to mean simply wealthy, liberal; cf. I, 122, 8; VII, 69, 1. *Vāginīvatī* is an epithet of *Ushas*, *Sarasvatī*, and *Sindhu*. A common phrase is *vāgebhiḥ vāginīvatī*, lit. wealthy in wealth, cf. I, 3, 10. *Vāginī* occurs as the feminine of *vāgin*, wealthy, or strong, but never in the sense of mare; cf. III, 61, 1. *úshaḥ vāgena vāginī*, *Ushas* wealthy by wealth or booty; VI, 61, 6. *Sarasvatī vāgeshu vāginī*, *Sarasvatī*, strong in battles; cf. I, 4, 8; 9. Native commentators generally explain *vāginī* by sacrifice, *vāginīvasu*, by dwelling in the sacrifice. I take *vāginī* in compounds like *vāginīvasu* as a collective

substantive, like *padminî*, *ûhinî*, *vâhinî*, *tretinî*, *anikinî*, &c., and in the sense of wealth ; unless we may look upon *vâginîvat* as formed in analogy to such words as *tavishî-mat*, only that in this case *tavishî* exists in the sense of strength. Pischel's explanation, *Ved. Stud.* p. 9, rich in mares, takes for granted the existence of *vâginî* in the sense of mare. I have not found any passage where *vâginî* has necessarily that sense.

Verse 6.

Note 1. *Nishkrîta* can hardly mean here what it means in later Sanskrit, a rendezvous.

Note 2. On *îthâ dhiyâ*, see Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* p. 184.

Verse 7.

Note 1. *Pûtâdaksha*, cf. *pûtâkratu*, VIII, 68, 17.

Note 2. *Ghrîtâkî* seems to be taken here in a technical sense, like *ghritavat*, i.e. with oblations of butter thrown into the fire. In I, 167, 3, I took *ghritâkî* in the more general sense of bright, resplendent, while others ascribed to it the meaning of bringing fatness, i.e. rain. It may also mean accompanied by ghee. See B.-R. s. v.

Verse 8.

Note 1. *Rîtasprîs*, probably not very different from *rîtasâp*.

MANDALA I, HYMN 134.

ASHTAKA II, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 23.

To VĀYU.

1. O Vāyu, may the quick racers bring thee towards the offerings, to the early drink¹ here, to the early drink of Soma! May Sûnritâ² (the Dawn) stand erect, approving thy mind! Come near on thy harnessed chariot to share, O Vāyu, to share in the sacrifice³!

2. May the delightful drops of Soma delight thee, the drops made by us, well-made, and heaven-directed, yes, made with milk, and heaven-directed. When his performed aids assume strength for achievement, our prayers implore the assembled steeds for gifts, yes, the prayers implore them.

3. Vāyu yokes the two ruddy, Vāyu yokes the two red horses, Vāyu yokes to the chariot the two swift horses to draw in the yoke, the strongest to draw in the yoke. Awake Purandhi (the Morning)¹ as a lover wakes a sleeping maid, reveal heaven and earth, brighten the dawn, yes, for glory brighten the dawn.

4. For thee the bright dawns spread out in the distance beautiful garments, in their houses¹, in their rays, beautiful in their new rays. To thee the juice-yielding² cow pours out all treasures. Thou hast brought forth the Maruts from the flanks³, yes, from the flanks of heaven.

5. For thee the white, bright, rushing Somas, strong in raptures, have rushed to the whirl, they

have rushed to the whirl of the waters. The tired hunter asks luck of thee in the chase¹; thou shieldest² by thy power from every being, yes, thou shieldest by thy power from powerful spirits³.

6. Thou, O Vâyu, art worthy as the first before all others to drink these our Somas, thou art worthy to drink these poured-out Somas. Among the people also who invoke thee and have turned to thee¹, all the cows pour out the milk, they pour out butter and milk (for the Soma).

NOTES.

Ascribed to Paru~~kk~~hepa Daivodâsi, and addressed to Vâyu. Metre, 1-5 Atyashî; 6 Ashî. No verse occurs in the other Vedas.

Verse 1.

Note 1. Pûrvapîti may here imply that Vâyu receives his libation first, before the other gods, see verse 6.

Note 2. Whatever the etymology of *sûnrîta* may be, in our passage, which describes the morning sacrifice and the arrival of Vâyu as the first of the gods, it can hardly mean anything but dawn. Ūrdhvâ sthâ is an expression applied frequently to the rise of the dawn or the morning, see III, 55, 14; 61, 3; VIII, 45, 12. In the last passage *sûnrîta* is simply the dawn. Ludwig translates, 'deine treflichkeit erhebe sich, günstig aufnemend die absicht.' He, like Bergaigne, III, 295, takes *sûnrîta* as *su-nri-tâ*, virtue. It seems to me that *sûnrîta* may be formed irregularly in analogy to *an-rîta*, and then mean true, good. In other places *sûnrîtam* seems to mean hymn, like *rîtavâka*, IX, 113, 2. In places where it occurs as a name of Ushas, one feels tempted to conjecture *su-nrîtûs*. See also Bartholomae, in Bezenb. Beitr. XV, 24.

Note 3. On *makhâsya dâvâne*, see note to I, 6, 8; but also note to VIII, 7, 27.

Verse 2.

My translation is purely tentative, and I doubt whether the text can be correct. I have taken *krâna* here in the sense of made, but I am quite aware that this meaning becomes incongruous in our very verse, when repeated for the third time. On its other meanings, see Pischel, Ved. Stud. p. 67. For the whole verse, compare VI, 36, 3. Grassmann translates :

Die lust'gen Indu's mögen, Vâyu, dich erfreuen,
Die starken, die wir schön gebraut, die himmlischen,
Die milchgemischten, himmlischen ;
Wenn Tränke tüchtig deinen Sinn

Uns zu gewinnen, bei dir sind,
Dann fordere Lieder die vereinte Rosseschar,
Die Speisen zu empfangen auf.

Ludwig: Erfreuen sollen dich die frohen tropfen, Vāyu, von uns bereitet, die morgendlichen, mit milch bereitet, die morgendlichen, dasz der (opfer) tüchtigkeit zukomen hilfeleistungen zum gelingen, gewärt, die insgesamt herwärts gerichteten gespanne (antworten) zur (mit) beschenkung den liedern, ihn sprechen an die lieder.

These translations may serve to show that certain verses in the Veda are simply hopeless, and that the translators must not be held responsible if they cannot achieve the impossible.

Verse 3.

Note 1. Purandhi may have meant originally doorkeeper or bar-holder (cardo), from *pûh* and *dhi*, being formed like *ishudhí*, *vṛtshandhi*, *sevadhí*, &c. Purandhrí also may have been *πυλωρός*, janitor, or rather janitrix, then housewife. Grassmann translates it by Segensfülle, Ludwig by Fülle; Bergaigne, III, 476, has a long note on purandhi, as one of the many names of 'la femelle.' Whatever it meant etymologically, in our passage, where she is to be woke by the wind in the morning (cf. *ushásaḥ budhí*, I, 137, 2), it is again a characteristic epithet of the dawn, *πολιοῦχος*, *πολιάς*, *πολαίτης*. See also Pischel, *Vedica*, p. 202; Hillebrandt, *Wiener Zeitschrift*, III, 188; 259.

Verse 4.

Note 1. I have translated *damsu* as a locative; could it be a nom. plur. of *damsu*, *δασυ*, referring to *vastrā*, the terminations being left out? see Lanman, p. 415.

Note 2. Sabardúghā, juice-yielding. Roth explains it as quickly yielding, identifying *sabar* with Greek *ἄφαρ*. But Greek *φ* never represents Sanskrit *b*. *Sabar*, juice, milk, water, would really seem to yield the true source of A. S. *sæp*, O. H. G. *saf*, *sap*, for it is clear that neither *δρός*, nor Lat. *sucus*, would correspond with A. S. *sæp*; see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, § 328; also Bartholomae, in *Bezenb. Beitr.* XV, 17.

Note 3. Vakshánābhyaḥ, from the flanks. It would be better if we could refer vākshānābhyaḥ to Dhenu, the cow, the mother of the Maruts, while Dyaus is their father, see V, 52, 16. Here, however, Vāyu is conceived as their father, and dyaus (fem.) as their mother.

Verse 5.

Note 1. I have followed Ludwig in his explanation of tsārī, hunter, watcher, and takvaviya, chase of the takva, whatever animal it may be.

Note 2. Oldenberg suggests prāsi for pāsi, which on many accounts would be excellent.

Note 3. On asuryā, see von Bradke, Dyaus Asura, p. 39, and Bergaigne, Journal Asiatique, 1884, p. 510.

Verse 6.

Note 1. Vihutmat is translated by Roth as not sacrificing. But vihutmat can hardly be separated from vihava and vihavya, and seems to mean therefore invoking, possibly, invoking towards different sides. Hu, to sacrifice, does not take the preposition vi. Vavargushī is doubtful. Without some other words, it can hardly mean 'those who have turned towards the gods,' as we read in X, 120, 3 (tvé krátum ápi vriṅgānti víśve); nor is it likely to be the same as vrikta-barhis, 'those who have prepared the barhis.' I have translated it in the former sense. See Geldner, Ved. Stud. p. 144, and Oldenberg, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1890, p. 414.

MANDALA X, HYMN 168.

ASHTAKA VIII, ADHYĀYA 8, VARGA 26.

TO VĀTA.

1. Now for the greatness of the chariot of Vāta !
Its roar goes crashing and thundering. It moves touching the sky, and creating red sheens ², or it goes scattering the dust of the earth.

2. Afterwards there rise the gusts of Vāta ¹, they go towards him, like women to a feast ². The god goes with them on the same chariot, he, the king of the whole of this world.

3. When he moves on his paths along the sky, he rests not even a single day ¹; the friend of the waters, the first-born, the holy, where was he born, whence did he spring ?

4. The breath of the gods, the germ ¹ of the world, that god moves wherever he listeth ; his roars indeed are heard, not his form—let us offer sacrifice to that Vāta !

NOTES.

Ascribed to Anila Vâtâyana, and addressed to Vâyu, here called Vâta. The metre is Trishṭubh. This hymn does not occur in the other Vedas. See Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, V, p. 145; Geldner and Kaegi, p. 95.

Verse 1.

Note 1. For this use of the accusative, see Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* p. 13.

Note 2. *Arunâni* is explained by Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* p. 274, as the reddish colours of the lightning.

Verse 2.

Note 1. *Vishṭā* means kind or variety. Anu seems to refer to ratha, which I take as the subject of the whole of the first verse.

Note 2. 'Sie gehn mit einander zum Tanz,' Geldner and Kaegi.

Verse 3.

Note 1. Geldner and Kaegi propose aha for ahaḥ.

Verse 4.

Note 1. Vâta seems to be called the garbha of the world, in the sense of being its source or life.

MANDALA X, HYMN 186.

ASHTAKA VIII, ADHYĀYA 8, VARGA 44.

TO VĀTA.

1. May Vāta waft medicine, healthful, delightful to our heart; may he prolong our lives!
2. Thou, O Vāta, art our father, and our brother, and our friend; do thou grant us to live!
3. O Vāta, from that treasure of the immortal which is placed in thy house yonder, give us to live!

NOTES.

Ascribed to Ula Vâtâyana, and addressed to Vāyu, under the name of Vāta. The metre is Gâyatrî. Verse 1 occurs in SV. I, 184; II, 1190; Taitt. Br. II, 4, 1, 8; Taitt. Âr. IV, 42, 8. Verse 3 in SV. II, 1192; Taitt. Br. II, 4, 1, 8; Taitt. Âr. IV, 42, 7.

APPENDICES.

- I. INDEX OF WORDS.
- II. LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT PASSAGES
QUOTED 'IN THE PREFACE AND IN THE
NOTES.
- III. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE MORE IM-
PORTANT PUBLICATIONS ON THE RIG-
VEDA.

THE following Index of Words was commenced by Professor Thibaut, and continued and finished by Dr. Winternitz. I beg to express my gratitude to both of them, more particularly to Dr. Winternitz, who has spared no pains in order to make the Index as complete and as accurate as possible.—F. M. M.

The Index contains all the words of the hymns translated in this volume, and besides, all the words about which something is said in the Notes.

The lists of passages are complete, except when three dots (...) are put after the word (e. g. *ákkba* ...).

Three figures refer to *Mandala*, hymn, and verse, a small figure to a note, e. g. X, 77, 2¹, stands for *Mandala* X, hymn 77, verse 2, note 1 (the word occurs in X, 77, 2, and also in note 1).

If a word occurs in a note only, the passage is put in parentheses, e. g. (V, 61, 4¹) means that the word occurs in note 1 on V, 61, 4, but *not* in V, 61, 4.

In the case of longer notes, it seemed advisable to refer to the page. *One* number refers to the page, e. g. (287) means that the word occurs in a note on page 287.

I. INDEX OF WORDS.

- ámsa*, shoulder:
ámseshu, I, 64, 4; 166, 9; 10;
 168, 3; V, 54, 11; VII, 56, 13;
ámsayob ádhi, V, 57, 6.
- amhatí*, tribulation:
amhatí-bhyab, V, 55, 10.
- ámhas*, anguish:
ámhab, II, 34, 15; 33, 2; *ámhasab*, II, 33, 3.
- ákanishṭba*:
ákanishṭbāsab, among whom none
 is the youngest, V, 59, 6; 60, 5.
- ákava*, not deficient:
ákavāb, V, 58, 5.
- aketú*, without light:
aketāve, I, 6, 3.
- aktú*, night:
aktún, V, 54, 4.
- akrá*, banner (?):
akráb, X, 77, 2¹.
- áksha*, axle:
ákshab, I, 166, 9³.
- ákshita*, unceasing:
ákshitam (bīgam), V, 53, 13;
útsam, the inexhaustible well,
 I, 64, 6¹; VIII, 7, 16.
- akshṇa-yāvan*, crossing:
akshṇa-yāvānab, the crossing
 (horses), VIII, 7, 35.
- ákhidrayāman*, never-wearying:
ákhidrayāma-bhiḥ (steeds), I, 38,
 11³.
- akḥkhalikri*:
akḥkhalikrítīya, (V, 52, 6²).
- Agastya*:
agastya, I, 170, 3; (287 seq.)
- ágrībhīta-śoṭis*, untouched splendour:
ágrībhīta-śoṭishab, V, 54, 5¹; -am,
 V, 54, 12².
- Agni*, the god:
agne, I, 19, 1-9; VI, 66, 9; VII,
 59, 1; *agne*, V, 56, 1; 60, 6;
 8; *agníḥ*, V, 60, 7; VII, 56,
 25; *agníḥ ná*, X, 78, 2; *agníḥ*
gāni pūrvyāb, VIII, 7, 36; *agníḥ*,
 I, 38, 13¹; V, 60, 1; VIII,
 7, 32.—Agni and the Maruts,
 (339; 354; V, 59, 1¹).—Agni
 has two mothers, (V, 61, 4¹).—
hótā=Agni, (VIII, 94, 6¹).
- agní*, fire, light:
agníḥ, V, 58, 3; *agním*, X, 121,
 7; I, 170, 4; *agnáyab yathā*,
 V, 87, 7; *agnáyab ná idhānāb*,
 VI, 66, 2; *agnáyab ná suru-
 kânāb*, II, 34, 1; *surukvāmsab*
ná agnáyab, V, 87, 6; *agnáyab*
ná svá-vidyutab, V, 87, 3; *ag-
 néḥ guhvāb*, VI, 66, 10; *agni-
 nám gihvāb*, X, 78, 3.
- agni-táp*, warming oneself at the
 fire:
agni-tápab, V, 61, 4².
- agní-bhrāgas*, fiery:
agní-bhrāgasab, V, 54, 11.
- ágra*:
ágre, in the beginning, X, 121,
 1.—*agra*, top of a tree, (I, 37,
 6¹).
- agratas and agre*, before:
 (V, 61, 3¹).
- aghá*, mischief:
aghát, I, 166, 8.
- ághnya*, bull:
ághnyam, I, 37, 5¹.
- ánga*, limb:
ángaiḥ, II, 33, 9.
- angá*:
té angá, they alone, VII, 56, 2;
yát angá, aye when, VIII, 7, 2.
- Āngiras*:
āngirasab (visvá-rūpāb), X, 78,
 5¹.—*Āngiras and Daragvas*, (II,
 34, 12¹).
- ákarama*:
ákaramāb, no one being last, V,
 58, 5.
- ákḥba*, prep. c. acc. . . .:
 approach thou, V, 52, 14; 15;
 on to, I, 165, 14.
- átyuta*, unshakable:
átyutā, I, 85, 4; 167, 8; VIII,
 20, 5.

akṛuta-kyút, shaking the unshakable :
epithet of Indra [not of the
Maruts, correct on p. 278],
(I, 167, 8².)

ag :
ágati, he drives, VI, 66, 7.—*vânáb*
*agya*te, the arrow is shot, VIII,
20, 8¹; (I, 85, 10².)—*ví ágatha*,
you drive forth, V, 54, 4¹.

agá, goat :
(234.)
agá-ava, having goats for his horses :
ep. of Pūshan, (I, 87, 4¹.)
agára, never growing old :
agárâb, I, 64, 3.

agina, skin :
(234.)
agirá, ready, swift (horses) :
agirá, I, 134, 3; V, 56, 6.
ágoshya, unwelcome :
*ágoshya**b*, I, 38, 5².
ágma, racing :
ágmeshu, I, 37, 8¹; 10²; 87, 3;
V, 87, 7¹.

ágman, racing :
ágman (Loc.), I, 166, 5; VIII, 20, 5.
agyeshibá :
agyeshibáb, among whom none is
the eldest, V, 59, 6; *agyesh-*
ibásab, V, 60, 5.

ágra, a plain :
ágrān, V, 54, 4.
añk, to bow :
sām akyanta, V, 54, 12.

añg :
añgate (*añgi*), they brighten them-
selves, VII, 57, 3.—*añg*, with
*góbhi**b*, to cover with milk,
(VIII, 20, 8¹; 405.)—*prá anaga*,
you have fashioned, V, 54, 1.—
with *ví*, to deck, adorn oneself ;
ví aňgate, I, 64, 4; *ví ānagre*,
I, 87, 1; *ví aňgata*, VIII, 7,
25.—*sām aňge*, I prepare, I,
64, 1.

āñgasā, straightway, and *aňgasīna*,
straightforward :
(V, 53, 10¹.)

aňgi :
aňgi aňgate, they brighten them-
selves with brightness, VII, 57,
3; *samānám aňgi*, their anoint-
ing is the same, VIII, 20, 11.—
pl. the glittering ornaments of
the Maruts, *aňgáyab*, I, 166,
10; *aňgín*, X, 77, 2; *aňgi-bhi**b*,

I, 37, 2²; 64, 4¹; 85, 3; 87, 1;
V, 52, 15¹; 56, 1¹; X, 78, 7;
(*arunébhi**b*) II, 34, 13¹; (307;
308); *aňgi*shu, V, 53, 4¹.—(VIII,
20, 9¹.)

aňgin, possessed of *aňgis* ?
(V, 52, 15¹.)

aňgi-mát, well-adorned :
aňgi-mántab, V, 57, 5.

átas :
átab, from yonder, I, 6, 9; from
thence, I, 165, 5; V, 60, 6;
átab kit, even from them, VIII,
20, 18.

āti :
gánān āti tasthau, I, 64, 13; across,
II, 34, 15.—*āti=ādhi*? V, 52,
3¹; (VIII, 7, 14¹.)—*pūrvī**b* *āti*
kshápab, through many nights,
X, 77, 2; *āti kshápab*, Gen., (I,
64, 8².)

*āti*thi, guest :
play on the words *āti*thi and *á*dit*i*,
(262.)

átka, garment :
átkān, V, 55, 6.

átya, rushing, horse, racer :
átyam, I, 64, 6²; *átyām ná sáptim*,
(I, 85, 1¹); *vṛishanab vṛisha-*
bhāsab átyāb, strong and power-
ful horses (140); *átyāb-iva*, V,
59, 3; *átyāsab ná*, VII, 56, 16;
átyān iva āgīshu, II, 34, 3.—
átyena págasā, with rushing
splendour, II, 34, 13².

*át*ra :
now, I, 165, 11; here, I, 165, 13;
V, 61, 11; VII, 57, 5.

*át*ra, food :
(I, 86, 10².)
atrā, tooth, jaw, eater, ogre :
(I, 86, 10².)

atrín, tusky fiend :
atrínām, I, 86, 10².

*át*ha, therefore :
I, 87, 4; 114, 9; (VII, 56, 1¹.)

adás, yonder :
X, 186, 3.

ádābhya, unbeguiled, unconquerable :
adābhyāb, II, 34, 10; *ádābhyasya*,
VIII, 7, 15¹.

Aditi :
Aditi, (241 seqq.); *ādityāb áditib*,
(244); earth, (255; 263); as
adj. unbound, unbounded, (257);
unrestrained, independent, free,

- (261 seqq.); masc. = *Āditya* (255; 261); ep. of *Agni* (262).
—*āditiḥ*, I, 43, 2¹; 114, 11;
āditeb-iva, I, 166, 12.—*Dyaūḥ*
Āditiḥ, V, 59, 8².
aditi-tvā, *Aditi-hood*, perfection or holiness:
(257.)
ā-dū, not worshipping:
āduvaḥ, nom. plur., (I, 37, 14¹).
ādeva-tra, godless:
ādeva-trāt, V, 61, 6.
ādbhuta, n., strange thing:
ādbhutam, I, 170, 1¹.
ādbhuta-enas, in whom no fault is seen, faultless:
ādbhuta-enasām, V, 87, 7¹.
adyā, to-day . . .
ādri, stone:
thunderbolt, *ādriḥ*, I, 165, 4³;
p. xv; xxi; (182); *ādrim*, I, 85, 5¹; *ādrivā*, I, 168, 6.—*Soma-stone*, *ādrim*, I, 88, 3; *ādrayaḥ* *nā*, X, 78, 6².—mountain, *ādrim*, V, 52, 9; *ādrayaḥ*, V, 87, 2.
adriyat, wielding the thunderbolt:
adriyaḥ, voc., (I, 85, 5¹).
adrūḥ, without guile:
adrūhaḥ, I, 19, 3³.
adroghā, guiltless:
adroghām, V, 52, 1.
ādva-yāvin, free from guile:
ādva-yāvi, VII, 56, 18.
adveshā, kind:
adveshāḥ, V, 87, 8.
ādha, then . . .:
ādha, also VII, 56, 1¹.—*ādha yāt*, now that, I, 167, 2.—*ādha priyā*, for *adha-priyā*, (I, 38, 1¹).
ādhi, over, on, in (c. Loc.), from (c. Abl.) . . .:
devēshu ādhi, above all gods, X, 121, 8.—(V, 52, 3¹).—*riyāḥ* *ādhi*, not *riyās ādhi*, V, 61, 12².—*ādhi snūnā divāḥ*, above the ridge of the sky, VIII, 7, 7; *ādhi-iva girīṇām*, as it were from above the mountains, VIII, 7, 14¹.
ādhriṣṭa, unassailable:
ādhriṣṭāsab, V, 87, 2; *ādhriṣṭāḥ*, VI, 66, 10.
ādhri-gu, irresistible:
ādhri-gāvaḥ, I, 64, 3.
ādhvan, road, way, journey:
ādhvan ā, I, 37, 13; *ādhvanab*, V, 53, 7; *asyā ādhvanab*, V, 54, 10; *gatāḥ ādhvā*, a trodden path, VII, 58, 3.
adhvarā, sacrifice:
adhvarām, I, 19, 1; VII, 56, 12; *adhvaré*, I, 165, 2; X, 77, 8; VIII, 7, 6; *adhvarāsya-iva*, VI, 66, 10.
adhvara-rī, illumining the sacrifice:
adhvara-rīyaḥ, X, 78, 7¹; (V, 60, 8¹).
adhvare-sthā, firm in the sacrifice:
adhvare-sthāḥ, X, 77, 7.
adhasmān, smooth:
adhasmā-bhiḥ *pathī-bhiḥ*, on smooth roads, II, 34, 5¹.
an, to breathe:
prānatāḥ, of the breathing (world), X, 121, 3.
ananudā, not yielding:
ananudāḥ, (I, 165, 9¹).
anantā-rushma, of endless prowess:
anantā-rushmāḥ, I, 64, 10.
anabhīrū, without reins:
anabhīrūḥ, VI, 66, 7.
anamivā, without illness:
anamivāḥ, VII, 46, 2.
ānarus, without wound:
(66.)
anarvān:
anarvānam, unscathed, I, 37, 1¹; (65 seqq.); epithet of *Aditi*, (260); *āditiṃ anarvānam* = *Agni*, (262).
anavadyā, faultless:
anavadyāḥ, I, 6, 8; *anavadyāsab*, VII, 57, 5.
anavabhrā-rādhas, of inexhaustible wealth:
anavabhrā-rādhasab, I, 166, 7; II, 34, 4; V, 57, 5.
anavasā, without drag (?):
anavasāḥ, VI, 66, 7².
anavā, without horses:
anavāḥ, VI, 66, 7; (67).
ānava-dā, the West (?):
ānava-dām, V, 54, 5¹.
anava-yā, moving without horses:
anava-yāḥ (?), (V, 54, 5¹).
an-āgāstvá, guiltlessness, purity:
(257.)
anāturā, free from disease:
anāturām, I, 114, 1.
ānādhriṣṭa, unconquerable:
ānādhriṣṭāsab, I, 19, 4.
ānānata, never flinching:
ānānatāḥ, I, 87, 1.

Ānitabhā, N. of a river:

V, 53, 9¹.

ānika:

āditer ānikam, the face of Aditi (the dawn), (243).—marūtām ānikam, the train of the Maruts, I, 168, 9.—ānikeshu ādhi, on the faces, VIII, 20, 12.

ānu, prep. . . .:

according to, svadhām ānu, see svadhā; ānu gósham, according to pleasure, VI, 66, 4.—ānu dyún, day by day, I, 167, 10; (I, 6, 8²).—ānu átakshata, I, 86, 3¹; ānu scil. sasrubh, V, 53, 2¹.—after, X, 168, 2¹.—synzesis, p. cxxii.

ánutta, not shaken, strong:

ánuttam, I, 165, 9¹.

ánutta-manyu, of irresistible fury:

(I, 165, 9¹.)

ānu-patha, follower:

ānu-pathāb, V, 52, 10.

anu-bhartṛī, comforting:

anu-bhartṛī, I, 88, 6¹; (178.)

anu-stubh:

Anushrubh = 'After-step,' p. xcvi.

anu-svadhām, according to their nature:

V, 52, 1.

anetá:

anenáb for anetáb? (VI, 66, 7¹.)

ánedya, blameless:

ánedya, I, 87, 4; 165, 12; V, 61, 13; p. xviii seq.

anená, without deer:

anenáb, VI, 66, 7¹.

anenás, without guilt:

anenáb, (VI, 66, 7¹.)

ánta, end:

ántam, the hem of a garment, I, 37, 6¹.—rávasab ántam, I, 167, 9.—ántân diváb, V, 59, 7.

ántab-patha, enterer:

ántab-pathāb, V, 52, 10.

antamá, friend:

antamébhi, I, 165, 5¹.

antár:

antáb, from within, I, 168, 5.—c. Loc. within, V, 59, 2².—antáb sántab, within (the womb), VI, 66, 4.

antáriksha, sky, air:

antáriksham, V, 54, 4; 55, 2; diváb ā antárikshāt, V, 53, 8; uráu antáriksha, V, 52, 7; antáriksha rágasab, the air in the

sky, X, 121, 5²; antáriksha, through the air, I, 165, 2; X, 168, 3; antárikshena, VIII, 7, 35.—antáriksha, prithivī, and dyū, (50); ródasi antáriksham, (I, 64, 9².)

antárikshya:

antárikshyāb pathyāb, the paths in the sky, V, 54, 9.

ánti, near:

I, 167, 9.

ándhas, (Soma) juice:

ándhasab (mádhvab), I, 85, 6²;

ándhasā (mádhvab), V, 54, 8³;

ándhāmsi pítāye, to drink the (juice of the Soma) flowers, VII, 59, 5.

anyá, other . . .:

ná tvád anyáb, no other than thou, X, 121, 10.—anyáb, enemy, VII, 56, 15.

anyátas, to a different place:

anyátab, p. xl.

anyátra, elsewhere:

VII, 59, 5.

áp, water:

ápab, V, 54, 2; 58, 6; VII, 56, 25; ápaab-iva, V, 60, 3; VIII, 94, 7; giráyab ná ápaab ugráb, VI, 66, 11²; ápaab ná, X, 78, 5; ápaab brihatíb, the great waters, X, 121, 7¹; 8; 9; mahatíb apáb, VIII, 7, 22; apáb mâtṛib, (307); apáb, I, 165, 8; VIII, 7, 28.—apáb tárema, cross the waters, VII, 56, 24.—apáb, the waters (at sacrifices), I, 64, 1³; 6².—apám arnavám, I, 85, 9; apám ná úrmáyab, I, 168, 2; apám budhné, X, 77, 4; bhurváni apám, I, 134, 5; apám sákha, the friend of the waters (Vāta), X, 168, 3.—ap-sú, VI, 66, 8.—apáb, the waters between heaven and earth, the sky, (309).—ápaab, Acc. (cf. Lanman, 483), V, 53, 14.

ápatya, 'Nachkommen':

(215, note *.)

apa-bhartṛī, the remover:

apa-bhartṛā (rápasab), II, 33, 7.

ápas, n., work, deed:

ápab, (I, 64, 1³); ápāmsi (nári), I, 85, 9.

apás, m., workman:

apáb, (I, 64, 1³); apásam (dáksham), efficient, I, 2, 9.

- apârá, infinite:
apâráb, V, 87, 6.
- ápi, adv. :
even, II, 34, 10; also, X, 77, 7.
- ápi, prep. :
ápi (bhúma, c. Loc.), under, VII, 57, 4¹.
- api-vâta, approach, attention, regard :
(VII, 46, 3¹.)
- ápûrva, incomparable :
ápûrvyam, V, 56, 5; ápûrvyab
prathamáb, as the first before
all others, I, 134, 6.
- apeśas, without form :
apeśase, I, 6, 3.
- áprati-skuta, irresistible :
áprati-skutab, V, 61, 13.
- ápra-jasta, infamous :
ápra-jastân, I, 167, 8.
- Apsaras :
(307; 308.)
- ábibhâvas, fearless :
ábibhyushâ, I, 6, 7; ábibhyushab,
(I, 6, 1².)
- abda, cloud :
(V, 54, 3¹.)
- abdâ, wish to give water (?) :
abda-yâ, wishing to give water, V,
54, 3¹.
- abdi-mât, with clouds :
(V, 54, 3¹.)
- abhí, prep., to . . . :
yâb karshanîb abhí (bhúvab ?), who
surpasses all men, I, 86, 5¹.—
abhí dyûn=ánu dyûn, (I, 6, 8².)
—synzesis of abhí, p. cxxii.
- abhí-iti, assault :
abhí-itiñ rápasab, II, 33, 3.
- abhi-gñû, knee-deep :
I, 37, 10².
- abhítas, all around :
abhítas mâ, VII, 59, 7.
- abhí-dyu, hastening, or, heaven-
directed. [It is doubtful which
is the right meaning] :
abhídyu-bhíñ, hasting, I, 6, 8²;
abhí-dyavab, hastening heaven-
ward, or, shining forth, VIII,
7, 25; I, 134, 2 (bis); X, 77, 3;
78, 4.
- abhi-mâtin, adversary :
abhi-mâtinam, I, 85, 3.
- abhi-ñrí :
cf. gaurñ, (V, 60, 8¹.)
- abhíshñi, victory :
abhíshñaye, II, 34, 14².
- abhíshñi, conqueror, victorious :
(II, 34, 14².)
- abhisam-karénya, to be approached,
accepted, consulted :
abhisam-karényam, I, 170, 1¹.
- abhisam-kârin, changeable :
(I, 170, 1¹.)
- abhi-svartñi, intoning :
abhi-svartârab arkâm, intoning a
hymn of praise, X, 78, 4.
- abhí-hrut, assault, injury :
(I, 166, 8¹.)
- abhí-hruti, injury :
abhí-hruteb, I, 166, 8¹.
- ábhiru, fearless :
ábhiravab, I, 87, 6.
- abhîsu, rein, bridle :
abhîsavab, I, 38, 12¹; V, 61, 2.
- abhok-hân, slayer of the demon :
abhok-hánañ, I, 64, 3¹.
- abhrâ, cloud :
abhrât ná súryab, X, 77, 3.
- abhra-prúsh, cloud-shower :
abhra-prúshab, X, 77, 1².
- abhríya, belonging to the cloud :
abhríyâm vâñam, the voice of the
clouds, I, 168, 8; abhríyâñ vñ-
shñâyab, streams from clouds,
II, 34, 2¹.
- ábhvâ, fiend :
ábhvab, I, 39, 8¹; vísvam ábhvam,
II, 33, 10²; ábhvam, the dark
cloud, I, 168, 9³.
- âma, onslaught :
âmañ, V, 56, 3; âmât, V, 59, 2;
âmâya vab yâtave, VIII, 20,
6.
- amâti, impetus, power, light :
amâtib, I, 64, 9³.
- âmadhyama :
âmadhyamâsab, among whom none
is the middle, V, 59, 6.
- âmartya, immortal :
âmartyâñ, I, 168, 4.
- âma-vat, violent, impetuous :
âma-vatí, I, 168, 7; âma-vat, V,
58, 1; âma-vân, V, 87, 5; âma-
vat-su, VI, 66, 6; âma-vantab,
I, 38, 7; VIII, 20, 7.
- amât, from near :
V, 53, 8¹.
- âmita, infinite :
âmitâñ, V, 58, 2.
- âmivâ, sickness :
âmivâñ, II, 33, 2; âmivâ, VI, 74,
2¹.

amṛita, immortal, pl. the immortals :
amṛitab, I, 38, 4 ; *amṛita* (Rudra), I, 114, 6 ; *amṛitasya* (Indra), I, 170, 4 ; (Rudra), I, 43, 9¹.—*amṛitam nāma*, V, 57, 5.—*amṛitāb* (Maruts), I, 166, 3 ; *amṛitāsab*, I, 166, 13 ; *ámṛitāb*, V, 57, 8 ; 58, 8.
amṛita, n., the immortal, immortality, not dying :
amṛitam, X, 121, 2 ; *amṛitasya*, V, 58, 1 ; VII, 57, 6¹ ; X, 186, 3 ; *amṛitāt*, VII, 59, 12².
amṛita-tvā, immortality :
amṛita-tvám ṣṭhīre, they became immortal (I, 6, 4³) ; *amṛita*-tvé dadhātana, V, 55, 4.
ámridhra, unceasing :
ámridhram (rain), I, 37, 11.
ambhrinā, ὀβριμος ? (275.)
áya, wanderer :
áyāb, (VI, 66, 4¹)
ayā, going :
ayāsab, (I, 64, 11¹)
áyab-damshtra, with iron tusks :
áyab-damshtrān, I, 88, 5.
ayā, adv., hence :
I, 87, 4².—Instrum., *ayā* dhiyā, through this prayer, I, 166, 13.
áyā for *ayā*, VI, 66, 4¹.
ayās, untiring :
ayāb, (I, 87, 4²) ; *ayāsab*, I, 64, 11¹ ; 167, 4¹ ; VI, 66, 5² ; *áyāsab*, VII, 58, 2 ; *ayāsām*, I, 168, 9.—*ayāb*, not striving (?), VI, 66, 5².
ar, to hurt :
(65 seq. ; I, 64, 15¹ ; 85, 5²) ; *upā-ārimā*, we have offended, (66.)
ará, spoke :
aráb-iva, like the spokes of a wheel, V, 58, 5 ; *rāthānām ná arāb*, X, 78, 4 ; *aránām ná karamāb*, as of moving spokes no one is the last, VIII, 20, 14¹.
arakshás, guileless :
araksháb, V, 87, 9.
árathi, not a charioteer :
árathib, VI, 66, 7.
arapás, without mischief :
arapáb, II, 33, 6.
áram, properly :
VI, 74, 1 ; *áram* *krinvantu*, let them prepare, I, 170, 4 ; *áram*-*krītāb*, ready, I, 2, 1.
arámati, service :
arámatim, V, 54, 6².

árarivas, hostile :
áarushe, on the enemy, VII, 56, 19 ; (66.)
aráru, enemy :
(66.)
arágin, dark :
arágināb (párvatân), VIII, 7, 23.
árāti, enemy :
árātīb, V, 53, 14 ; *árātayab*, I, 43, 8.
arádhás, miserly :
arádhāsab, V, 61, 6.
árāvan, selfish :
árāvā, VII, 56, 15.
ári, friend :
vísve aryāb, VIII, 94, 3¹.
ári, enemy :
aryāb, Gen., V, 54, 12² ; Abl., VII, 56, 22.—(66) ; (I, 64, 15¹)—*arīb* = *arīb* = *arayab*, pp. xxxix ; xli.
árishta, inviolable :
árishtam (sáhab), II, 34, 7.
árishta-grāma, whose ranks are never broken :
árishta-grāmāb, I, 166, 6.
árishta-vīra, with unharmed men :
árishta-vīrāb, I, 114, 3.
arunā, red :
arunébhiḥ *aṅg*-*bhiḥ*, II, 34, 13¹ ; *arunāib*, with the red (rays), II, 34, 12.—Red (horses), *arunébhiḥ*, I, 88, 2 ; *arunā*, I, 134, 3.—*arunāni*, red sheens, X, 168, 1².
arunā-arva, having red horses :
arunā-arvāb, V, 57, 4.
arunā-psu, reddish-coloured :
arunā-psavab (Maruts), VIII, 7, 7¹.
arunī, red :
arunī, the ruddy cows, (I, 64, 7²).—*aṅgāyab* *arunāyab*, bright red ornaments, (308.)
arushā, red ; m. f., red horse :
arushām (horse), I, 6, 1¹ ; *arushā-sya*, I, 85, 5² ; *arushīb*, red mares, V, 56, 6 ; *arushāb* *vāgī*, V, 56, 7 ; *arushāsab* *ávāb*, V, 59, 5 ; *arushām* *varāhām*, I, 114, 5.—(See 17 seqq.) Adj. red, (17-19) ; white, bright, (19, 24) ; *vṛishan* *arushā*, fire in the shape of lightning, (18) ; the red hero, (18, 25) ; the red horses of the Sun and of Agni, (19 seq.) ; the cloud as one of the horses of the Maruts, (20.)

- N. pr. of a deity, the Morning Sun, (20–23, 26, 27); the red cloud, (27.)—*ārushī*, fem. adj. or subst. (23); fem. subst. dawn, &c. (24); flames? (27.)
- ārus*, n., a wound:
(65; 66); (I, 64, 15¹.)
- arenū*, dustless:
arenāvab, I, 168, 4; VI, 66, 2¹.
- arepās*, blameless:
arepāsab, I, 64, 2; V, 53, 3; 57, 4; 61, 14; X, 78, 1.
- arkā*, song:
the music of the Maruts, (I, 38, 15¹; II, 34, 1³); *arkām* (*rik*), I, 19, 4¹; 85, 2; 166, 7².—Song of praise, hymn, *arkām*, VI, 66, 9; X, 78, 4; *arkaib*, I, 88, 4.
- arkā*, singer:
arkāb, I, 167, 6¹; *divāb* *arkāb*, V, 57, 5¹; (II, 34, 1³.)
- arkin*, musical:
arkīnam, I, 38, 15¹; *arkīnab*, (II, 34, 1³.)
- ark*, see *rik*.
- arkātri*, shouter:
arkātrayab, VI, 66, 10.
- Arkanānas* *Ātreya* :
(V, 61, 5¹.)
- arkī*, light:
(I, 87, 6²; II, 34, 1³.)
- arkīm*, blazing:
arkīnab, II, 34, 1³.
- arkīs*, splendour:
arkīshā sūrab, VIII, 7, 36.
- arnavā*, wave, waving:
samudrām arnavām, the surging sea, I, 19, 7²; *apām arnavām*, the stream of water, I, 85, 9; *tveshām arnavām*, the terrible sea, I, 168, 6; *arnavaib*, by waving mists, V, 59, 1.
- arnas*, the sea:
ārnab, I, 167, 9; VIII, 20, 13.
- arnasā*, waving:
arnasām, V, 54, 6¹.
- ārtha*, n., errand:
ārtham, I, 38, 2.
- arbhakā*, small:
mahāntam utā arbhakām, I, 114, 7.
- aryā*:
aryē ā, among the Aryas, (Pischel, VIII, 94, 3¹.)
- Aryamān*:
aryamō, I, 167, 8¹; *āryaman*, VII, 59, 1; *aryamā*, VIII, 94, 5.—
aryamānab (the three Aryamans, i.e. Aryaman, Mitra, and Varuṇa), V, 54, 8¹.
- ārvat*, horse, racer:
ārvā, VII, 56, 23; 58, 4; *ārvat-bhiḥ*, I, 64, 13; *ārvantam vāgam*, a strong horse, V, 54, 14²; *ārvate*, I, 43, 6; *ārvati*, II, 33, 1¹.—(65; 67.)—*ārvā*, the right horse, (I, 39, 6¹.)
- ārvan*, horse, racer, (66 seq.)
- ārvan*, hurting:
(65; 66); (I, 64, 15¹.)
- arvāṇā*:
arvāṇab vab ā vavṛityām, let me bring you hither, I, 168, 1; *arvāṇī sū—ūtīb*, may that grace come hither, II, 34, 15; *arvāk* (*ayām yagñāb*), it is meet for you, X, 77, 4.
- arh*, to be worthy:
arhāse, X, 77, 1⁴; *arhasi* (*pītim*), I, 134, 6 (bis); *ārhan*, II, 33, 10 (tris); *ārhanṭab*, V, 52, 5.—*ārhanṭi*, they worship, VIII, 20, 18¹.
- alamātardana*, explanation of *alātrinā*, (227.)
- alātrinā*, not reviling:
alātrināsab, I, 166, 7¹.
- av*, to protect, to save, to help:
avatha, V, 54, 14; *āvatha*, VIII, 20, 24; VI, 66, 8; *avatu*, V, 87, 6; *avantu*, V, 87, 7; X, 77, 8; *āvata* (conj. for *avitā*), VII, 59, 6¹; *āvat*, I, 85, 7²; (134); *āvata*, I, 64, 13; 166, 8; 13; *āvā*, VIII, 7, 18; *āvan āvantīb*, VII, 46, 2.—*āvya*, having granted, I, 166, 13.—*ānu āvan*, VIII, 7, 24.—*prā avata*, VII, 57, 5; *prā-avitā* (with Gen.), I, 87, 4.
- āva*, adv., down:
I, 168, 4; 8.
- avamsā*, abyss:
avamsāt, VII, 58, 1².
- avatā*, well:
avatām, I, 85, 10¹; 11.—(I, 64, 6¹.)
- avadyā*, unspeakable:
avadyāt, I, 167, 8; *avadyām*, V, 53, 14.—*avadyāni*, impurity, VI, 66, 4.
- avāni*, course:
avānā, V, 54, 2.
- avamā*, lowest:
avamē, in the lowest (heaven), V, 60, 6.

āvayāta-he/as :

āvayāta-he/āb bhāva, let thy anger be turned away from (Instr.), I, 171, 6².

āvara :

āvaram, the bottom, I, 168, 6 ; āvarān, descending, II, 34, 14.

āvas, help, protection :

āvab, I, 39, 7 ; VIII, 94, 8 ; I, 114, 9 ; āvasā, I, 39, 7 ; 85, 11 ; 166, 2 ; VII, 59, 2 ; āvase, I, 168, 1 ; II, 34, 14 ; I, 114, 4 ; āvasab, V, 57, 7 ; āvab-bhiḥ, I, 86, 6¹ ; 167, 2.—āvasā, by (his) will, X, 121, 6.

avasā, drag (?) :

(VI, 66, 7².)

avasyā, desiring help :

avasyāvab, I, 114, 11.

āvāta, unconquered, (90.)

avātā (or āvāta), never dried up :

avātām, I, 38, 7¹.

avikrīta, not dyed :

(234.)

āvithura, immovable :

āvithurāb, I, 87, 1 ; (I, 87, 3¹.)

āvi-hruta, uninjured, intact :

(I, 166, 8¹.)

as, to eat :

prā asāna, I, 170, 5.

as, to reach, to attain to :

ārata, I, 85, 2 ; 87, 5 ; ārāthe, I, 2, 8 ; asnutha, V, 54, 10 ; asyāma, I, 114, 2 ; 3 ; ariya, II, 33, 2 ; 6.—abhi asyām, I, 166, 14.—ūt asnavat, V, 59, 4.—prā asnavantu, VI, 74, 1.

asās, impious fiend :

asāsab, II, 34, 9.

āsiva, unlucky, uncanny :

(I, 166, 1¹.)

āsma-didyu, shooting with thunderbolts :

āsma-didyavab, V, 54, 3.

āsman, stone :

āsmā, I, 172, 2.—āsmānam sva-ryām, the heavenly stone (the sky), V, 56, 4².

asman-māya, made of stone :

asman-māyī (vāśī), (I, 88, 3¹.)

āsva, horse :

āsvāb-iva, V, 53, 7 ; 59, 5 ; āsvā-sab nā gyēshibāsab, X, 78, 5 ; āsvā sāptī-iva, (I, 85, 1¹) ; gōshu, āveshu, I, 114, 8 ; vṛishabhiḥ āsvaiḥ, stallions, (I 39) ; asva and vāga, (I, 167, 1¹).—For āsvām-

iva, read asvām-iva, II, 34, 6².—

The horses of the Maruts, āsvā-sab, I, 38, 12 ; V, 59, 7 ; āsvāb, V, 54, 10 ; 61, 2 ; āsvān, I, 171, 1 ; II, 34, 3 ; 8 ; V, 55, 6¹ ; 58, 7 ; 59, 1 ; āsvaiḥ, I, 88, 2 ; V, 55, 1 ; VIII, 7, 27 ; prīshatibhiḥ āsvaiḥ, V, 58, 6¹ ; (I, 37, 2¹.)

asvatthā, horse-stable, i.e. West :

(V, 54, 5¹.)

arva-dā, giving horses, the dawn, the East (?) :

(V, 54, 5¹.)

ārva-parva, winged with horses :

ārva-parvaiḥ, (I, 87, 4¹) ; I, 88, 1.

ārva-budhna, having their resting-place among the horses :

ārva-budhnāb, the Dawns (V, 54, 5¹.)

arva-yāt, wishing horses :

arvayāntab, (I, 167, 1¹.)

arva-yūg, harnessing horses :

arva-yūgab, V, 54, 2.

ārva-vat :

ārva-vat rādhāb, wealth of horses, V, 57, 7.

Asvīn :

asvīnā, the Asvins, VIII, 94, 4.

ārvyā, consisting of horses :

ārvyam (rādhāb), V, 52, 17 ; āsvyam parūm, V, 61, 5.

āshālba, unconquered :

āshāl/bāya, VII, 46, 1.

as, to throw :

āsyaṭha, you hurl, I, 172, 2 ; as-yatu āre asmāt, may he drive far away from us, I, 114, 4 ; āsyān, scattering, X, 168, 1.—prā āsyatha, you cast forwards, I, 39, 1.—vī asyatha, you scatter, V, 55, 6.

as, to be . . . :

naḥ astu, may it be ours, X, 121, 10 ; yushmākam astu, may yours be, I, 39, 2 ; 4.—vab santu, I, 38, 12 ; 39, 2 ; smāsi eṣhām, we are their servants, I, 37, 15 ; me astu, I, 165, 10 ; vab sānti, you have for (dat.), I, 85, 12.—sānti, there are, I, 37, 14 ; āsti (with dat.), there is enough for, I, 37, 15 ; nā āsti, there is no such thing, I, 170, 1.—yāt syātana, syāt, I, 38, 4¹ ; syāma té, may we be such, V, 53, 15.—asan, may they be, I, 38, 15² ;

- (96); *asati*, V, 53, 15; *yáthā ása*tha, V, 61, 4; *ása yáb vā ása*ti, who was or who may be so, VIII, 20, 15; *táthā* it *asat*, so shall it be, VIII, 20, 17; *astu*, though it be, VI, 66, 7.—*syāma sahā*, V, 53, 14¹; *sam-dṛīsi sthāna*, V, 87, 6; *úrdhvā santu*, I, 171, 3; *sám* with *as*, (191 seq.)—*ānu syāt nab*, may he be with us, I, 167, 10.—*antáb sántab*, VI, 66, 4.—*abhi syāma*, may we obtain, VII, 56, 24¹.—*prá sánti*, they stand forth, VII, 58, 2; *prá astu*, may it prevail, VII, 58, 4.
- ásamyatab* (not *asamyattab*): (I, 64, 13².)
- asaka-dvish*, not hating the followers:
asaka-dvishab, VIII, 20, 24².
- ásāmi*, whole:
ásāmi-bhiḥ, I, 39, 9; *ásāmi*, whole, I, 39, 10 (bis).—adv., wholly, I, 39, 9.
- ásāmi-java*s, of perfect strength:
ásāmi-javasab, V, 52, 5.
- Ásiknī*, N. of a river:
ásiknyām, VIII, 20, 25.
- ásu*, breath:
ásuḥ, X, 121, 7.
- ásura*, divine:
ásurāb, I, 64, 2; *diváb ásurasya*, VIII, 20, 17¹.—*ásurab*, lord, VII, 56, 24.
- asuryā*, divine; n., divine power:
asuryā, I, 167, 5; *asuryā-iva*, like heavenly lightning, I, 168, 7¹.—*asuryām*, II, 33, 9¹; VI, 74, 1; *asuryāt*, I, 134, 5².
- asú*, barren:
asvām-iva (conjecture for *ásvām-iva*) *dhenūm*, like a barren cow, II, 34, 6².
- ástuta*, unpraiseworthy:
ástutab, V, 61, 8.
- ástri*, archer:
ástārab, I, 64, 10.
- asmad*...:
iyām asmát matlḥ, this prayer from us, V, 57, 1; *asmān*, I, 165, 14¹; (203.)—*asmé tanūshu*, on our bodies, VI, 74, 3.—*nab* (*útāyab*), accorded to us, I, 167, 1.—*asmāka* for *asmākam*, p. cxviii.—no (*nab*), short, p. lxxxii seq.
- ah*, to say:
āhub, X, 121, 4; V, 53, 3.
- āha*, indeed:
V, 52, 6; VIII, 20, 20; (X, 168, 3¹).—*āt āha*, thereupon, I, 6, 4.—*nā āha*, nowhere, never, V, 54, 4; 10.
- ahab-vīd*, (1) knowing the days, (2) finding, bringing back the day, lucifer:
ahab-vīdab, knowing the feast-days, I, 2, 2¹.
- āhan*, day:
āhāni, I, 88, 4¹; V, 54, 4; *āhāni vīsvā*, always, I, 171, 3; *āhā-iva*, V, 58, 5; *āhani priyé*, on a happy day, VII, 59, 2; *kata-māt kanā āhab*, not even a single day, X, 168, 3; *kshapābhiḥ āha-bhiḥ*, by night and by day, (I, 64, 8².)
- ahanyā*, of the day:
ahanyāb, I, 168, 5⁴.
- aham-yú*, proud:
aham-yúb, I, 167, 7.
- āhi-bhānu*, shining like snakes:
āhi-bhānavab, I, 172, 1¹.
- āhi-manyu*, whose ire is like the ire of serpents:
āhi-manyavab, I, 64, 8; 9¹.
- ahi-hátya*, the killing of Ahi:
ahi-hátye, I, 165, 6.
- āhruta-psu*, with unbending forms:
āhruta-psavab, VIII, 20, 7; (VIII, 7, 7¹.)
- ā*, prep. . . .:
with Loc., on, in, *ādhvan ā*, I, 37, 13; *dhānvan ā*, I, 38, 7; *āgmeshu ā*, on the courses, V, 87, 7¹.—with Acc., over, I, 38, 10; towards, V, 52, 12; I, 167, 2; on to, V, 56, 1; *gōsham ā*, to his satisfaction, VIII, 94, 6; *ā rāgas*, through the air (?), (VII, 57, 3¹).—with Abl., *diváb ā*, from heaven, V, 53, 8; 54, 1²; *asmát ā*, towards us, V, 56, 3.—*pāri ā vab ā agub*, I, 88, 4; *ā te*, before thee, I, 165, 9.—*ā*, 6, I, 165, 14²; VII, 59, 5; VIII, 7, 33.—adv., here, I, 37, 6; hither, II, 34, 4; *mūhub ā*, V, 54, 3.

- â, pronominal base, see *ayā*.
 āgas, āyos, guilt, sin:
 āgab, VII, 57, 4; (257.)
 Āngirasa:
 Purumīlba Āngirasa, (362.)
 āga, skin of a goat:
 (232.)
 āgī, race, course:
 āgīshu, II, 34, 3; (I, 37, 8¹)
 āt, then:
 āt āha, thereupon, I, 6, 4¹; āt it,
 then only, I, 87, 5; 168, 9.
 ātura, sick:
 āturasya, VIII, 20, 26.
 ātma-dā, he who gives breath:
 ātma-dāb, X, 121, 2; (4.)
 ātmán, breath:
 ātmā devānām, the breath of the
 gods (Vāta), X, 168, 4.
 Ātreya:
 Arkānās Ātreya, (V, 61, 5²).
 â-dardirā, tearing to pieces:
 â-dardirāsab (ādrayab), X, 78, 6.
 Ādityā, the Ādityas:
 ādityāsab, X, 77, 2; ādityéna nām-
 nā, X, 77, 8.—ādityā = nāka,
 (X, 121, 5²).—Vasus, Ādityas,
 Rudras, (VII, 56, 20²).—(See
 243 seqq.); ādityāb āditib, (244);
 eight Ā., (251 seqq.); seven Ā.,
 (252 seqq.); six Ā., (253.)
 ādhavanīya, a Soma-vessel:
 (VIII, 94, 5²).
 ā-dhita, known:
 ā-dhītam, what we once knew, I,
 170, 1.
 â-dhrish, see *dhrish*.
 âp, to find:
 âpúb, I, 167, 9; âpānām = âpnu-
 vantam, (II, 34, 7¹).
 â-pathi, comer:
 â-pathayab, V, 52, 10.
 â-pathī, wanderer:
 â-pathyāb, I, 64, 11.
 âpānā, a draught:
 âpānām, II, 34, 7¹.
 âpī, friend:
 âpāyab, II, 34, 10; V, 53, 2¹.
 âpi-tvā, friendship:
 âpi-tvām, VIII, 20, 22.
 â-prīkkbya, honourable:
 â-prīkkbyam, I, 64, 13¹.
 â-bhū, mighty:
 â-bhūvab, I, 64, 1³; 6; 86, 5¹.
 â-bhūshénya, to be honoured:
 â-bhūshényam, V, 55, 4.
 âmbhrinī, the voice of the thunder:
 (275.)
 â-yagī, erjagend, obtaining:
 (V, 54, 1²).
 âyu, life:
 âyau (for âyaú), I, 114, 8¹.
 âyú, man:
 âyú-bhiḥ, with the men (Āyus), V,
 60, 8².—âyaú, read âyau, I, 114,
 8¹.
 âyudha, weapon:
 âyudhā, I, 39, 2; V, 57, 6; VIII,
 20, 12; âyudhaiḥ, VII, 56, 13;
 57, 3.
 âyus, life:
 âyub, I, 37, 15; âyushi, (I, 114, 8);
 âyumshi prá târishat, X, 186, 1;
 âyumshi sú-dhitāni, (225.)
 ârā, a shoemaker's awl:
 (I, 37, 2²; 88, 3¹).
 ârāt, far:
 ârāt kit yuyota, VII, 58, 6; X, 77,
 6.
 ârātāt, from afar:
 I, 167, 9.
 ârugatnú, breaking through:
 ârugatnú-bhiḥ (c. Acc.), I, 6, 5.
 âruni, red flame:
 ârunīshu, I, 64, 7².
 âré, far:
 âré kakrima, we have put away, I,
 171, 4; âré, may it be far, I, 172,
 2 (bis); VII, 56, 17; I, 114, 10;
 âré asmāt asyatu, may he drive
 far away from us, I, 114, 4; âré
 bādhethām, VI, 74, 2.
 Ârgikā, N. of a country:
 ârgiké, VIII, 7, 29¹.—A sacrificial
 vessel, (VIII, 7, 29¹).—Ârgikāb,
 N. of the people of Ârgika, (398
 seqq.)
 Ârgikā, N. of a river:
 (399.)
 Ârgikiya, n. = Ârgika, the country:
 (398 seqq.).—Ârgikiyā, f. = Ârgikā,
 the river, (399.)
 âvis, openly:
 âvib (karta), I, 86, 9; VII, 58, 5.
 â-vrita, invested:
 â-vritab, I, 87, 4.
 â-sās, wish:
 â-sāsab, V, 56, 2.
 âsā, cleft:
 âsāb, I, 39, 3².
 â-sīr, milk (for the Soma):
 â-sīram, I, 134, 6 (bis).

ârú, quick, swift :

âravab, X, 78, 5.—ârú-bhiḥ, on the quick steeds, I, 37, 14; II, 34, 3^a; V, 55, 1; 61, 11.

ârú-arva, with quick horses :

ârú-arvâb, V, 58, 1; (I, 37, 2¹.)

âs, to sit :

âsate, they are enthroned (as gods), I, 19, 6; âsate, they dwell, I, 168, 3.—upa-âsate, they revere, X, 121, 2.

âś, mouth :

âśā vāndyâśab, visibly like, I, 168, 2.—âś, mouth, as the instrument of praise (41-43); etymology (42, note *); âśā, instr. (42 seq.).

âśan, mouth :

âśā-bhiḥ, I, 166, 11^a.

âśā :

instr. âsayā, (I, 168, 1².)

âśāt, coram :

(42 seq.)

âsyā, mouth :

âsyē, I, 38, 14.

i, to go . . . :

iyānāb, approaching for (two Acc.), II, 34, 14¹; yatīb vṛishī, going with rain, V, 53, 5¹; vyāthīb yatī (a ship) that goes rolling, V, 59, 2¹; rītām yatē, to the righteous man, X, 78, 2; iyante, they move along, V, 55, 1; iyate, X, 168, 2; iyamānāb, X, 168, 3.—āti iyāma, let us pass, V, 53, 14.—adhi-ithā, you listen (c. Gen.), VII, 56, 15.—ānu yanti, they follow, V, 53, 6.—ā-itāśab, they are come, I, 165, 1^a; ūpa ā ayati, he comes (to ask) for (Acc.), VIII, 20, 22¹.—ūt-itab sūrab, the risen sun, X, 121, 6; ūt-ite sūrye, at sunrise, V, 54, 10.—nīb-etave, to come forth, I, 37, 9¹.—pārā itana, move along, V, 61, 4.—prayāt yantu, go forth, V, 87, 1; prayāt-bhyab, V, 54, 9; pra-yatī adhvarē, while the sacrifice proceeds, VIII, 7, 6; ānu prā yanti, V, 53, 10.—vī yayub parva-śāb, they have trodden to pieces, VIII, 7, 23; (VIII, 7, 22¹.)

lā, food :

lābhiḥ, V, 53, 2.

īt, indeed . . . :

āt it, then only, I, 87, 5; 168, 9;

evā it, I, 165, 12; gha it, II, 34, 14; it u, V, 55, 7; sā sā it, VI, 66, 3; sādām it, I, 114, 8.

itās, from here :

itāb (opp. to ātab), I, 6, 10.

iti :

V, 52, 11; 53, 3; 61, 8; 18.

itī, pace :

ityā (nābhasab), I, 167, 5.

itthā, thus :

I, 39, 1; 7; 165, 3; VII, 56, 15; VIII, 7, 30.—itthā dhiyā, thus is my thought, V, 61, 15¹; I, 2, 6².

itvan, see prātab-Itvan.

idām, this here . . . :

dyām imām, X, 121, 1; iyām prithivī, V, 54, 9.—asyā, X, 121, 3; I, 86, 4¹; 5; asya, his (Indra's), I, 6, 2¹.—eshām, I, 37, 3¹; 9; 13; 15; 38, 8; 12; 165, 13; V, 52, 15¹; 87, 2¹; etāvatab eshām, VIII, 7, 15¹; tāt eshām, this is theirs, VIII, 20, 14 (bis).—imā, here are, I, 165, 4; imē Marūtab (opp. anyē), VII, 57, 3.—idām, here, II, 33, 10.

idām-idam, again and again :

VII, 59, 1.

inā, strong :

ināśab, V, 54, 8.

īndu, (Soma) drop :

īndu-bhiḥ, VIII, 7, 14; īndavab, I, 2, 4; 134, 2.—īndo, O Indu, I, 43, 8.

Indra :

indra, īndra, I, 6, 5; 165, 3; 5; 7; 167, 1; 170, 2; 5; 171, 6; īndrab, I, 85, 9; 165, 10; 166, 12; VII, 56, 25; VIII, 94, 6; vāyo īndrab āa, I, 2, 5; 6; īndram, I, 6, 10; 87, 5; VIII, 7, 24; 31; īndreṇa, I, 6, 7; īndrāya, I, 165, 11; īndrasya, I, 6, 8; 167, 10; īndrāt, I, 171, 4; īndre, I, 166, 11.—Indra called vīra, (II, 33, 1¹.)

īndra-vat, joined by Indra :

īndra-vantab, V, 57, 1.

īndravāyu, Indra and Vāyu :

īndravāyū, I, 2, 4.

īndriyā, vigour :

īndriyām, I, 85, 2.—īndriyēṇa, with (Indra's) might, I, 165, 8¹.

īndh, to kindle :

īdhānāb, VI, 66, 2.—sām indhatām (agnīm), let them light (the fire),

I, 170, 4; sám-iddhab, V, 58, 3.
 —(I, 166, 1²).
 fndhanvan, fiery :
 fndhanva-bhiḥ, II, 34, 5².
 iradh :
 irādhyai, for achievement, I, 134, 2.
 frin, tyrant (?) :
 frī, V, 87, 3¹.
 írya, active :
 íryam (rágānam), V, 58, 4.
 iva, like . . . :
 ihā-iva, almost close by, I, 37, 3.—
 iva and ná, I, 85, 8¹.—iva, as one
 syllable, I, 166, 1³; p. cxix.
 ish, to rush :
 ishazanta, ishanta, I, 134, 5; p.
 cxxii.
 fsh, food :
 fsham, I, 168, 2¹; II, 34, 7; 8;
 ishā, I, 88, 1; 165, 15; 166, 15;
 167, 11; 168, 10; p. xx; VIII,
 20, 2; ishē bhugē, VIII, 20, 8;
 fshab (acc. pl.), I, 165, 12; VII,
 59, 2; p. xviii; ishām, I, 168, 5.
 —fshab saśrúshib, waters, rain-
 clouds, I, 86, 5².—fshab, viands,
 I, 167, 1.—fsham, draught, VIII, 7,
 1¹; 3; fshab, draughts, VIII, 7, 19.
 ishā, autumn :
 ishām, I, 165, 15; 166, 15; 167,
 11; 168, 10; 171, 6; p. xx.
 fshazy, to hasten :
 fshazyata, V, 52, 14.
 fshirā, invigorating :
 fshirām, I, 168, 9.
 fshu, arrow :
 fshum, I, 39, 10; 64, 10.
 fshu-mat, carrying good arrows :
 fshu-mantab, V, 57, 2.
 fshkri, see kri.
 fshri, rite, oblation :
 fshrim, I, 166, 14; fshráyab, VI,
 74, 1.
 fshmin, speeding along :
 fshminab, I, 87, 6; V, 87, 5; VII,
 56, 11.—fshminam, strong, V,
 52, 16.
 ihā, here . . . :
 ihā-iva, almost close by, I, 37, 3.—
 —ihā-ihā, here and there, VII,
 59, 11¹.
 î, to ask for (with two Acc.) :
 îmahe, I, 6, 10; V, 53, 13; îmahe,
 I, 43, 4; II, 34, 11.—áva îmahe,

we pray to forgive, VII, 58, 5.—
 See also i.
 î, pronominal base, see ayā, and
 îm.
 îksh :
 abhî afkshetām, they look up to
 (acc.), X, 121, 6.
 înkḥ, to toss :
 înkḥáyanti, I, 19, 7.
 id, to implore, to ask :
 î/e, V, 60, 1¹; î/e (with double
 Acc.), I, 134, 5.
 îm :
 I, 38, 11; 85, 11; 134, 2; 167, 8
 (bis); V, 54, 4; yāt îm, I, 87, 5;
 167, 5; 7; VII, 56, 21; yē îm,
 V, 61, 11; ké îm, VII, 56, 1; úpa
 îm, I, 171, 2.
 îr :
 â-îrîré, they produced, assumed, I,
 6, 4³.—ut-îráyanti (vātam), they
 send out, I, 168, 8; út îrayatha,
 you raise, V, 55, 5¹; út îrayanta,
 they have risen, VIII, 7, 3; út
 îrate, VIII, 7, 7; 17.—prá îrate,
 they come forth, VII, 56, 14;
 prá airata, they expanded, VIII,
 20, 4; prá îrayāmi, I send forth,
 II, 33, 8; sám prá îrate, they
 rise, X, 168, 2.
 îvat, so much :
 îvatab, VII, 56, 18.
 îr, to rule, to be lord (with Gen.) :
 îre, X, 121, 3; îre, I, 165, 10;
 îrishe, I, 170, 5; îshre, V, 87, 3;
 îsire, V, 58, 1.—îrānāb, I, 87, 4;
 îrānāt, II, 33, 9.
 îrāna-kṛit, conferring powers :
 îrāna-kṛitab, I, 64, 5¹.
 îsh, to shrink :
 îshante, VI, 66, 4.
 u, particle . . . :
 ná vaf u, II, 33, 9.—u before loka,
 p. lxxiv seqq.
 ukthā, praise, hymn :
 ukthām, I, 86, 4; ukthā, I, 165,
 4¹; ukthāni, VII, 56, 23; uk-
 thaib, VII, 56, 18; ukthēbhiḥ, I,
 2, 2.—vāhniḥ ukthaib, the priest
 with his hymns (41).
 ukthā-vāhas, offering hymns of praise :
 (40.)
 ukthyā, praiseworthy :
 ukthyām, I, 64, 14¹.—ukthyām

- (gâyatrām), praising, of praise, I, 38, 14.
- uksh, to sprinkle, to pour out, to wash:
- ukshānti, I, 166, 3; ukshānte, II, 34, 3¹; V, 59, 1; ukshāmānāb, VI, 66, 4.—ā ukshata, I, 87, 2. —(I, 85, 2¹.)
- uksh, to grow:
- see vaksh.
- ukshān, bull:
- ukshānāb, I, 64, 2¹; V, 52, 3; gāvab ukshānāb, excellent bulls, I, 168, 2⁸. — ukshnāb rāndhram, 'the hollow of the bull,' VIII, 7, 26¹.
- Ukshnorandhra, N. pr.: (VIII, 7, 26¹.)
- ugrā, terrible, strong:
- ugrāb, I, 19, 4; VI, 66, 6; VII, 56, 6; 57, 1; I, 134, 5; ugrāsab, VIII, 20, 12; āpab ugrāb, wild waters, VI, 66, 11²; ugrāb, I, 166, 6; 8; V, 57, 3; 60, 2; ugrāb, I, 165, 6; 10; VII, 56, 23; II, 33, 9; ugrāb ugrēbhiḥ, I, 171, 5; ugrān, VI, 66, 5; ugrām, VII, 56, 7; VIII, 20, 3; II, 33, 11; ugrāya manyāve, fierce anger, I, 37, 7. — dyaūb ugrā, the awful heaven, X, 121, 5¹.
- ugrā-putra, having terrible sons:
- ugrā-putrā (Aditi), (254; 260.)
- ugrā-bāhu, strong-armed:
- ugrā-bāhavab, VIII, 20, 12.
- ūt, prep. . . .
- utā, and, also; even . . . : then, after yāt, I, 85, 5.—utā vā, aye, or also, I, 86, 3; V, 60, 6; V, 58, 1; utā sma—utā sma—utā, whether—or whether, V, 52, 8; 9; mā—utā mā, I, 114, 7 (tris).—utā gha, even though, V, 61, 8¹; nūnām utā, even now, VIII, 20, 15.
- ut-rík:
- ut-ríkī yagñé, to the end of the ceremony, X, 77, 7¹.
- utó, also:
- V, 55, 4; VIII, 94, 6; I, 134, 6; X, 168, 1.
- ūt-ogas, ever-powerful:
- ūt-ogasab, V, 54, 3.
- ut-tamá, highest:
- ut-tamām, exalted, V, 59, 3; ut-tamé, in the highest (heaven), V, 60, 6.
- út-tara, higher:
- út-tarāt diváb, V, 60, 7; út-tarā dyaūb, VIII, 20, 6.
- ut-bhíd, breaking out:
- ut-bhídaḥ, V, 59, 6.
- útsa, spring, well (cloud):
- útsam, I, 64, 6⁴; (I, 85, 10¹); I, 85, 11; V, 52, 12⁸; 54, 8; VII, 57, 1; VIII, 7, 10²; 16; diváb útsāb, the springs of heaven, V, 57, 1.
- utsa-dhí, the lid of the well:
- utsa-dhīm, I, 88, 4¹; (176.)
- udán, water:
- udā-bhiḥ, I, 85, 5; nimnāb udā-bhiḥ, X, 78, 5.
- udanyú, longing for water:
- udanyávab, V, 54, 2; udanyáve, V, 57, 1.
- uda-vāhá, water-carrier:
- uda-vāhēna, I, 38, 9; uda-vāhāsab, V, 58, 3.
- udrín, watering-pot:
- udrínam, VIII, 7, 10².
- und, to water, moisten:
- vi-undānti, I, 38, 9; ví undanti, I, 85, 5; V, 54, 8.
- úpa, prep. . . . : with Loc., úpa rátheshu, I, 39, 6; 87, 2.—with Acc., to, I, 166, 2¹; úpa te, near to thee, I, 114, 9.—úpa dyú-bhiḥ, day by day, V, 53, 3¹.
- upa-má, very high:
- upa-māsab, V, 58, 5.
- úpara, carried behind:
- úparā, I, 167, 3⁸.
- upári, above:
- V, 61, 12.
- upavā, the blowing after:
- (X, 77, 5².)
- Upastutā, N. pr., son of Vṛishnihavya: (152 seq.).—See stu.
- upá-stha, lap:
- upá-sthe, VII, 56, 25; VIII, 94, 2¹.
- upa-hatnú, attacking:
- upa-hatnúm, II, 33, 11.
- upa-hvará, cleft:
- upa-hvaréshu, I, 87, 2.
- upará, injury:
- (66.)
- ubg:
- níb aubgat, he forced out, I, 85, 9.
- ubhá, both:
- ubhé, heaven and earth, (V, 59, 7⁸); VI, 66, 6; ubhé ródasí, VIII, 20, 4.

ubhāya :
 ubhāye, people on both sides, V, 59, 7.²
 urú, wide :
 urú, I, 85, 6 ; 7 ; uráu antárikṣhe, V, 52, 7 ; urávab, V, 57, 4 ; urvī, VII, 57, 1.—uru as one syllable, p. lxxvi.
 uru-kramá, wide-striding :
 uru-kramáb (Vishṇu), V, 87, 4¹.
 uru-kshāya, wide-ruling :
 uru-kshāyā, I, 2, 9.
 urú-loka :
 urú-lokam (antáriksham), p. lxxvii.
 uru-vyátas :
 ep. of Aditi, (260.)
 uru-vyáñk, wide-reaching :
 urúñk, ep. of Aditi, (260.)—urúñk, I, 2, 3.
 uru-vraga :
 uru-vragā, ep. of Aditi, (260.)
 urushy, to deliver :
 urushyata, V, 87, 6.
 urúñk, see uru-vyáñk.
 Urvasī :
 (308.)
 urvāruká, gourd :
 urvārukám-iva, VII, 59, 12.
 urviyā, wide :
 V, 55, 2.
 uloka for u loka :
 pp. lxxiv seqq.
 ur, see var.
 Uśanas :
 = Uśanā, (VIII, 7, 26².)
 Uśanā, N. of a Rishi :
 uśanā, with Uśanā, VIII, 7, 26².
 urānā, desire :
 uśanā, with desire, (VIII, 7, 26².)
 ushás, dawn :
 ushásab ví-usháishu, usháb ná, II, 34, 12 ; ushásab, the Dawns, V, 59, 8 ; I, 134, 3 (bis) ; 4 ; ushát-bhiḥ, I, 6, 3² ; ushásām ná ketávab, X, 78, 7.
 usrá :
 kshápab usráb ka, and usráb, by night and by day, (I, 64, 8².)—usráb-iva, the heavens, I, 87, 1.
 —usráb, the mornings, I, 171, 5.
 usri :
 usrí, in the morning, (II, 34, 12¹) ; V, 53, 14¹.
 usríya, bright :
 usríyab, the bright ones (days or clouds), I, 6, 5³ ; usríyab, (II,

34, 12¹.)—usríyab vrishabháb, the bull of the Dawn, V, 58, 6².
 útí, protection, help, favour :
 útí, II, 34, 15 ; VII, 59, 4 ; útí, instr., I, 64, 13 ; 172, 1¹ ; VII, 57, 7 ; 59, 9¹ ; 10 ; útáye, II, 34, 14 ; VIII, 7, 6 ; útáyab, I, 167, 1 ; V, 54, 7 ; I, 134, 2 ; útí-bhiḥ, favours, I, 39, 8 ; 9 ; VII, 58, 3 ; VIII, 20, 24 ; útíshu, VIII, 20, 15.
 ūdhan and ūdhar, udder :
 ūdhab divyāni, the heavenly udders (clouds), I, 64, 5.—ūdhani, II, 34, 2² ; 6.—ūdhab, II, 34, 10 ; VI, 66, 1 ; VII, 56, 4¹.
 ūma, guardian :
 ūmāsab, I, 166, 3 ; ūmāb, V, 52, 12 ; X, 77, 8.
 ūrnā, wool :
 ūrnāb vasata, V, 52, 9¹.
 ūrnu :
 āpa ūrnute, she uncovers, II, 34, 12¹.
 ūrdhvā, erect :
 ūrdhvā kṛinavante, they stir up, I, 88, 3¹ ; ūrdhvām nunudre, they pushed up, I, 85, 10 ; 88, 4 ; ūrdhvā santu, may they stand erect, I, 171, 3¹ ; ūrdhvān nab karta, lift us up, I, 172, 3 ; ūrdhvā tishṭbatu, may (the dawn) stand erect, I, 134, 1².
 ūrml, wave :
 ūrmáyab, I, 168, 2.
 ūrmyā, night :
 ūrmye, V, 61, 17¹.
 ūh, see vah.
 ūh, to watch :
 ohate, V, 52, 10 ; 11 ; ní ohate, V, 52, 11.—ohate (sakhitvé), he is counted (in your friendship), VIII, 7, 31.
 ri, to go :
 lyarti, it rises, I, 165, 4² ; p. xv ; xxi.—arta, it came, V, 52, 6.—ā ŷarta, bring, VIII, 7, 13.—ūt arpaya, raise up, II, 33, 4.—mā náb arāma, may we not fall away, VII, 56, 21.—pró ārata, come on, I, 39, 5¹.—sam-arānāb, coming together, I, 165, 3.
 ri, to hurt, see ar.
 rikti, praise :
 su-rikti (?), (I, 64, 1².)
 rīkvan, singer :
 rīkvānab (Maruts), I, 87, 5 ; rīkva-

- bhiḥ, V, 52, 1; 60, 8.—*ríkva-*
bhiḥ, men to celebrate them,
I, 87, 6².
- ríksha*, bear:
ríkshab ná, V, 56, 3.
- rik*, to sing, praise:
arkati, I, 6, 8¹; *árkanti*, I, 165, 1⁴;
p. xiii; *árka*, V, 59, 1⁴; *árkantab*,
I, 85, 2; *árkate*, I, 87, 2; *án-*
rikúb (*arkám*), I, 19, 4¹; *arkat*,
I, 165, 14.—Inf. *rikáse*, (I, 87,
6¹).—*prá árka*, V, 52, 1¹; 5;
prá arkata, V, 54, 1; VII, 58, 1;
prá árkonti, I, 166, 7².
- rikás*, praiser:
rikáse, (I, 87, 6¹.)
- rigipyá*, headlong:
rigipyásab, II, 34, 4².
- rigishá*, what remains of the Soma-
plant after it has been squeezed:
(I, 64, 12⁶.)
- rigishín*, impetuous:
rigishínám, I, 64, 12⁶; *rigishínab*,
I, 87, 1; II, 34, 1.
- riṅg*, to strive, to yearn:
riṅgáta, you advanced, V, 87, 5;
riṅgati, straightforward, I, 172,
2; Inf. *riṅgáse*, (I, 87, 6¹); *rigi-*
shá from *rig*, (I, 64, 12⁶).—nf
riṅgate, they gain, I, 37, 3².—
sám asmin riṅgate, they yearn
for it, I, 6, 9.
- rina-yá*, going after debt:
(I, 87, 4².)
- rina-yāvan*, searching out sin:
rina-yāvā, I, 87, 4².
- ritá*, right; rite, sacrifice:
riténa, in proper order, VII, 56,
12; on the right way, I, 2, 8;
ritám yaté, to the righteous
man, X, 78, 2.—*ritásya sáda-*
neshu, in the sacred places, II,
34, 13²; *ritásya párasmin dhā-*
man, in the highest place of the
law, I, 43, 9¹.—*ritám*, sacrifice,
V, 59, 1; *ritásya*, VIII, 7, 21;
ritánām, I, 165, 13.—(I, 38,
6¹.)
- ritá-gāta*, well-born:
ritá-gātāb, V, 61, 14.
- rita-gña*, righteous:
rita-gñāb, V, 57, 8; 58, 8.
- rita-yú*, pious:
rita-yāvab, V, 54, 12².
- ritá-van*, holy:
ritá-vā, X, 168, 3.
- rita-váká*, hymn:
(I, 134, 1².)
- rita-vridh*, increasing the right:
rita-vridhau (*mitrávarunau*), I, 2,
8.
- rita-sāp*, following the order:
rita-sāpab, VII, 56, 12; (I, 2, 8¹.)
- rita-spriṣ*, adhering to the right:
rita-spriṣā (*mitrávarunau*), I, 2,
8¹.
- riti*, hurting:
(65); (I, 64, 15¹.)
- riti-sáh*, defying all onslaughts:
riti-sāham, I, 64, 15¹.
- ritu-thā*, at the right season:
I, 170, 5.
- ritupati*, N. of Agni:
(I, 43, 4¹.)
- ridūdára*, kindhearted (?):
ridūdaráb, II, 33, 5².
- ridh*, to accomplish:
ridhyām, V, 60, 1.
- ridhak*, far:
VII, 57, 4.
- Ribhu*, the *Ribhus*:
(V, 58, 4¹; VI, 66, 11¹.)
- ribhukshan* (?):
ribhukshanab, VIII, 7, 9¹; 12;
20, 2.
- ribhukshás*, lord:
ribhukshāb, I, 167, 10.
- ribbhvas*, bold, rabid:
ribbhvasam, V, 52, 8¹.
- rish*:
tiráb (*srídhab*) *árshanti*, they rush
through, VIII, 94, 7.
- ríshi*, seer:
ríshe, V, 52, 13; 14; *ríshe*, V,
59, 8; *ríshim vā rágānam vā*, V,
54, 7; *ríshim—rágānam*, V, 54,
14.—(V, 61, 5².)
- rishi-dvish*, enemy of the poets:
rishi-dvíshe, I, 39, 10.
- rishí*, spear:
rishírb, I, 167, 3²; *rishíráyab*, I,
64, 4; (II, 34, 2¹); V, 54, 11;
57, 6; VIII, 20, 11; *rishírb*, V,
52, 6; *rishírb-bhiḥ*, I, 37, 2; 64,
8; 85, 4; (VII, 56, 13¹); *rish-*
tíshu, I, 166, 4.
- rishri-mát*, armed with spears:
rishrimát-bhiḥ, I, 88, 1; (170);
rishri-mántab, V, 57, 2; 60, 3.
- rishírb-vidyut*, armed with lightning-
spears:
rishírb-vidyutab, (I, 167, 3²); V, 52,

- 13; *rishtri-vidyutab*, I, 168, 5; (II, 34, 2¹).
rishvá, tall:
rishváśab, I, 64, 2; *rishváb*, V, 52, 6¹; 13.
- éka*, alone:
ékab, X, 121, 1; 3; 7²; 8; I, 165, 3; *ékam*, I, 165, 6; VIII, 20, 13; *ékasya* *kit* me, I, 165, 10.—*ékab-ekab*, one by one, V, 61, 1.
- ékam-eka*:
ékam-ekā śatā, each a hundred, V, 52, 17.
- eg*:
egati, (the earth) trembles, V, 59, 2.—*égatha*, you stir, VIII, 20, 4.
- eda*, a kind of sheep:
(I, 166, 10³; 235.)
- ena*, a kind of antelope:
(I, 166, 10³; 235.)
- éta*, the fallow deer:
étāb, (I, 165, 1³); V, 54, 5; *étān*, I, 165, 5².—*étāb*, speckled deer-skins, I, 166, 10³; (232; 234 seq.)—*étāb ná*, like harts, X, 77, 2.—See *ena*.
- etād*, this . . .:
etāni víśvā gātāni, all these created things, X, 121, 10.—*etān* and *étān*, (I, 165, 5²).—*eté*, there they are, I, 165, 12.—*etát tyát*, I, 88, 5; *eshā syā*, I, 88, 6.—*etāni nityā*, these secrets, VII, 56, 4¹.
- étara*, the (solar) horse:
étarab, I, 168, 5⁴.
- etāvat*, so much:
etāvat, VII, 57, 3.—*etāvatab kit* *eshām*, of that immense (host) of them, VIII, 7, 15¹.
- ena*, fem. enī:
enyāb, spotted deer, V, 53, 7².—See *éta*, (234 seq.)
- enad*, this:
enā, instr., II, 34, 14; V, 53, 12; *enān*, V, 52, 6.
- énas*, sin:
énab, VII, 58, 5; VI, 74, 3.
- éman*, march:
éma-bhiḥ, V, 59, 2.
- éva*, horse:
évāsab, I, 166, 4; (I, 168, 1²).
- evá*:
evá it, truly, I, 165, 12; *evá* and *evám*, (I, 168, 1²).—*evá*, thus, II, 33, 15.
- evám*, thus:
adverb of *éva*, (I, 168, 1²).
- evayā*, quickly moving, quick:
eva-yāb, I, 168, 1² (conjecture for *deva-yāb*); (365.)
- evayāmarut*, *Evayāmarut*, a sacrificial shout:
evayāmarut, V, 87, 1 to 9; (365); (I, 168, 1²).
- eva-yāvan*, the constant wanderer:
eva-yāvnab, II, 34, 11.—fem. *eva-yāvarī*, (I, 168, 1²); (365.)
- eshā*, rapid:
eshāsya (*vishṇob*), II, 34, 11¹; VIII, 20, 3².
- aineya*, skin of an antelope:
(232; 234.)
- aídh*, torch:
aídhā-iva, I, 166, 1².
- ó, see ā.
- ókas*, home:
svám ókab, VII, 56, 24¹.
- ógas*, power:
ógab, I, 39, 10; V, 57, 6; VII, 56, 7; I, 165, 10; *ógasā*, I, 19, 4; 8; 39, 8; 85, 4; 10; V, 52, 9; 14²; 55, 2; 56, 4; 59, 7; VII, 58, 2; VIII, 7, 8; *ógab-bhiḥ*, VII, 56, 6.—*ógiyab*, stronger, II, 33, 10.
- óshadhi*, plant:
óshadhīb, I, 166, 5; *óshadhīshu*, VII, 56, 22; *óshadhīb* (nom.), VII, 56, 25.
- aukshṇorandhra*:
(VIII, 7, 26¹).
- Ka*, Who, the Unknown God:
(p. 3.)
- kakúbh*, hump:
kakúbbab rihaté mitháb, they lick one another's humps, VIII, 20, 21¹.
- kakuhá*, exalted:
kakuhān, II, 34, 11.
- Kāṇva*:
kāṇvam, I, 39, 9; VIII, 7, 18;
kāṇvāya, I, 39, 7¹.—*kāṇvāb*, I, 37, 1; *kāṇveshu*, I, 37, 14;
kāṇvāsab, VIII, 7, 32.

- kát**, interrog. part.:
VIII, 94, 7; 8.—See **kím**.
- katamá**:
katamát *kaná áhab*, even a single day, X, 168, 3.
- kathám**, how:
V, 61, 2.
- kathá**, how:
V, 53, 2; 61, 2.
- kadž**, when:
VIII, 7, 30.
- kádha**:
when, I, 38, 1¹; where, VIII, 7, 31.
- kadha-prí**:
kadha-priyab (read *kádha priyáb*), I, 38, 1¹; VIII, 7, 31.
- kan**, see *kanáná*.
- kananā**, a caterpillar:
kananā-iva, V, 54, 6¹.
- kaparda**, a shell, the hair twisted together in the form of a shell:
(I, 114, 1²).
- kapardín**, with braided hair:
kapardíne (rudráya), I, 114, 1²;
kapardínám, I, 114, 5.
- kám**, part.:
I, 39, 7; 87, 6¹; 88, 2; 3 (bis); VII, 57, 3; VIII, 94, 2; hí kam, VII, 59, 5.
- kambala**, m., cloth made of vegetable substance:
(233-)
- kárna**:
kárnaib nadásya, with the points of the reed, II, 34, 3².
- karmalíkin**, fiery (?):
karmalíkinám, II, 33, 8².
- kávandha**, water-skin:
kávandham, VIII, 7, 10²; (V, 54, 8²).
- kavandhín**, carrying water-skins:
kavandhínab, V, 54, 8².
- kaví**, poet; wise:
kaváyab, V, 52, 13; kaváyab, V, 57, 8; 58, 8; wise, VII, 59, 11; kaváyab, V, 58, 3; kavím, wise, I, 114, 4; kaví, I, 2, 9.
- káśā**, whip:
káśāb, I, 37, 3¹; káśayā, I, 168, 4.
- Kānvá**:
kānvásya, VIII, 7, 19.
- kāma**, desire:
kāmam, I, 85, 11; kāmasya, I, 86, 8; kāmab, V, 61, 18.
- kāmín**, loving, desiring:
kāmínab, V, 53, 16; VII, 59, 3.—
kāmínám, the needy, V, 61, 7.
- kāmya**, beloved:
kāmyā, I, 6, 2; V, 61, 16; kām-
yaib, I, 6, 8.
- kārú**, poet, singer:
kārúb, I, 165, 14; kārób, I, 165, 15; 166, 15; 167, 11; 168, 10;
kárave, II, 34, 7; káravab, VIII, 94, 3.
- kārpāsa**, cotton dress:
(234-)
- kāvya**:
kāvya, wise thoughts, V, 59, 4.
- kāshāya**, dark red:
(232, 234-)
- kāshubā**, fence:
kāshubāb, I, 37, 10².
- kím**, interrog. pron. . . .:
kásmai devāya havishā vidhema, X, 121, 1-9; kím te, what has happened to thee? I, 165, 3;
káb nú, I, 165, 13; káb nūnám, V, 61, 14; kát ha nūnám, what then now? I, 38, 1¹; VIII, 7, 31; kát ártam, what errand? I, 38, 2; kát votéma, what could we say? I, 43, 1.—kím, why? I, 170, 2; 3.—kím with *kaná*, indef. pron., (265 seq.)—
káb *kit*, any one, I, 37, 13;
ké *kit*, a few only, I, 87, 1¹;
V, 52, 12; kēna *kit*, whatever, I, 87, 2.
- kirāna**, speck of dust:
kirānam, V, 59, 4.
- kilāś**, spotted deer:
kilāśyāb, V, 53, 1¹.
- kírn**, gleeman:
kírínab, V, 52, 12².
- kutapa**, woollen cloth:
(234-)
- kútas**, whence:
kútab, I, 165, 1; 3¹; X, 168, 3;
p. xiv.
- kup**, caus., to rouse:
kopáyatha, V, 57, 3.
- kubhanyú**, wildly shouting:
kubhanyávab, V, 52, 12².
- Kúbhā**, the Kabul river:
kúbhā, V, 53, 9¹.
- kumārā**, boy:
kumārāb, II, 33, 12.
- Kuru**:
(VIII, 20, 24¹)

Kurukshetra :

(398 seq.)

kuvít, interrog. part.:

VII, 58, 5.

kûlabheda, cutting through the banks (of a river) :

(263.)

kûsh**tab**=kú **shtab** :

(I, 38, 1¹.)

kri, to make . . . :

krinavante ū:dhvā, may they stir up, I, 88, 3; ūrdhvān karta, I, 172, 3; bhūri *āk*artha, thou hast achieved much, I, 165, 7; bhūriṇi *krināvāma*, I, 165, 7; p. xvi; bhūri *āk*akra, you have valued, VII, 56, 23¹.—*krinōti*, he performs a sacrifice for (Dat.), (205, note *); *krinvāntab* brāhma, making prayer, I, 88, 4; *krité* kit, whatever little we have done, VII, 57, 5.—*kārāma āgāb*, VII, 57, 4; *kritām éna**b***, VI, 74, 3. — *yāni karishyā krinuhī*, do what thou wilt do, I, 165, 9⁴; p. xvii; *yā nū krināvai*, I, 165, 10.—*kartana tavishāni*, prove your powers, I, 166, 1.—*ārē āk*rima, we have put away, I, 171, 4.—*mā kirām karat*, may it not cause delay, V, 56, 7.—*kritām*, made (at play, or in battle), V, 60, 1².—*āk*akrire satrā, they have brought together, V, 60, 4.—*krinuté mānab* deva-trā, she is mindful of the gods, V, 61, 7.—*āk*akrire vridhē, I, 85, 1; *kridhi gīvātave*, X, 186, 2.—*āram krinvantu*, let them prepare, I, 170, 4.—*ā asmān āk*akré, has brought us hither, I, 165, 14¹; (203); *ā akaram ūpa te*, I have driven near to thee, I, 114, 9.—*āvīb karta*, make manifest, I, 86, 9.—*īshkarta*, straighten, VIII, 20, 26¹.—*prā akran*, they tried to make, V, 59, 1¹.—See *krāná*, *ni**b**-kritā*.

krití, sword :

kritīb, I, 168, 3.

krish, to plough :

*āk*arkrishat, VIII, 20, 19.

k/īp :

*tébhi**b** kalpasva sādhu-yā*, fare kindly with them, I, 170, 2.

ketú, light :

ketúm, I, 6, 3¹; *ketúnā*, V, 60, 8; *ketávab* (ushásām), rays, X, 78, 7.—*ketāve*, herald, I, 166, 1².—See *aketú*.

Kailāsa :

from kilāsa ? (V, 53, 1¹.)

komyā (?) :

I, 171, 3¹.

kōra, cask, bucket (cloud) :

kōrāb, I, 87, 2¹; *kōram*, V, 53, 6; 59, 8.—*kōre hiraṇyāye*, at the golden chest (on the chariot), VIII, 20, 8¹.

krātu, power of body and mind :

krátvā, wisdom, I, 39, 1; V, 87, 2¹; with our mind, I, 165, 7²; *krátum*, I, 64, 13; 2, 8; VIII, 7, 24; might, I, 19, 2.

krand, to roar :

*āk*radat bhīyā, VIII, 7, 26.—*áva krandat*, V, 58, 6.—*prā krand*, to call out, (V, 59, 1¹.)

krāndasī, heaven and earth :

krāndasī, X, 121, 6¹.

kram, to stride :

*āk*rame, V, 87, 4; *ānu krāmema*, let us follow, V, 53, 11; *akra-mīm*, (I, 165, 8¹.)

kravis, raw flesh :

(I, 166, 6³.)

krāná, made (?) :

*krāná**sab***, *krāná**b*** (bis), I, 134, 2¹.

Krivi :

krívim, VIII, 20, 24¹.

krívi**b**-dat, gory-toothed :

*krívi**b**-datí*, I, 166, 6³.

krí**d**, to play :

*krí**l**anti*, I, 166, 2; *krí**l**atha*, V, 60, 3.

krí**l**ā, playful :

*krí**l**ām* (*sárdhab*), I, 37, 1; 5; *krí**l**āb*, I, 166, 2.

krí**l**í, sportive, playful :

*krí**l**āyab*, I, 87, 3; (*sírlí**l**āb*), X, 78, 6.

krudh :

*mā tvā āk*rudhāma, let us not incense thee, II, 33, 4.

krúdhmin, furious :

krúdhmī, VII, 56, 8.

Krúmu, the Kurrum :

*Krúmu**b***, V, 53, 9¹.

krúra, horrible :

(I, 166, 6³.)

Kṛīradantī, N. of Durgā:
(I, 166, 6³.)

kvā, where:

I, 38, 2¹ (bis); 3 (bis, and kvō);
I, 165, 6; V, 61, 2 (bis); VIII,
7, 20; II, 33, 7; kvā svit, kvā, I,
168, 6; X, 168, 3.—kvā, pro-
nounced kuva, (86.)

ksháp, night:

kshápab, by night, I, 64, 8²;
pūrvāb áti kshápab, through
many nights, X, 77, 2.

ksham:

abhí kshameta nab árvati, may he
be gracious to our horse, II, 33,
1¹; abhí ákshamīthāb mā, wilt
thou bear with me? II, 33, 7.

kshám, earth:

kshamá, on earth, V, 52, 3; down
to the earth, VIII, 20, 26¹.

kshámya, earthly:

kshámyasya gánmanab, what is
born on earth, VII, 46, 2.

ksháya, dwelling:

ksháye, I, 86, 1; ksháyam, VII,
59, 2.

ksháya, lordship:

ksháyena, being the lord, VII, 46,
2¹.

kshayát-víra, ruling over heroes:

kshayát-víráya (rudráya), I, 114,
1²; 2; kshayát-vírasya, I, 114,
3; ksháyat-víra, I, 114, 10.

kshar, to flow:

ksharati, (the ship) sways, V, 59,
2.—prá áksharat, he has poured
out, VIII, 7, 1.

kshi, to dwell:

ksheti, V, 61, 19.—á ksheti, he
acquires, I, 64, 13.

kshiti, hamlet:

kshitinām, X, 78, 1.

kshiprá-ishu, with swift arrows:

kshiprá-ishave (Rudra), VII, 46, 1.

kshud:

kshódante ápab, the waters gush,
V, 58, 6; kshodanti, they stir,
VII, 58, 1.

kshumá, flax:

(233.)

kshurá, sharp edge:

kshuráb, I, 166, 10⁴.

kshoní:

kshoníbhiḥ, with the (morning)
clouds, II, 34, 13¹.—kshoníb, pl.,
women, (308; 309 seq.); kshoní,

du., heaven and earth, VIII, 7,
22; (309.)

kshódas, rush of water:

kshódasā, V, 53, 7.

kshaumí, linen dress:

(234.)

kshamá, earth:

kshamayā kárati, it traverses the
earth, VII, 46, 3.

khād, to chew up:

khádatha, I, 64, 7².

khādí, ring, quoit:

khādíb, I, 168, 3.—khádáyab, I,
166, 9²; V, 54, 11; VII, 56, 13;
khádíshu, V, 53, 4.—(I, 64, 10²;
II, 34, 2¹.)

khādín, having rings:

khádínab, II, 34, 2¹.

khádi-hasta, adorned with rings on
their hands, or, holding the
quoits in their hands:

khádi-hastam, V, 58, 2; (I, 166,
9².)

ganá, host, company:

ganáb, I, 87, 4 (bis); V, 61, 13;
VII, 56, 7; (VI, 66, 11¹); ganám,
I, 38, 15; 64, 12; V, 52, 13; 14;
53, 10; 56, 1; 58, 1; 2; VIII,
94, 12; X, 77, 1⁴; ganám-ganam,
V, 53, 11; ganáya, VII, 58, 1.—
ganaib, hosts (of Indra), I, 6, 8.

gana-jrī, marching in companies:

gana-jriyab, I, 64, 9; ganajrī-bhiḥ,
V, 60, 8¹; p. lxxxviii.

gábhasti, fist:

gábhastyob, I, 64, 10; V, 54, 11;
from our hands, I, 88, 6¹; (178.)

gam, to go . . .:

gántā, he will live in, I, 86, 3¹.—
gatáb ádhvā, a trodden path, VII,
58, 3.—á gahi, come hither, I, 6,
9; 19, 1-9.—úpa á gamam, I, 2, 4;
á nab úpa gantana, VIII, 7, 11;
27.—prāti á gathā, VIII, 20, 16.—
sam-gagmānáb, coming together,
I, 6, 7.

gám, earth:

gmáb, I, 37, 6.

gáya, house:

gáyam, VI, 74, 2.

gar, see gri.

garút-mat, p. xxv.

garta-sád, sitting in the chariot (hole):

garta-sadam, II, 33, 11¹.

gárbha, germ :

gárbham, X, 121, 7; V, 58, 7; VI, 66, 3; *bhūvanasya gárbhaḥ*, the germ of the world, X, 168, 4¹.

garbha-tvá, the form of new-born babes :

garbha-tvám, I, 6, 4³.

gávya, consisting of cows :

(*rādhā*) *gávyam*, V, 52, 17; *paśúm gávyam*, V, 61, 5.

gavyát, desirous of cows :

gavyántab, (I, 167, 1¹).

gā, to go :

gīgāti, V, 87, 4; I, 2, 3.—*ádhi gātana*, do remember (c. Gen.), V, 55, 9; *ádhi gāta*, VIII, 20, 22; X, 78, 8.—*ā gāt*, she went to, I, 167, 5; *ō gīgātu*, II, 34, 15; *ā gīgātana*, V, 59, 6; *ā gīgāta*, VII, 57, 7.—*ūpa gāt*, I, 38, 5.—*pāri ā vaḥ ā agub*, they went round you and came back to, I, 88, 4¹; *pāri gāt*, may it pass by, II, 33, 14.—*prā gīgāta*, come forth, I, 85, 6; *prā gīgāti*, I, 87, 5.

gātú, path :

gātúm, V, 87, 8.

gāthá, song :

gāthám, I, 167, 6; (I, 43, 4¹).

gāthá-pati, lord of songs :

gāthá-patim (*rudrám*), I, 43, 4¹.

gāyatrá, song :

gāyatrám (*ukthyām*), I, 38, 14.

gír, speech, song :

iyám gírb, I, 165, 15; 166, 15; 167, 11; 168, 10; *imám me. gíram*, VIII, 7, 9; *gírā*, I, 38, 13; V, 52, 13; 53, 16; 87, 3; VIII, 20, 19; 20; *gírāb*, I, 64, 1; V, 61, 17; VII, 46, 1; (I, 37, 10¹; 165, 4¹).

gír, singer :

gírāb (the Maruts), I, 6, 6¹; 9; 37, 10¹.

gírí, mountain, cloud :

gírīb, VIII, 7, 5; *gírīm*, I, 37, 12; *gírāyab*, I, 64, 7; VIII, 7, 34; *gírīm ānaṣva-dām*, western mountain, V, 54, 5¹; *gírāyab* for *gírāyab* (?), VI, 66, 11²; *ádhi-iva gírínām*, VIII, 7, 14.—*gírīb* (*pārvatab*), gnarled (cloud), I, 37, 7¹; *pārvatam gírīm*, V, 56, 4².

gírī-kshít, ep. of Vishṇu :

(V, 87, 1¹).

gírī-gā, voice-born :

gírī-gāb, V, 87, 1¹.

gírī-sthā, dwelling on mountains :

gírī-sthām (*mārutam gānām*), VIII, 94, 12; (V, 57, 8¹; 87, 1¹).

gurú, heavy :

gurú, I, 39, 3; VII, 56, 19; *laghu* and *guru*, light and heavy syllables, p. xcvi.

guh, to hide :

gúhata, I, 86, 10.

gúha, hiding-place :

gúhā, I, 6, 5; *gúhā* (*śárantī*), in secret, I, 167, 3.

gúhya, hideous :

gúhyam, I, 86, 10.

gúrtá-tama, most delightful :

gúrtá-tamāb, I, 167, 1.

gri (*gar*), caus., to raise up :

gigrítā, VII, 57, 6².

grídhra, hawk :

grídhraḥ, I, 88, 4¹.

gríhá, house :

gríhé, X, 186, 3.

gríha-medha, accepting the domestic sacrifices :

gríha-medhāsab, VII, 59, 10¹; (VII, 56, 14²).

gríhamedhin :

marutab gríhamedhinab, (VII, 56, 14²; 59, 10¹).

gríha-medhiya, offering for the house-gods :

gríha-medhíyam, VII, 56, 14².

grí, to praise :

grínímāsi, I, 64, 12; II, 33, 8; *grínántam*, VII, 57, 2; *grínaté*, VI, 66, 9; *gríníhi*, V, 53, 16; *gríníshe*, (V, 58, 1¹); II, 33, 12; *grínânāb*, V, 55, 10; 59, 8; *grínânāb*, VII, 56, 18.—*ā grínanti*, they invite, VIII, 94, 3.—*ūpa grínímāsi*, II, 34, 14.

gai, to sing :

gāya, I, 38, 14; *gāyat*, I, 167, 6; *agub*, (175.)—*abhí gāya*, VIII, 20, 19.—*prā gāyata*, I, 37, 1; 4.

gó, cow, bull :

gáúb-iva, V, 56, 3; *gāvab ná*, I, 38, 2; V, 53, 16; 56, 4; *gāvab ná ukshānab*, I, 168, 2²; *gāvab*, VIII, 20, 21¹; *gāb-iva*, VIII, 20, 19; *gāvām sárgam-iva*, V, 56, 5; *gāvām-iva*, V, 59, 3.—*gáve*, I, 43, 2; 6; *góshu*, VI, 66, 8; I, 114, 8.—*góshu*, among the cows

(clouds), I, 37, 5¹; *gāb*, the (rain-giving) cows, II, 34, 1.—*gaúb*, the cow (*Prisni*), VIII, 94, 1¹; *gām*, V, 52, 16.—*gō*, cow, milk, leather, thong, (232); *gōbhiḥ*, from the bowstrings, VIII, 20, 8¹; milk, I, 134, 2.
gō-arnas, a sea of milk :
gō-arnasā, II, 34, 12¹.
go-ghná, cow-slaying :
go-ghnām, I, 114, 10.
gō-gāta, name of the Maruts :
(I, 85, 3¹).
Gótama :
gótamāya, I, 85, 11; *gótamāsab*, I, 88, 4¹; *gótamab*, I, 88, 5; (125.)
godhā, not *godhāb* :
p. lxvii.
gopā, guardian :
gopāb, VII, 56, 18; (I, 86, 1¹).
gopāy, to guard :
gopāyātam, VI, 74, 4.
go-pithā, a draught of milk :
go-pithāya, I, 19, 1¹.
go-pithā, keeping :
go-pithē devānām, X, 77, 7.
gō-bandhu, the kindred of the cow (*Prisni*) :
gō-bandhavab, VIII, 20, 8.
gō-mat, rich in cattle :
gō-mati (vragē), I, 86, 3; *gō-matib ānu*, V, 61, 19¹; *gō-mat rādhab*, wealth of cows, V, 57, 7.—*gō-matab*, (*Soma*) mixed with milk, VIII, 94, 6.
gō-mātri, having the cow (*Prisni*) as their mother :
gō-mātaraḥ, I, 85, 3¹; (I, 168, 9¹).
go-hán, killing cattle :
go-hā, VII, 56, 17.
gnā, woman :
gnāb, (307; 308.)
grāma, village :
grāme asmin, I, 114, 1.
grāma-gīt, conqueror of clans :
grāma-gītab, V, 54, 8.
grāvan, grinding-stone :
grāvānab ná, X, 78, 6².
gha, particle :
I, 37, 11; *gha it*, II, 34, 14; *utā gha*, V, 61, 8; *kit gha*, VIII, 20, 21.
gharmā, formus, pit :
(217 seq.); (V, 54, 1²).
gharma-sād, dwelling on the hearth (the *Pitris*) :
(218.)

gharma-stúbh, who praises the warm milk (of the sacrifice) :
gharma-stúbhe, V, 54, 1².
gharmya and *gharmye-sthā* :
see *harmya*, (217.)
ghrīni :
ghrīni-iva, i. e. *ghrīner iva*? as if from sunshine, II, 33, 6¹.
ghritā, fatness :
ghritām, fatness (rain), I, 85, 3; 87, 2; 168, 8.—*ghritām ná*, like butter, VIII, 7, 19; *ghritām āsīram*, butter and milk for the *Soma*, I, 134, 6.
ghrita-prūsh, scattering *ghrita* :
ghrita-prūshab, X, 78, 4¹.
ghritā-vat, fat :
ghritā-vat (pāyab), I, 64, 6².
ghritākī :
ghritākī, resplendent, I, 167, 3.—*ghritākīm (dhiyam)*, accompanied by fat offerings, I, 2, 7².
ghrīshu, brisk :
ghrīshum, I, 64, 12.
ghrīshī, boar :
(I, 37, 4¹).
ghrīshvi, wild :
ghrīshvaye, I, 37, 4¹; *ghrīshvayab*, I, 85, 1; 166, 2.
ghrīshvi-rādhas, whose gifts are cheering :
ghrīshvi-rādhasab, VII, 59, 5.
ghorā, terrible :
ghorāb, I, 167, 4.
ghorā-varpas, of terrible designs :
ghorā-varpasab, I, 19, 5; 64, 2³.
ghósha, shout, roar :
ghóshab, X, 168, 1; *ghósham*, V, 54, 12; *ghóshāb*, X, 168, 4.
ka, and . . . :
also, I, 165, 12; see *kanā* (264; 266 seq.); *ka-ka*, I, 168, 3; *ko*, VI, 66, 3.
ākānā, delighting in (*Loc.*) :
ākānāb, X, 77, 8.
akrā, wheel :
akrā, I, 166, 9².—*akra*, the weapon, (I, 166, 9²).
akrī, wheel :
akrīyā, the wheels, II, 34, 9²; on their chariot, II, 34, 14.
āksh :
prā ākshaya, reveal, I, 134, 3.—*sam-ākshya*, wherever I have looked for you, I, 165, 12.

kákshana, sight :

kákshavam, V, 55, 4.

kákshas, sight :

kákshasā, I, 87, 5.

kákshus, eye :

kákshub, V, 54, 6; 59, 3²; 5.

kāt :

ví kātayasva, put away, II, 33, 2.

kātub-pad, beast :

dvi-pādab kātub-padab, man and beast, X, 121, 3; *sām dvi-pāde kātub-pade*, (191); I, 114, 1; VI, 74, 1; p. cxi.

kaná :

kaná, not even, I, 166, 12⁵; X, 168, 3; (264 seqq.); *nahí kaná*, not even, VII, 59, 3.—*kaná*, in negative sentences, (264); in positive sentences, (264 seq.); with interrogative pronouns, (265 seq.); *kaná*, for *kā ná*, (264; 266 seq.)

kānishṭha, best :

kānishṭhā su-matīb, VII, 57, 4.

kandrā, bright :

kandrāb, X, 121, 9; *kandrān*, VIII, 20, 20.

kandrā-vat, golden :

kandrā-vat, V, 57, 7.

kandrā-varna, in bright splendour :

kandrā-varnāb, I, 165, 12.

kār, to move :

kārati, VII, 46, 3; X, 168, 4; *kārantam*, I, 6, 1; *kārantī*, I, 167, 3; *kāranti*, VIII, 20, 18.—*ā kara*, come, I, 114, 3.—*ūpa kara*, come, VII, 46, 2.

kārātha, movable :

sthātūb kārātham, what stands and moves, pp. lxxii seq.—*kārātha*, flock, movable property, p. lxxiii.

karamá, last :

karamám, VII, 59, 3; *karamáb*, VIII, 20, 14¹.

karkārya, glorious :

(176.)

karkrītya, glorious :

karkrītyam, I, 64, 14.

kārman, skin :

kārma-iva, I, 85, 5².

karshanī, pl., men :

karshanīb, I, 86, 5.—*karshanīnām*, the swift gods (Maruts), I, 86, 6¹.

kāru, beautiful :

kārum (adhvarám), fair, I, 19, 1.—*kāravab*, V, 59, 3.

ki, to gather :

ví kayat krítām, may he gather what we have made, V, 60, 1².

ki, to perceive, to see :

ákidhvam, I, 87, 2; V, 55, 7; VIII, 7, 2¹; 14; *káyate*, I, 167, 8.—*ni-ketārab*, they find out, VII, 57, 2.—*ketū*, from *ki* (I, 166, 1²).

kit, to perceive, &c. :

kitáyante, they see, I, 171, 5.—*kitáyante*, they appear, V, 59, 2; *kitayanta*, they appeared, II, 34, 2; *kekite*, appears, II, 34, 10; *kekitāna*, showing thyself, II, 33, 15¹.—*kétati*, he looks after (Gen.), VII, 46, 2; *ketathab*, you perceive (Gen.), I, 2, 5; *ketatha*, you think of (Dat.), V, 59, 3.—*kikitúshe*, to the intelligent man, VI, 66, 1; *keketa*, he understands, VII, 56, 4; *yáthā kikitati*, that he may hear, I, 43, 3.—*aketi*, it was known, I, 88, 5.—*ā kikitrire*, they have become well known, I, 166, 13.—*kitáyat*, exciting, rousing, II, 34, 7¹.

kit, even . . . :

nú kit, I, 39, 4; VI, 66, 1; 5; VII, 56, 15; *kit gha*, I, 37, 11; VIII, 20, 21; *kit hí*, VII, 59, 7.—*yáb kit*, X, 121, 8; *yáthā kit*, V, 56, 2.—*káb kit*, see *kím*.—*kríté kit*, whatever little we have done, VII, 57, 5.

kitá, thought :

kitám, I, 170, 1; *tiráb kitáni*, VII, 59, 8¹.

kitrá, brilliant, beautiful :

kitráb, I, 88, 2; (171); I, 166, 4; 172, 1 (bis); *kitrá*, II, 34, 10; VI, 66, 9; *kitráb*, I, 165, 13; VIII, 7, 7; X, 78, 1; the bright ones (the clouds), I, 38, 11²; *kitráb*, I, 64, 4; *kitrá*, V, 52, 11; I, 134, 4; *kitráya*, for *mitráya*, Ludwig, (II, 34, 4¹).—*kitrá*, splendour, I, 37, 3².—*kitrá*, from *ki*, (I, 166, 1²).

kitrá-bhānu, of beautiful splendour :

kitrá-bhānavab, I, 64, 7²; 85, 11.

kitrá-vāga, with splendid booty :

kitrá-vāgān, VIII, 7, 33.

kirām :

mā kirām karat, may it not cause delay, V, 56, 7.

kud, to stir :

kodata, I, 168, 4.—*prā kodata*, spur forth, V, 56, 7.

kétana, to be seen :

kétanam, I, 170, 4¹.

ko, see *ka*.

kóda, goad :

kódab, V, 61, 3.

kyu, to shake, caus., to throw down :

kyavante, I, 167, 8²; *akutyavitana*, I, 37, 12¹ (bis); *akutyavub*, I, 166, 5; 168, 4; V, 53, 6; *kyávam*, I, 165, 10; *kyaváyatha*, I, 168, 6.—*kyu*, to send down the rain, (135).—*ā akutyavub*, V, 59, 8.—*prā kyavayanti*, I, 37, 11; 64, 3; V, 56, 4²; *prā kyaváyantab*, I, 85, 4; *prā akutyavub*, V, 59, 7.

kbad, to appear :

ākkbānta, *kbadáyātha*, I, 165, 12; p. xviii.

kbandab-stúbh, stepping according to a measure :

kbandab-stúbhab, V, 52, 12¹; p. xcvi seq.

kbandas, shine :

kbandab, VIII, 7, 36².

kbāndu :

vrishā kbāndub, (147.)

kbarls, shelter :

kbarlīb, I, 114, 5.

kbâyā, shadow :

kbâyā, X, 121, 2²; *kbâyām*, II, 33, 6.

-*ga*, from -*gan* :

(X, 77, 5²).

gaksh=*gaggb*, to laugh :

(284); (V, 52, 6²).

gāgat, world :

gāgatab, X, 121, 3.—*gāgatab sthātúb*, of what is movable and what is immovable, p. lxxiv.

gāgmi, rushing about :

gāgmayab, I, 85, 8.

gaghāna, croup :

gaghāne, on the croup, or behind, V, 61, 3¹.

gaghanatas, behind :

(V, 61, 3¹).

gaggb, to laugh :

gāggbatī (conjecture for *gāṅgati*), I, 168, 7¹; (V, 52, 6²).

gaggb, to laugh :

gāggbatīb, V, 52, 6².

gāṅg, see *gaggb*.

gāṅganā-bhū, to rattle :

gāṅganā-bhāvan, (V, 52, 6²).

gan, to be born, caus., to beget :

agāyathāb, I, 6, 3; *agāyanta*, I, 37, 2; *gagñire*, I, 64, 2; 4; *āgani*, II, 34, 2²; *gāni*, VIII, 7, 36; *gāyamānab gātāb*, who is now born and who has been born, I, 165, 9²; *gātāb*, X, 121, 1; 168, 3; *gātāb*, V, 55, 3; 87, 2¹; *gātāsyā*, of all that exists, II, 33, 3; *gātāni*, X, 121, 10.—*ganāyanti*, X, 121, 7; 8; *ganāyantab*, I, 85, 2; *aganayanta*, I, 168, 9; *ganayatha*, V, 58, 4; *āganayab*, I, 134, 4; *divam gāṅāna*, X, 121, 9.—*abhi-gāyanta*, they were born to bring (Acc.), I, 168, 2¹.—*prā-pra gāyante*, they are born on and on, V, 58, 5; *prā gāyemahi pra-gābhīb*, may we increase in offspring, II, 33, 1.

-*gan* :

-*gab* and -*gāb*, (X, 77, 5²).

gāna, man :

gānab, I, 86, 1; *gānam*, I, 166, 8; *gānāya*, I, 166, 12; II, 34, 8; V, 58, 4; *gānāsab*, I, 166, 14; *gānāsab jūrāb*, valiant men, VII, 56, 22; *gānān*, I, 37, 12; 64, 13; *gānānām*, VII, 56, 24.

gāni, wife :

gānayab, I, 85, 1¹; V, 61, 3²; *gāniīb*, mothers, I, 167, 7¹.

ganitrī, begetter :

ganitā prithivyāb, X, 121, 9.

ganītra, birthplace :

ganītram, VII, 56, 2.

ganús, birth :

ganúshā, V, 57, 5; 59, 6; *ganúshab*, VI, 66, 4¹; *ganúsmhi*, VII, 56, 2; *ganúb*, VII, 58, 2¹.

gantú, a man :

gantúm, VII, 58, 3.

gánman, what is born :

gánmanab, VII, 46, 2; *gánmane*, host, I, 166, 1.—*gánmanā*, after the kind, I, 87, 5.

- gabh :**
 (I, 37, 5²)
gámbha, tasting :
gámbhe, I, 37, 5².
gar, to praise :
garante tvám ákka, I, 2, 2 ;
garāyai, I, 38, 13.
gāra, the weakening :
garāya, II, 34, 10.
garitrī, praiser, singer :
garitā, I, 38, 5 ; 165, 14 ; *garitré*,
 II, 34, 6 ; 33, 11 ; *garitúb*, V,
 87, 8 ; *garitārab*, I, 2, 2.
gālāsha, relieving :
gālāshab, II, 33, 7¹ ; (I, 43, 4²).
gālāsha-bheshaga, the possessor of
 healing medicines (Rudra) :
gālāsha-bheshagam, I, 43, 4² ; (II,
 33, 7¹).
gāsuri, weak :
gāsurim, V, 61, 7.
gā, people :
gāsu nab, among our people, VII,
 46, 2 ; (X, 77, 5²).
gātā, see *gan*.
gāna, birth :
gānam, I, 37, 9 ; V, 53, 1.
gāni, mother :
 (V, 61, 4¹).
gāmi-tvá, kinship :
gāmi-tvám, I, 166, 13.
gārā, lover :
gārāb, I, 134, 3.
gā-vat, procuring offspring :
gā-vatab (Soma), VIII, 94, 5.
gi, to overpower :
giyate, V, 54, 7.
gigatnú, hasting :
gigatnáva, X, 78, 3 ; 5.
gigivás, victorious :
gigivāmsab, X, 78, 4.
gigishā, valour :
gigishā (Instr.), I, 171, 3.
ginv, to rouse, to gladden :
ginvatha, VIII, 7, 21.—*gínvantab*
sám, I, 64, 8.
gihmám, athwart :
 I, 85, 11.
gihvá, tongue :
gihvá, I, 87, 5 ; *gihváya*, I, 168, 5¹ ;
agninām ná gihvāb, X, 78, 3 ;
agnéb gihváyā páhi, drink with
 the tongue of Agni, (34.)
gīta for *gīna*, (90.)
girá-dānu, bringing quickening rain :
girá-dānum, I, 165, 15 ; 166, 15 ;
 167, 11 ; 168, 10 ; 171, 6 ; p. xx ;
girá-dānavab, (113 ; 115) ; II, 34,
 4 ; V, 54, 9 ; *gīra-dānavab*, V,
 53, 5.
gīv, to live :
gívāse, I, 37, 15 ; 172, 3 ; X, 186,
 3 ; *gívātave*, X, 186, 2.
gīva-rāmsā, good report among
 men :
gīva-rāmsé, VII, 46, 4¹.
gu, to stir up :
gunánti, V, 58, 3 ; VII, 56, 20.
gugurváni :
 (I, 168, 1²).
gur, to weaken :
guratām, II, 34, 10¹ ; *gugurvān*,
 hoary, I, 37, 8.
gush, to be pleased, to accept :
gugushub, I, 165, 2 ; *gushānāb*, I,
 171, 2 ; *gushādhvam*, V, 55, 10 ;
 58, 3 ; VII, 56, 14 ; *yāthā gush-*
ānta, VII, 56, 20 ; *gushanta*, VII,
 56, 25 ; 58, 6 ; *gúgoshan ít*, VII,
 58, 3 ; *gugushrana*, VII, 59, 9.
 —*gushānta*, they wished (with
 Infin.), I, 167, 4 ; *góshat*, I,
 167, 5.
gúshra-tama, most beloved :
gúshra-tamāsab, I, 87, 1.
guhū, tongue :
guhvāb, VI, 66, 10.
gū, see *gu*.
gū, quick :
gúvab, I, 134, 1.
gri, see *gar*.
gósha, pleasure :
ānu gósham, VI, 66, 4 ; *gósham ā*,
 to his satisfaction, VIII, 94,
 6.
gñā, to know :
te mánab ānu gñatī, approving
 thy mind, I, 134, 1 ; (I, 86, 3¹).
 —*ví gñatī*, she finds out, V, 61,
 7 ; see *gigánvas*.
gyéshiba, oldest, best :
gyéshibebhib, I, 167, 2 ; *gyésh-*
tāsab, V, 87, 9 ; X, 78, 5 ;
gyéshibāb, X, 78, 2 ; *gyéshibab*
mántrab, (439.)
gyótishmat, brilliant :
gyótishmantab, X, 77, 5 ; *gyótish-*
matī, epithet of Aditi, (260.)
gyótis, light :
gyótib, I, 86, 10 ; *gyótishā*, II,
 34, 12.

takva-vīya, chase of the takva (?) :

takva-vīye, I, 134, 5¹.

taksh, to fashion :

tashráb, I, 171, 2; (V, 58, 4¹).—ānu
átakshata, you have granted, I,
86, 3¹.

tátas, from that :

tátāb, X, 186, 3.

táttra, there :

I, 170, 4; tátro, among them, I,
37, 14.

táthā, so :

táthā ít asat, so shall it be, VIII,
20, 17.

tád, pron. . . . :

sáb, read sá? V, 61, 8¹; sá sá ít,
that very (Priṇi), VI, 66, 3;
táyā díá, this way, I, 85, 11;
syāma té, may we be such, V,
53, 15.—tát, therefore, so, then,
I, 166, 14; 167, 10; VII, 56,
25; VIII, 94, 3; yáttra-tát, V,
55, 7; yáthā ít-tát ít, V, 56, 2.
—sa and sas, p. cxvii.

tan, to expand, to spread :

tatanāb, I, 38, 14¹; tanāvāvahi,
I, 170, 4²; tanvate, I, 134, 4;
tanushva, unstring (the bow),
II, 33, 14; tatāna, it extended,
V, 54, 5.—tatānāma nrīn abhí,
we may overshadow all men, V,
54, 15.—ā tanvánti, they shoot,
I, 19, 8; ā tatānan, may they
spread, I, 166, 14.—út atnata,
they stretched out, I, 37, 10.—
ví-tatāb, tied, V, 54, 11; ví-
tatam, far-reaching, V, 54, 12.

tán, race :

tánā, I, 39, 4¹.

tána, race :

tánāya, I, 39, 7.

tánaya, children :

tánayasya, I, 166, 8; tokám tá-
nayam, kith and kin, I, 64, 14;
VII, 56, 20; tokāya tánāyā,
V, 53, 13; I, 114, 6; II, 33, 14;
toké tánaye, VI, 66, 8; I, 114,
8; tokéshu tánayeshu, VII, 46,
3.

tánā, adv., for ever, continually :

I, 38, 13¹; VIII, 94, 5¹.

tanú, body, self :

tanvāb, I, 114, 7; 165, 5; V, 60, 4;
VII, 56, 11; 59, 7; tanúshu, I,
85, 3¹; 88, 3; V, 57, 6; 60, 4;
VIII, 20, 6; 12; 26; VI, 74,

3 (bis); tanvām, VI, 66, 4;
tanúbhiāb, VII, 57, 3.—tanvē, for
ourselves, I, 165, 15; p. xx; I,
166, 15; 167, 11; 168, 10; tanvē
tanúbhiāb, for your own sake, and
by your own efforts, I, 165, 11¹;
p. xviii.

tápas :

tápasā, (VII, 59, 8¹.)

tápushība, hottest :

tápushībena hánmanā, VII, 59, 8.

tápus, burning heat :

tápushā, II, 34, 9².

támas, darkness :

támāb, I, 38, 9; 86, 10; támāmsi,
VII, 56, 20.

tar, see tri.

Tarantá :

tarantáb-iva, like Taranta, V, 61,
10; Saviyasí Tarantamahishí,
Taranta Vaidadarvi, (359 seq.;
362; V, 61, 5²; 9¹.)

táras, speed :

tárasā, V, 54, 15.

tarutrí, he who overcomes :

ná tarutā, VI, 66, 8.

tavás, strong :

tavásam, I, 64, 12; V, 58, 2; ta-
vasāb, I, 166, 8; tavásāb, V, 60, 4;
tavāse, V, 87, 1; I, 114, 1; tavāb-
tamāb tavásām, the strongest of
the strong, II, 33, 3.

tavishá, powerful :

tavishāb, I, 165, 6; 8; V, 87, 5;
asmāt tavishāt, I, 171, 4; tavi-
shāb, V, 54, 2; tavishébhiāb ūrmí-
bhiāb, (298); (II, 34, 1⁴.)

tavishá, power :

tavishāni, I, 166, 1; strong weapons,
I, 166, 9¹.

távishí, power :

távishí, I, 39, 2; 4; távishíbhíāb, I,
64, 5; 10; 87, 4; 166, 4; II,
34, 1; (298); távishíāb, I, 64, 7;
távishím, V, 55, 2.

távishí-mat, powerful :

távishí-mantam, V, 58, 1; (I, 2,
5¹; 443.)

tavishí-yú, growing in strength :

tavishí-yavāb, VIII, 7, 2.

távyas, most powerful :

távyase (rudráya), I, 43, 1.

tâyú, thief :

tâyávāb, V, 52, 12.

tigmā-āyudha, having sharp weapons :

tigmā-āyudhau (Soma and Rudra),

- VI, 74, 4; tigmá-âyudhâya (Rudra), VII, 46, 1.
 tigmá-heti, having sharp bolts :
 tigmá-heti, VI, 74, 4.
 tirás, across :
 tiráb, I, 19, 7; 8; through, V, 53, 14; VIII, 94, 7.—tiráb kítāni, beyond thoughts, VII, 59, 8¹.
 tish/badgu, at sunset :
 (V, 54, 5¹).
 tishyā, N. of a star :
 tishyāb, V, 54, 13⁴.
 tú, part. :
 VIII, 7, 11.
 tug :
 Inf. tugāse, (I, 87, 6¹).
 tuturvāni, hastening :
 tuturvānib, I, 168, 1².
 tur, to hasten :
 turayante, II, 34, 3.
 -tur at the end of compounds :
 (VI, 66, 7³).
 turā, quick :
 turāsab (Maruts), I, 166, 14; turānām, I, 171, 1; VII, 56, 10; 58, 5; turāya, VI, 66, 9; turām, VII, 56, 19.
 turanyū, rushing :
 turanyāvab, I, 134, 5.
 Turasravas :
 (V, 52, 11¹).
 turv, to save :
 tūrvatha, VIII, 20, 24¹.—turvāne, (48.).
 Turvāsa :
 Turvāsam, VIII, 7, 18; (VIII, 20, 24¹).
 tuvi-gâtā, mighty :
 tuvi-gâtāb, I, 168, 4; tuvi-gâtāu, I, 2, 9.
 tuvi-dyumnā, vigorous :
 tuvi-dyumnāsab, I, 88, 3¹, 2; tuvi-dyumnāb, V, 87, 7.
 tuvi-nrīmā, of strong manhood :
 tuvi-nrīmām (śrāvab), I, 43, 7¹.
 túvi-magha, of great bounty :
 túvi-maghāsab, V, 57, 8; 58, 8.
 túvi-manyu, wrathful :
 túvi-manyavab, VII, 58, 2.
 tuvi-mrakshā :
 (I, 64, 4²).
 tuvi-rādhās, of great wealth :
 tuvi-rādhāsab, V, 58, 2.
 tūvishmat, strong :
 tūvishmān, I, 165, 6; VII, 56, 7; 58, 1¹.
 tuvi-svan, strong-voiced :
 tuvi-svanab, I, 166, 1.
 tuvi-svāni, loudly neighing :
 tūvi-svānib, V, 56, 7.
 tūyam, quick :
 VII, 59, 4.
 Trina-skandā :
 trina-skandāsya, I, 172, 3.
 Trītsu :
 Trītsus, or Vasishthas, are called Kapardinab, (I, 114, 1²).
 trid, to pierce :
 tatridānāb, V, 53, 7¹; (227).
 trip, to be satisfied, caus. to satisfy :
 tarpayanta, I, 85, 11; tripān (for tripāt, Pada), VII, 56, 10¹.
 triptā-amsu, (squeezed) from ripe stems :
 triptā-amsavab, I, 168, 3.
 trish, to be thirsty :
 trishyantam, V, 61, 7.
 trishu-āyāvas, flickering :
 trishu-āyāvasab, VI, 66, 10.
 trishnāg, thirsty :
 trishnāge, I, 85, 11; V, 57, 1.
 trishnā, greed :
 trishnayā sahā, I, 38, 6.
 trī, to cross :
 tārema apāb, VII, 56, 24; tarati, VII, 59, 2; tārema, let us speed, V, 54, 15; rāgas tar, to pass through the air, (VI, 66, 7³); see tarutri.—tārushante ā, they race, V, 59, 1.—prā tirate, he spreads forth, VII, 59, 2; prā tiradhvam, VII, 56, 14; prā tirata nab, lead us to (Dat.), VII, 57, 5; prā tireta, help us, VII, 58, 3; prā tārishat (āyūm-shi), may he prolong, X, 186, 1.—vī tirāti, it furthers, VII, 58, 3.
 tokā, kith :
 tokāya, I, 43, 2; tokām tánayam, kith and kin, I, 64, 14; VII, 56, 20; tokāya tánayāya, V, 53, 13; I, 114, 6; II, 33, 14; toké tánaye, VI, 66, 8; I, 114, 8; tokéshu tánayeshu, VII, 46, 3.
 tmān, self :
 tmāne tokāya tánayāya, to us and to our kith and kin, I, 114, 6.
 tmānā, by oneself :
 (I, 167, 9¹); I, 168, 4; 5; V, 52, 2; 6; 8; 87, 4; VIII, 94, 8; freely, VII, 57, 7; barhānā

- tmánâ, by their own might, X, 77, 3.
 tyag, to push off, to drive away, then, to leave :
 (270.)
 tyâgas :
 tyâgasâ, in his scorn, I, 166, 12⁶; (267 seqq.); tyâgas, leaving, forsaking, (267); attack, on-slaughter, (268 seqq.); weapon, (268.)
 tyád, pron. . . :
 etát tyát, I, 88, 5; eshá syá, I, 88, 6.
 trâtrí, protector :
 trâtárab, VII, 56, 22.
 tri, three :
 tísráb kshápab, Acc., (I, 64, 8²); trîni sâramsi, three lakes, VIII, 7, 10³.
 trí-ambaka, see tryâmbaka.
 Tritá :
 tritám, II, 34, 10¹; tritáb, II, 34, 14; V, 54, 2; tritásya, VIII, 7, 24.
 tri-dhātu, threefold :
 tri-dhâtūni, I, 85, 12.
 tri-vrít, threefold :
 of the sacrifice, (VIII, 7, 1¹).
 trís, thrice :
 dvíś tríb, VI, 66, 2.
 tri-sadhashá, dwelling in three abodes (Soma) :
 tri-sadhashásya, VIII, 94, 5³.
 tri-stúbh, threefold :
 tri-stúbham ísham, the threefold draught, VIII, 7, 1¹.—tri-stubh = 'Three-step,' p. xcvi.
 trai, to protect :
 tráyadhve, V, 53, 15; VII, 59, 1.
 tryâmbaka, N. of Rudra :
 tryâmbakam, VII, 59, 12¹.
 tva, pron. :
 tvá strí, some woman, V, 61, 6; (360.)
 tvákshas, energy :
 tvákshâmsi, VIII, 20, 6.
 tvákshiyams, more vigorous :
 tvákshiyasâ váyasâ, II, 33, 6.
 tvad, pron. . . :
 kím te, what has happened to thee, yát te asmé, what thou hast against us, I, 165, 3.—túbhya for túbhyam, p. cxvii seq.
 Tváshtri :
 tváshtrâ, I, 85, 9¹.
 tvâ-datta, given by thee :
 tvâ-dattebhiś, II, 33, 2.
 tvâ-vat, like unto thee :
 tvâ-vân, I, 165, 9.
 tvish, to blaze, to flare up :
 âtitvishanta, V, 54, 12; atvishanta, VIII, 94, 7.—(I, 37, 4²).
 tvíśh, glare :
 tvíśhâ, X, 78, 6.—*drisí* tvíśhé, to see the light, V, 52, 12⁴.
 tvíshi-mat, blazing :
 tvíshi-mantab, VI, 66, 10.
 tveshá, terrible, fierce, blazing :
 tvesháb, V, 87, 5; tveshám, I, 38, 15; 168, 6; 9; V, 53, 10; 56, 9; 58, 2; 87, 6; VIII, 20, 13; I, 114, 4; 5; II, 33, 8; tveshâ-sya, II, 33, 14; tvesháb, I, 38, 7; VIII, 20, 7; tveshâ, I, 168, 7.
 tveshá-dyumna, endowed with terrible vigour :
 tveshá-dyumnáya, I, 37, 4².
 tveshá-pratíka, with terrible look :
 tveshá-pratíkâ, I, 167, 5.
 tveshá-yâma, whose march is terrible :
 tveshá-yâmâb, I, 166, 5.
 tveshá-ratha, with blazing chariots :
 tveshá-rathab, V, 61, 13.
 tveshá-samdriś, terrible to behold :
 tveshá-samdriśab, I, 85, 8; V, 57, 5.
 tveshyâ, fire and fury :
 tveshyēna, VII, 58, 2.
 tsârin, hunter, watcher :
 tsârí, I, 134, 5¹.
 dams :
 dasra from dams ? (V, 55, 5³).
 damsána :
 damsánaib, valiant deeds, I, 166, 13; damsánâ, by wonderful skill, V, 87, 8.
 dámsu, δαμν :
 dámsu, Nom. pl. ? (I, 134, 4¹).
 dáksha, power :
 dáksham, X, 121, 8; I, 134, 2; dáksham apásam, I, 2, 9.—Daksha and Aditi, (245 seqq.; 251.)
 dáksha-pitri, father of strength :
 dáksha-pitarab, (247 seq.); dáksha-pitarâ, (248.)
 dákshinâ, largess :
 dákshinâ, I, 168, 7.

dagh :

mā paśāt daghma, let us not stay behind, VII, 56, 21.

dātṛa, or dātṛa, gift, bounty :

(240.)

Dadhyaḥ, N. pr. :

(153.)

dabh, to hurt :

ā-dābhat, VII, 56, 15.

dām, house :

dām-su, I, 134, 4¹.

dāma, house :

dāme, VIII, 7, 12; dāme-dame, VI, 74, 1.

dāmya, domestic :

dāmyam, VII, 56, 14.

day, to divide :

dayase, thou cuttest, II, 33, 10³.—(I, 166, 6⁴).—See dā (do).

dātṛi, breaker :

dārtā, VI, 66, 8.

darśatā, visible, conspicuous, beautiful :

darśatām, I, 38, 13; darśatāb, V, 56, 7; darśata, I, 2, 1¹; darśatā, I, 64, 9.

dārya, to be seen :

dāryā, V, 52, 11.

dāvidhvat, violently shaking :

dāvidhvatab, II, 34, 3³.

Dāra-gva :

dāra-gvāb (Maruts ?), II, 34, 12¹.

darasya, to help :

darasyātha, VIII, 20, 24; daras-yāntab, bounteous, VII, 56, 17.

das, to perish :

ūpa dasyanti, V, 54, 7; 55, 5³.—dāsamānab, tired, I, 134, 5.

dasmā-varṣas, shining forth marvelously :

dasmā-varṣasām, VIII, 94, 8.

dasra, destroyer :

dasrāb, V, 55, 5³.

dā, to give :

dāta, II, 34, 7; (c. Gen.), VII, 56, 15; dehi, X, 186, 3; dada, V, 57, 7; dadub, V, 52, 17; dādat, V, 61, 10; dādāta (pra-gāyai amṛitasya), VII, 57, 6; dātave, VII, 59, 6; dadūshab, (I, 6, 1²); nā ditsasi, dost thou not wish to give, I, 170, 3.—dadā, you have protected, I, 39, 9¹.—ānutta=dānu-datta, (I, 165, 9¹).—mā pārā dāb, do not forsake, VII, 46, 4.—See dāvān.

dā (do, dyati), to share, to divide :

āva dishiya, may I pay off, II, 33, 5³.—(I, 167, 8³; VIII, 7, 27¹).—See day.

dā, to bind :

ni-dita, bound, (257.)

dāti-vāra, dispensing treasures :

dāti-vārab, I, 167, 8³; dāti-vāram, V, 58, 2.

dātṛi, giver :

dātāram (bhūreb), II, 33, 12.

dātṛa, sickle :

(241.)

dātṛā, bounty :

dātṛām, I, 166, 12³; dātṛāt, VII, 56, 21.

dādhrivi, strong :

dādhrivi, VI, 66, 3.

dānā, gift :

dānā, for a gift, V, 52, 14¹; 15; by gift, V, 87, 2¹; VIII, 20, 14.

dānavā, demon :

(114 seq.)

dānu :

giver or gift, (115.)—m., demon, (114 seq.)—f., rain (?), (115.)—n., water, rain, (113; 115); Soma, (115.)

dānū, giving :

(113 seq.)

dānu-kiṭra, dew-lighted :

dānu-kiṭrāb uśāsab, V, 59, 8; (115.)

dānunaspāti, ep. of Mitra-Varuṇau and the Asvins :

(115.)

dānu-mat :

dānumat vāsu, the treasure of rain, (115.)

dāyas, share, inheritance :

(I, 166, 6⁴.)

Dārbyā :

Rathaviti Dārbyā, (V, 61, 5³; 359 seq.); dārbyāya, V, 61, 17¹.

Dālbya, see Dārbyā.

dāvān, giving :

makhāya dāvāne, for the offering of the sacrifice, VIII, 7, 27¹; I, 134, 1 (bis); to the offering of the priest, (47 seq.)—suvitāya dāvāne, to grant welfare, V, 59, 1¹; 4.—dāvāne, for gifts, I, 134, 2.

dār, to give, to sacrifice :

dārati, VII, 59, 2; dadārimā, I, 86, 6; dādārat, X, 77, 7; dārśushe, I, 85, 12; V, 57, 3¹; I,

2, 3; *dadārushe*, I, 166, 3; V, 53, 6.
dāsvās, see *dās*.
dās, to attack :
 (V, 55, 5^a).
Diti and *Aditi* :
 (255 seq.)
didrikshēnya, to be yearned for :
didrikshēnyam, V, 55, 4.
didyú, flame :
didyúm, VII, 56, 9.—weapon, (I, 6, 8²).
didyút, weapon, Indra's weapon or thunderbolt :
didyút, lightning, I, 166, 6; shining thunderbolt, VII, 57, 4; VII, 46, 3; (I, 6, 8²).—*didyút* (*adhvarāsyā*), flame, VI, 66, 10.
didhishú :
didhishāvab ná rathyāb, like lords of chariots on a suit, X, 78, 5.
div (*divyati*), to throw forth, to break forth, to shine :
 (I, 6, 8²).
dīv, see *dýú*.
dīvishī, daily sacrifice :
dīvishīshu, I, 86, 4.
divi-sprī, touching the sky :
divi-sprīk, X, 168, 1.
divyā, heavenly :
divyám kōsam, V, 59, 8; *divyāsya gānmanab*, VII, 46, 2; *divyāni*, I, 64, 3; 5.—*divyāb-iva strībhīb*, heavens, I, 166, 11²; (I, 87, 1¹).
dis, to display :
dēdisate, VIII, 20, 6.
dīs, direction :
tāyā dīā, this way, I, 85, 11.
dirghā, long :
dirghām, I, 37, 11; 166, 12.—Adv., I, 166, 14; V, 54, 5; *dirghām prithú*, far and wide, V, 87, 7¹.
dirghā-yasas, far-famed :
dirghā-yasase, V, 61, 9.
dub-gā, stronghold :
dub-gāni, V, 54, 4.
dub-dhārtu, irresistible :
dub-dhārtavāb, V, 87, 9.
dub-dhūr, impatient of the yoke :
dub-dhūrab, V, 56, 4.
dub-matī, hatred :
dub-matīb, VII, 56, 9; II, 33, 14.
dub-māda, madman :
durmādāb-iva, I, 39, 5.

dúb-stuti, bad praise :
dúb-stuti, II, 33, 4.
dub-hána, difficult to be conquered :
dub-hánā, I, 38, 6.
dub-hrināyú, hateful :
dub-hrināyúb, VII, 59, 8.
dukkbúnā, monster :
dukkbúnā, VIII, 20, 4¹.
dudhrá, wild :
dudhráb (*gaúb*), V, 56, 3.
dudhra-krit, making to reel :
dudhra-kritab, I, 64, 11.
dúr, door :
dúrab, VII, 46, 2.
dúvas, worship :
dúvab, (I, 37, 14¹); worship, sacrifice, work, (204.)
duvās, worshipper :
duvāse, I, 165, 14¹; (205); p. xix;
duvāsab, I, 168, 3.
duvasy, to care for, to attend :
duvasyāt, he should help, I, 165, 14¹; p. xix.—*duvasyān*, sacrificing, I, 167, 6.—(203 seqq.)
duvasyā, worthy of worship :
 (203; 205.)
dustára, invincible :
dustáram, I, 64, 14; II, 34, 7.
duh, to milk :
duhānti, I, 64, 5; 6²; *duhúb*, II, 34, 10; *duduhe* (*údhak*), VI, 66, 1; *duhre*, *duhrate*, I, 134, 6; *dohate*, I, 134, 4; *duduhré*, VIII, 7, 10².—*duhukshānta*, they have drawn forth, VIII, 7, 3; *duhántab útsam*, drawing the well, VIII, 7, 16.—*nīb duhré*, they have been brought forth, VI, 66, 4.—See *dohás*.
dū, worshipper :
dúvab, Nom. pl., I, 37, 14¹.
dūre-drīs, visible from afar :
dūre-drīsab, I, 166, 11; V, 59, 2.
drilbā, strong :
drilbā kit, I, 64, 3; (VIII, 20, 1¹); *drilbāni kit*, I, 168, 4.—*drilbā*, made fast, X, 121, 5¹.
dris, to see :
drīkshase, mayest thou be seen, I, 6, 7²; *drisī tvishé*, to see the light, V, 52, 12⁴; *drisē kām*, that they may be seen, VIII, 94, 2.—Cf. *didrikshēnya*.
-dris, in *yaksha-dris* :
 (VII, 56, 16¹).

drih :

dadrîhânâm, strong, I, 85, 10.

dri, see *dârîri*.

devâ, god :

devâya, X, 121, 1-9; *devâb*, X, 121, 2; *yâb devêshu âdhi devâb êkab*, he who alone is God above all gods, X, 121, 8; *devânâmâsub*, X, 121, 7; *âtmâ devânâm*, X, 168, 4; *devânâm go-pithê*, in the keeping of the gods, X, 77, 7; *srêshîbab devânâm vâsub*, the best Vasu among the gods (Rudra), I, 43, 5; *Vasus* = *Devas*, (VII, 56, 20³); *nahî devâb nâ mârtyab*, I, 19, 2.—*vîsve devâsab*, I, 19, 3²; *devâb vîsve*, VIII, 94, 2.—The Maruts, *devâsab*, I, 19, 6; *devâb*, I, 167, 4; *dévâsab*, I, 39, 5; VIII, 7, 27; VII, 59, 1; *devâb*, I, 171, 2; VII, 59, 2; X, 78, 8; *devân*, V, 52, 15¹; *mahânâm devânâm*, VIII, 94, 8.—*Rudra, deva*, I, 114, 10; II, 33, 15; *devâya*, VII, 46, 1.—*devâb*, *Vâta*, X, 168, 2; 4.—*devâ*, divine, brilliant, p. xxxvii; *devîm (vâr-kâryâm)*, sacred, I, 88, 4¹; (176); *devî*, ep. of *Aditi*, (260); *devi*, O goddess (the night), V, 61, 17.—*deva* for *devâ*, dual, p. lii.

deva-avî, pleasing the gods :

deva-avyâb, X, 78, 1.

devâtâ, among the gods :—

I, 165, 9²; p. xvii.

devâ-tâti :

(I, 165, 9².)

devâtta, god-given :

devâtta, I, 37, 4.

deva-trâ, towards the gods :

V, 61, 7.

deva-yagyâ, sacrifice :

deva-yagyâyâ, I, 114, 3.

deva-yât, pious :

deva-yântab, I, 6, 6.

deva-yâ (?) :

deva-yâb, I, 168, 1, see *eva-yâb*.

deshnâ, gift :

deshnâm, VII, 58, 4.

daivya, divine :

daivyasya, V, 57, 7; VII, 58, 1¹;

râpasab daivyasya, heaven-sent mischief, II, 33, 7; *daivyam*

hê/ab, the anger of the gods, I,

114, 4.

do, see *dâ*.

dôb, arm :

dôb, V, 61, 5¹.

dohâs :

dohâse, to give milk, VI, 66, 1;

dohâse, to be brought forth, VI, 66, 5¹.

dyâvâkshâmâ, heaven and earth :

(250.)

dyâvâprithivî, heaven and earth :

V, 55, 7; (250.)

dyu, to shine :

(I, 37, 4².)

dyû, heaven, sky, *Dyu* :

Dyaus = *Zeus*, p. xxiv; *dyaûb*

âditib, the boundless *Dyu* (sky),

(261); V, 59, 8²; *dyaûb*, *Dyu*

(the bull of the Dawn), V, 58,

6²; *dyaûb nâ*, VIII, 7, 26;

prithivî utâ dyaûb, Earth and

Sky, I, 114, 11; *divâb putrâsab*,

the sons of *Dyu*, X, 77, 2;

divâb âsurasya vedhâsab, the

servants of the divine *Dyu*,

VIII, 20, 17; *divab narab*, V,

54, 10; I, 64, 4; *divâb mâryâb*,

V, 59, 6; *divâb ukshânab*, I, 64,

2¹; *divâb*, (sons) of heaven, I,

86, 1; *divâb sârdhâya*, host of

heaven, VI, 66, 11; *divê*, to

heaven (*Dyu*), V, 59, 1; *dyôb*

sâmsab, 'Himmelslob,' (439).—

divâb vakshânâbhyab, from the

flanks of heaven (*Dyu*, f., mother

of the Maruts), I, 134, 4².—

divâb, from heaven, I, 6, 10;

168, 4; V, 52, 14; 53, 6; 8;

54, 13; (*brihatâb*), V, 87, 3;

VIII, 7, 11; 13; 94, 10; VII, 46,

3; *divâb*, of heaven, V, 52, 5; 6;

7; 57, 1; 59, 7; I, 37, 6; 38,

2; *divâb arkâb*, singers of the

sky, V, 57, 5¹; *divâb prishîbâm*,

back of heaven, I, 166, 5; V,

54, 1²; *divâb sânu*, ridge of

heaven, V, 60, 3; (*snûnâ*), VIII,

7, 7; *divâb rokanât*, from the

light of heaven, I, 6, 9¹; V, 56,

1; *rokanâ*, the lights of heaven,

VIII, 94, 9; *rokanâ divî*, I, 6, 1;

divâb varâhâm arushâm, the red

boar of the sky (*Rudra*), I, 114,

5; *divâb prithivîyâb*, X, 77, 3;

divî, I, 19, 6¹; 85, 2; V, 52, 3;

- 61, 12; ádhi dyávi, I, 39, 4; diví(uttamé, madhyamé, avamé), V, 60, 6; diváb út-tarât, V, 60, 7; dyaúb út-tarâ, VIII, 20, 6.—dyâm imâm, X, 121, 1; dyaúb ugrâ, X, 121, 5; dívam gagâna, X, 121, 9; dyâm, V, 57, 3; dyaúb-iva, V, 57, 4; dyaúb, V, 54, 9; dyâvab ná strî-bhib, (I, 87, 1¹); II, 34, 2.—prithivî, râgas, dyû, (I, 19, 3¹); (50; 51.)
- dyû, day :
dyâvab, V, 53, 5¹; dívâ, by day, I, 38, 9; VIII, 7, 6; úpa dyû-bhib, ânu dyûn, day by day, V, 53, 3¹; I, 167, 10; divé-dive, from day to day, II, 34, 7; pârye dyób, at the close of the day, VI, 66, 8¹.
- dyut, to shine :
dávidyutati, they sparkle, VIII, 20, 11; ví dyutayanta, they shone wide, II, 34, 2.
- dyu-mât, brilliant :
dyu-mântam, I, 64, 14.
- dyumnâ, brilliant :
dyumnaíb, VIII, 20, 16; (I, 37, 4².)
- dyumnâ-ravasa, of brilliant glory :
dyumnâ-ravase, V, 54, 1.
- drapsâ, torrent (?) :
drapsâb, VIII, 7, 16¹.
- drapsîn, scattering rain-drops :
drapsinab, I, 64, 2.
- dravât-pâni, quick-hoofed :
(I, 38, 11¹.)
- drávinâ, wealth :
drávinam, V, 54, 15.
- dru :
dravât, quickly, I, 2, 5.
- Drúh :
druháb pârân, the snares of Druh, VII, 59, 8.
- dronakalasa, a Soma-vessel :
(VIII, 94, 5².)
- dvi-gâni, having two mothers (Agni) :
dvi-gâni, (V, 61, 4¹.)
- dvitâ, twice :
I, 37, 9.
- dvi-pád, man :
dvi-pádab kátub-padab, man and beast, X, 121, 3; dvi-páde kátub-pade, I, 114, 1; VI, 74, 1; (191; 435); p. cxi.
- dvi-bárhas, twofold :
dvi-bárhâb (probably dvi-bárhâb), I, 114, 10¹.
- dvi-mâtrî, having two mothers (Agni) :
dvi-mâtâ, (V, 61, 4¹.)
- dvish, enemy :
dvisham, I, 39, 10; dvishab, VII, 59, 2.
- dvís, twice :
dvíb trib, twice and thrice, VI, 66, 2.
- dvipâ, island :
dvipâni, islands (clouds), VIII, 20, 4¹.
- dvêshas :
dvêshab, haters, I, 167, 9; X, 77, 6.—dvêshâmsi, hateful things, V, 87, 8; dvêshab, hatred, VII, 56, 19; 58, 6; II, 33, 2.
- dhan, to shake :
dhanayante, I, 88, 3²; dhanâ-yanta, they have rushed forth, I, 167, 2.
- dhána, treasure :
dhânâ, I, 64, 13.
- dhána-arâ :
dhána-arâam, may be dhána-rikam, p. lxxxv^a.
- dhana-sprît, wealth-acquiring :
dhana-sprîtam, I, 64, 14¹; VIII, 7, 18.
- dhânu, bow :
from dhan, (66.)
- dhânva-arnas :
dhânva-arnasab, may be dhânva-arnasab, p. lxxxv^a.
- dhana-kyút, shaking the sky :
dhana-kyútâb, I, 168, 5².
- dhânvan, bow :
dhânvâni, VIII, 20, 12; dhânva, II, 33, 10; (66); (VIII, 20, 4².)
- dhânvan, desert, dry land :
dhânvan kit â, I, 38, 7; dhânva-su, V, 53, 4²; dhânvanâ, V, 53, 6.—dhânvâni, the tracts (of the sky), VIII, 20, 4².
- dhârman, power :
dhârmanâ, I, 134, 5 (bis).
- dhav, to run :
dhavadhve, V, 60, 3.
- dhâ, to place, to bring, to offer, to bestow, to give (c. Loc. and Dat.); pass., to take, to assume; to gain . . . :

- dadhé** (*vriká-tâti*), II, 34, 9¹;
dhuḥ, V, 58, 7¹; **dadhanti**, VII,
 56, 19³.—**dadhidhvé**, will you
 take, I, 38, 1; **dadhidhve**, you
 accept, I, 168, 1²; **dádhanāb**, X,
 121, 7; 8; I, 6, 4; **tāvishīb dhâ**,
 to take strength, (I, 64, 7³);
dadhire (*várnam*), they have
 assumed, II, 34, 13; **dádhanāb**,
 having become, I, 171, 6³;
dadhe mudé, I am made to
 rejoice, V, 53, 5.—**ā dádhanāb**,
 bringing, I, 165, 12; p. xviii;
ā dádhanāb nāma, assuming a
 name, VI, 66, 5; **gárbham ā**
adhât, she conceived the germ,
 VI, 66, 3; **ā-bitâ**, piled up, I,
 166, 9.—**ní dhattâ**, put down, I,
 171, 1; **ádhi ní dhehi asmé**,
 bestow on us, I, 43, 7.—**sam-**
ádhatta mām ékam, you left
 me alone, I, 165, 6¹; p. xvi;
sám dadhe, it is held, I, 168, 3;
sám vi-dyútâ dádhati, they aim
 with the lightning, V, 54, 2;
sám dadhuḥ parva-jáb, they
 have brought together piece by
 piece, VIII, 7, 22¹.—See **dhâtri**,
 and **dhya** for **dhimahi**.
- dhâtri**, bestowing:
dhâtârab, VIII, 7, 35.
- dhānyā**:
dhānyām bīgam, the seed of corn,
 V, 53, 13.
- dhāman**, abode, law, company:
dhāma-bhiḥ, in their own ways, I,
 85, 11.—**dhāmnāb** (*mārutasya*),
 domain, I, 87, 6³; (*daśvyasya*),
 host, VII, 58, 1¹.—**pārasmin**
dhāman ritāsya, in the highest
 place of the law, I, 43, 9¹.—
 (27; 383 seq.)
- dhārayāt-kshiti**, supporting the earth:
 ep. of Aditi, (260.)
- dhārâ**, stream:
dhārâb, I, 85, 5², 3.
- dhârâvarâ**, charged with rain:
dhârâvarâb, II, 34, 1¹.
- dhāv**, to run:
vi-dhāvatab, rushing about, I, 88, 5.
- dhiyâ-vasu**, rich in prayers:
dhiyâ-vasub, I, 64, 15³.
- dhiyâ-jām**, engaged in prayer:
 (166.)
- dhī**, prayer:
dhīyam, I, 88, 4; II, 34, 6²; I, 2,
- 7; **dhīyam-dhiyam**, prayer after
 prayer, I, 168, 1; **dhiyâ**, I, 166,
 13; **dhiyâ-jām**, (V, 87, 9¹); (166);
dhiyab, I, 134, 2 (bis); **dhiyâb**,
 I, 87, 4; **dhibhīb**, V, 52, 14.—
itthâ dhiyâ, thus is my thought,
 V, 61, 15¹; I, 2, 6².
- dhīti**, prayer:
dhīti-bhiḥ, V, 53, 11.
- dhīra**, wise:
dhīrab, I, 64, 1; VII, 56, 4.
- dhūni**, roaring:
dhūnayab, the roarers (Maruts),
 I, 64, 5²; 87, 3; V, 60, 7; VI,
 66, 10; X, 78, 3; **dhūninām**,
 V, 87, 3³; VIII, 20, 14.—
dhūniḥ, shouting, VII, 56, 8¹.
- dhūni-vrata**, given to roaring:
dhūni-vratam, V, 58, 2; **dhūni-**
vratāya, V, 87, 1.
- dhūr**, shaft, yoke:
dhûb-sû, V, 55, 6; X, 77, 5; **dhuri**,
 V, 56, 6 (bis); 58, 7; I, 134, 3
 (bis).
- dhû**, to shake (with two Acc.):
dhûnuthâ, I, 37, 6; V, 57, 3¹.—
vī dhûnutha, V, 54, 12¹.
- dhûb-sād**, charioteer:
dhûb-sādab, II, 34, 4.
- dhūti**, shaker:
dhūtayab (Maruts), I, 37, 6; 39, 1;
 10; V, 54, 4; VII, 58, 4; VIII,
 20, 16; (V, 87, 3²); **dhūtayab**, I,
 64, 5; 87, 3; 168, 2; V, 61, 14.
- dhūrv**:
dhūrvane, (48.)
- dhri**, to hold:
dadhire, I, 64, 10; 85, 3; (*nā-*
māni), I, 87, 5; **dādhāra**, he
 established, X, 121, 1; **dhārā-**
yante vratâ, they observe their
 duties, VIII, 94, 2; **dhārāye-**
thām, may you maintain, VI, 74,
 1.—**ādhi sriyab** **dadhire**, they
 clothed themselves in beauty,
 I, 85, 2².—**vī ānu dhire**, they
 spread out behind, I, 166, 10.
 —**nī dadhré**, he holds himself
 down (Dat.), I, 37, 7¹.
- dhriśh**, to defy:
ā-dhriśhe, I, 39, 4²; V, 87, 2.—**da-**
dhriśhvān, daring, I, 165, 10¹.
- dhriśhatâ**, adv., boldly:
 I, 167, 9¹.
- dhriśhat-vīn**, full of daring:
dhriśhat-vināb, V, 52, 2¹.

- dhṛishṇú**, bold :
dhṛishṇú, I, 6, 2; *dhṛishṇú*, VI, 66, 5;
dhṛishṇúná, I, 167, 9; *dhṛishṇa-*
vab, V, 52, 14²; pp. cxxi; cxxiv;
dhṛishṇób, VII, 56, 8.
dhṛishṇú-ogas, endowed with fierce
force :
dhṛishṇú-ogasaḥ, II, 34, 1.
dhṛishṇu-yā, boldly :
V, 52, 1; 2; 4.
dhṛishṇú-sena, followed by daring
armies :
dhṛishṇú-senāḥ, VI, 66, 6.
dhe, to suck :
gaúb dhayati, the cow sends forth
her milk, VIII, 94, 1¹.
dhénā, stream (of milk); du., lips :
dhénā, I, 2, 3¹.
dhenú, milch-cow :
dhenúb, II, 34, 8; I, 134, 4³;
dhenúm, II, 34, 6; *dhenávab*,
V, 53, 7; 55, 5; I, 134, 6; *dhe-*
núnám, V, 61, 10; *dhenú-bhiḥ*,
II, 34, 5.—*dhenú* (neut.), VI,
66, 1¹.
dhéshṭa, most generous :
dhéshṭab, I, 170, 5.
dhmā, to blow :
dhámantaḥ, I, 85, 10; II, 34, 1⁶.—
dhámanti ánu, foam along, VIII,
7, 16.
dhyā :
tāsyā dhīmahi, that we pray for,
VIII, 7, 18.
dhṛag, to float :
dhṛágataḥ, I, 165, 2.—*prá adh-*
ragan, they rushed forth, I,
166, 4².
dhru :
dhruváse, Inf., (I, 87, 6¹).
dhruvá, firm :
dhruváñi, I, 167, 8.
dhruva-kyút, throwing down what is
firm :
dhruva-kyútaḥ, I, 64, 11; (I, 168, 5²).
dhvan, to dun, to din :
(I, 64, 5²).
Dhvasra :
(360); (V, 61, 5²; 9¹).
ná, not . . . :
nahí-ná, I, 19, 2; 39, 4; *ná-nó*, I,
170, 1; *nákib-ná*, I, 165, 9.—
kvā ná, where not, I, 38, 2¹; *ná*,
not, interrog., I, 170, 3.—*ka ná*
and *kaná*, (264; 266 seq.) — *ná*
áha, nowhere, never, V, 54, 4;
10. — *arāṇām ná karamáb* for
arāṇām ná ná karamáb, VIII, 20,
14¹.
ná, like . . . :
ná and *iva*, I, 85, 8¹; *ná rókaḥ*,
VI, 66, 6².—I, 64, 9³; VIII, 20,
14¹; X, 77, 1³.
nákis :
nákib, nothing, I, 165, 9; no one,
VII, 56, 2; not, VIII, 20, 12.
nakt, **nákta**, night :
(V, 52, 16¹).—*náktam*, by night,
VIII, 7, 6.
naksh, to reach :
nákshanti, I, 166, 2; *nákshante*,
VII, 58, 1.
nad, Caus., to cause to tremble :
nadáyanta, I, 166, 5¹; (I, 37, 7¹).
nad, to roar :
nánadati, I, 64, 8.—*ā nánadati*, they
resound, VIII, 20, 5.
nadá, reed :
nadáśya, II, 34, 3².
nadí, river :
nadñām, V, 52, 7; *nadyāḥ*, V, 55, 7.
nápāt, offspring :
miháb nápātam, I, 37, 11¹.—*java-*
sab nápātaḥ, (VI, 66, 11¹).
nabhanú, spring :
nabhanún, V, 59, 7².
nábhas, the sky between heaven and
earth :
(X, 121, 5²).—*nábhasaḥ*, cloud, I,
167, 5.
nam, to bow :
ánamam (vadha-snaḥ), I escaped,
I, 165, 6¹; p. xvi; *namadhvam*,
incline, VII, 56, 17; *kuvít nám-*
sante, will they turn, VII, 58,
5.—*ā namanti*, they bend, VII,
56, 19; *práti nanāma*, he makes
obedience, II, 33, 12.
námab-vṛikti :
(I, 64, 1²).
namayishṇu, able to bend :
namayishṇavaḥ, VIII, 20, 1¹.
námas, worship :
námasā, (I, 165, 2¹); II, 34, 14; I,
114, 2; 5; I, 171, 1; *námasaḥ*
(vṛidhāsaḥ), I, 171, 2²; *námab-*
bhiḥ, salutations, V, 60, 1; II,
33, 4; 8; *námab (ávoḥāma)*, sup-
plication, I, 114, 11.
namasy, to worship :
namasyá, V, 52, 13; II, 33, 8¹.

namasyā, worthy of worship :

(203 ; 205.)

nāmasvat, reverent :

nāmasvān, I, 171, 2.

namasvīn, worshipping :

namasvīnam, I, 166, 2.

Nāmuḥi, name of a demon :

(I, 64, 3¹.)

nārāśansa, 'Männerlob' :

Indra, (II, 34, 6¹) ; Agni, (439.)

narokas, fond of men :

narokāb = nri-okāb, Oldenberg for

nā rōkab, (VI, 66, 6².)

nārya, manly :

nāri āpāmsi, I, 85, 9² ; nāryāb, I,

166, 5 ; nāryeshu, I, 166, 10.

nārya-apas, epithet of Indra :

(I, 85, 9².)

nāva, new :

nāvyaṁsi, newest, I, 38, 3 ; nāvyaśe,

VIII, 7, 33 ; nāvīyasi (su-matib),

VII, 59, 4 ; nāvishṭbayā, VIII,

20, 19.

nāvedas, mindful (c. Gen.) :

nāvedāb, I, 165, 13² ; nāvedasab, V,

55, 8.

nāvya, new :

nāvyeshu, I, 134, 4.

nāvyaśina, ever-youthful :

nāvyaśinām, V, 53, 10¹ ; 58, 1.

nar, to come near :

nārate, I, 165, 9.—abhī narat, he

will obtain, VIII, 20, 16.—prā-

nak, let it reach, VII, 56, 9.

nar, to vanish :

vī naryati, I, 170, 1.

nās, du., nostrils :

nasōb, V, 61, 2.

nahī, not indeed :

I, 19, 2 ; 39, 4 ; VII, 59, 4 ; nahi nū,

I, 167, 9 ; nahī kanā, not even,

VII, 59, 3 ; nahī sma, VIII, 7, 21.

nāka, the firmament :

nākāb, X, 121, 5² ; nākam, I, 85,

7 ; V, 54, 12¹ ; VII, 58, 1 ; nā-

kasya ādhi rokané, I, 19, 6¹.—

nāka, rokanā, sūrya, (50.)

nādh :

nādhāmānam, suppliant, VIII, 7,

30 ; II, 33, 6.

nāpita, barber :

(I, 166, 10⁴.)

nābhi :

nābhā, in the centre, I, 43, 9¹.

nāman, name :

nāma yagñīyam, I, 6, 4 ; nāmāni

yagñīyāni, I, 87, 5 ; amṛitam

nāma, V, 57, 5² ; nāma, VI, 66,

1 ; 5 ; VII, 56, 10 ; VIII, 20, 13¹ ;

II, 33, 8² ; nāma mārutam, com-

pany of the Maruts, VII, 57, 1¹ ;

nāmāni, powers, VII, 56, 14 ;

nāma-bhiḥ, V, 52, 10 ; VII, 57,

6 ; ādityéna nāmānā, by their

name of Ādityas, X, 77, 8 ; nā-

man and dhāman, (384.)

nāri, woman :

nri-bhyab nāri-bhyab, to men and

women, I, 43, 6 ; p. lxxxviii.

nīb-riti, sin :

nīb-ritib, I, 38, 6¹.—nīb-riteb, of

Nirriti, VII, 58, 1² ; nīb-ritim,

VI, 74, 2.

nīb-kritā :

nīb-kritām, the work (of the sacri-

ficer), I, 2, 6¹.

nī-lakrayā, adv., downwards :

VIII, 7, 29¹.

ni-keṭri, he who finds out :

ni-keṭārāb, VII, 57, 2.

nigā, 'eingeboren,' one's own :

(I, 166, 2².)

nīnyā, secret :

nīnyā, VII, 56, 4¹.

nītya, one's own :

nītyam, I, 166, 2².

nid, to blame :

nidé, II, 34, 10¹.

nīd, reviler, enemy :

nīdāb (Abl.), II, 34, 15 ; V, 87, 6 ;

9 ; nīdāb (Acc. pl.), V, 53, 14.

ni-dhī, treasure :

ni-dhīb, X, 186, 3.

nī-dhruvi, lasting :

āsti nī-dhruvi, it lasts, VIII, 20, 22.

nī-misla, companion :

nī-mislām, I, 167, 6.

ni-mishat, see mish.

ni-méghamāna :

ni-méghamānāb, streaming down,

II, 34, 13.

nimná, downward :

nimnaḥ udā-bhiḥ, with downward

floods, X, 78, 5.

ni-yút, steed :

ni-yútāb, I, 167, 2 ; V, 52, 11 ; I,

134, 2.

niyútvat, with steeds :

niyútvantāb, V, 54, 8 ; niyútvatā

(ráthena), I, 134, 1.

nir, night :

(V, 52, 16¹.)

nishanḡn, carrying quivers :

nishanḡnab, V, 57, 2.

nishkā, golden chain :

nishkāṁ, II, 33, 10.

nishṭya, strange, hostile :

(I, 166, 2².)

nīs, out of, from (c. Abl.):

nīb (nayata), V, 55, 10; nīb (ka-krame), V, 87, 4.

nī, to lead :

nāyatha, VII, 59, 1.—nayata ākṣba nīb, lead us towards, and out of, V, 55, 10.—ānu neshatha, conduct, V, 54, 6.—vī nayanti, they lead about, I, 64, 6⁸.—See pranetṛi.

nīla-prishṭba :

nīla-prishṭbāb hamsāsab, the swans with dark blue backs, VII, 59, 7.

nū, indeed ; now . . . :

nākiḡ nū, I, 165, 9; utā vā nū, V, 60, 6; utō nū, VIII, 94, 6; yā nū, I, 165, 10; yē ka nū, V, 87, 2; yān ko nū, VI, 66, 3.—nū kit, interrog. part., I, 39, 4²; VI, 66, 1; 5; VII, 56, 15; nū, interrog., I, 64, 15²; II, 33, 7; V, 52, 15¹.

nu, to shout :

anūshata, I, 6, 6; nāvamānasya, who praises you, II, 34, 10¹.

nud, to push :

nunudre, I, 85, 10; 11; 88, 4; nutthāb, thou shookest, (I, 165, 9¹).—āpa nudanta, they drove away, I, 167, 4; parā-nūde, to attack, I, 39, 2.

nūtana, new :

nūtanam, V, 55, 8.

nūnām, now :

I, 39, 7; 165, 12; 170, 1; V, 56, 5; 58, 1; VIII, 20, 15.—kāt ha nūnām, I, 38, 1; VIII, 7, 31; kvā nūnām, I, 38, 2; VIII, 7, 20; kāb nūnām, V, 61, 14.

nṛī, man; hero :

nārab nā ranvāh, like gay men, VII, 59, 7; nṛī-bhyaḡ (pāve, gāve, tokāya), I, 43, 2; nṛī-bhyaḡ nāri-bhyaḡ, I, 43, 6; jatāsya nṛinām, I, 43, 7; narām nā sām-sab (Indra), II, 34, 6¹; nṛī-bhiḡ, I, 64, 13; nāri āpāmsi, see nārya.—narā (Indra and Vāyu), I, 2, 6; narab, men (Maruts), I, 37, 6; 86, 8; 165, 11; V, 53, 15;

54, 10; 59, 3; 61, 1; VII, 59, 4; VIII, 20, 10; 16; nārab, I, 39, 3; 64, 4; 10; 85, 8; 166, 13; V, 52, 5; 6; 8; 11; 53, 3; 6; 54, 3; 8; 55, 3; 57, 8; 58, 8; 59, 2; 5; 61, 3; VII, 56, 1; 57, 6; VIII, 7, 29; 20, 6; 7; nṛīn, I, 171, 6¹; V, 54, 15; 58, 2; nṛī-bhiḡ, V, 87, 4; narām ribhukshāb, I, 167, 10.

nṛī-okas, see narokas.

nṛit, to dance :

nṛitub, V, 52, 12.

nṛī-tama, most manly :

nṛī-tamāsab, I, 87, 1.

nṛitū, dancer :

nṛitavab (the Maruts), VIII, 20, 22.

nṛī-mānas, manly-minded :

nṛī-mānāb, I, 167, 5.

nṛimā, manhood :

nṛimnām, V, 54, 1; VII, 56, 5; nṛimnā, manly thoughts, V, 57, 6; nṛimnāib, manly courage, VI, 66, 2.

nṛī-vat, with children and men :

(208.)

nṛī-vāhas, who can carry the heroes :

nṛī-vāhasā, I, 6, 2.

nṛī-sāk, friend of man :

nṛī-sākab, I, 64, 9.

nṛī-hān, killing men :

nṛī-hā, VII, 56, 17.—Ep. of Rudra, (I, 114, 1².)

nédishṭba, nearest :

nédishṭbam, V, 56, 2.

néma, many a :

némab, V, 61, 8.

nemī, felly :

nemāyab, I, 38, 12.

Nódhas :

nódhab, I, 64, 1¹; (124 seq.)

naú, ship :

nāvab, V, 54, 4; naúb, V, 59, 2.

pakshá, wing :

pakshān, I, 166, 10.

pakshīn, winged :

syenāsab pakshīnab, VIII, 20, 10.

pagrá, mighty :

pagráṁ, I, 167, 6.

pāñkan, five :

pāñka hótrīn, II, 34, 14.

Pañkāla :

krivi=Pañkāla? (VIII, 20, 24¹.)

panī, miser :

panīb, V, 61, 8.

pat, to fly :

paptúb, V, 59, 7; pátatab, VIII, 7, 35.—ā paptata, fly to, I, 88, 1³; ā apaptan, VII, 59, 7.—
ví patatha, you fly across, I, 168, 6; ví pápatan, they were scattered, VIII, 20, 4.

pat (patyate) :

pátyamānam, having taken (a name), VI, 66, 1; távishib pat, (I, 64, 7³.)

pāti, lord :

bhūtāśya pátib, X, 121, 1; bráhmaṇab pátim, I, 38, 13¹; pátayab rayīmām, X, 121, 10; V, 55, 10.

pátnī, wife :

gāni with pátnī, (I, 85, 1¹.)

pathín, path :

pathā (yamāśya), on the path, I, 38, 5³; kéna kit pathā, I, 87, 2; pathi-bhiḥ, II, 34, 5; X, 168, 3; pánthām sūryāya yāṭave, a path for the sun to walk, VIII, 7, 8¹.

pathyā, path, course :

pathyāb, V, 54, 9; VI, 66, 7.

pad, to go, depart :

padishrá, I, 38, 6³.

pad, foot :

pat-sú, V, 54, 11.

pan, to glorify :

panayanta, I, 87, 3.

panasyú, praiseworthy, glorious :

panasyum, I, 38, 15; V, 56, 9; panasyāvab, X, 77, 3.

pānīyas, more glorious :

pānīyasī (távishī), I, 39, 2.

payab-dhā, sucking :

payab-dhāb, VII, 56, 16.

payab-vrīdh, increasing the rain :

payab-vrīdhab, I, 64, 11.

páyas, milk (rain) :

páyasā, I, 64, 5; 166, 3; páyab ghrítā-vat, I, 64, 6².

par, see *pri*.

pára, highest :

párasmin dhāman, I, 43, 9; páram, top, I, 168, 6.—páre yugé, in former years, I, 166, 13.

pára-para, one after another :

pára-parā, I, 38, 6.

paramá, further :

paramāb, I, 167, 2; paramāsyāb, V, 61, 1¹.

parás, beyond (c. Acc.) :

paráb, I, 19, 2¹.

párā, prep. . . . :

adv., far away, I, 167, 4.

parākāt, from afar :

X, 77, 6.

parākaís, far away :

ārē parākaíb, VI, 74, 2.

parā-vát, far :

parā-vátāb, from afar, I, 39, 1; VIII, 7, 26; X, 78, 7; far, V, 53, 8; paramāsyāb parā-vátāb, from the furthest distance, V, 61, 1¹; parā-vāti, in the distance, I, 134, 4.

pári, prep. . . . :

pári (tasthúshab), round, I, 6, 1²; (agub), I, 88, 4.—With Abl., from, V, 59, 7; VII, 46, 3.—
pári-, excessive, (104 seq.)—
Synizesis of pári, p. cxxiii.

pari-krośá, reviler :

pari-krośám, (104.)

parikshāma, withered away :

(104.)

pári-gman, traveller :

pári-gman (Indra), I, 6, 9.

pári-grī, running, swarming around :

pári-grayaḥ, I, 64, 5; V, 54, 2 (bis).

pári-dveshas, a great hater :

pári-dveshasab, (104.)

pari-prī :

pári-priyab, great lovers or surrounding friends, (105.)

pári-prīta, loved very much :

pári-prītab, (105.)

pári-prūsh, scattering moisture :

pári-prūshab, X, 77, 5.

pári-bādh, harasser :

pári-bādhab, I, 43, 8¹.

pári-manyú, wrathful :

pári-manyāve, I, 39, 10¹.

pári-ráp, enemy :

pári-rápab, (104.)

parilaghu, per levis :

(104.)

parishubāna, abode :

(I, 6, 1²); (29.)

pári-stúbh :

pári-stúbhab, shouting all around, I, 166, 11.—pári-stúbhab (ishab), standing round about, (VIII, 7, 1¹.)

pári-sprīdh, rival :

pári-sprīdhab, (104.)

pári-srut :

pári-stubh = pari-srut, (VIII, 7, 1¹.)

- pārīnas*, wealth :
pārīnasā, I, 166, 14.
pārushni, (speckled) cloud :
pārushnyām, V, 52, 9¹; (V, 53, 9¹).
pārus, knot :
 (66); p. xxv.
pargānya, cloud :
pargānyena, I, 38, 9¹; *pargānyab*
iva, I, 38, 14¹; *pargānyam*, V,
 53, 6¹.
pārvata, mountain (cloud) :
pārvatab, V, 60, 2; 3; *pārvatab*
girib, I, 37, 7¹; *pārvatam girim*,
 V, 56, 4¹; *pārvatam*, I, 85, 10;
pārvatāb, I, 64, 3; V, 54, 9;
 55, 7; VIII, 7, 2; 34; *pārva-*
tāsab, V, 87, 9; VIII, 20, 5;
pārvatān, I, 19, 7¹; 39, 5;
 64, 11; 166, 5¹; V, 57, 3; VIII,
 7, 4; 23; *pārvatasya*, V, 59, 7;
pārvatānām (ārāb), I, 39, 3²;
pārvateshu, V, 61, 19; VIII, 7,
 1; 20, 25.—p. xxv.
parvata-kyūt, shaking the mountains :
parvata-kyūte, V, 54, 1; *parvata-*
kyūtab, V, 54, 3; (I, 168, 5²).
pārvan, knot :
 (66); p. xxv.
parva-jās, piece by piece, to pieces :
parva-jāb, VIII, 7, 22¹; 23.
pārvaṇa, valley :
pārvaṇāsab, VIII, 7, 34.
pavī, tire (of a wheel) :
pavī-bhīb, I, 64, 11; *pavyā*, I, 88,
 2²; V, 52, 9; *pavishu*, I, 166,
 10; *pavī-bhyaḥ*, I, 168, 8.
par, to see :
pāryan, I, 88, 5; V, 53, 3; *pāry-*
antab, VIII, 20, 26.—*pari-āpa-*
yat, he looked over, X, 121, 8;
pāri aparyan, they looked about
 for (Acc.), I, 168, 9.
parū, cattle :
parvāb, I, 166, 6; *parūm (ārvyam)*,
 V, 61, 5; *pārvē*, I, 43, 2.
parupā, shepherd :
parupāb-iva, I, 114, 9¹.
parāāt, behind :
parāāt dagh, to stay behind, VII,
 56, 21.
Pastyā, N. of a people :
 (398).
Pastyā-vat, N. of a country :
pastyā-vati, VIII, 7, 29¹.—Adj.,
 filled with hamlets, (399).—
 Subst., sacrificial vessel, (VIII,
 7, 29¹).
pastyā, housewife, ep. of Aditi :
 (260.)
pā, to protect :
pānti, I, 167, 8¹; V, 52, 2; 4; *pāsi*,
 I, 134, 5² (bis); *pāhi*, I, 171, 6¹;
pāthāna, I, 166, 8; *yūyām*
pāta, VII, 56, 25; 57, 7; 58, 6;
 47, 4.—*nī pānti*, they ward off,
 VII, 56, 19.
pā, to drink :
pāthā, I, 86, 1; *pāhi*, I, 2, 1; *pī-*
tāsab, I, 168, 3; *pībanti asya*,
 VIII, 94, 4; 5; *piba*, V, 60, 8;
pibata, VII, 59, 3¹; *pībantab*,
 V, 61, 11; *pībadhyaī*, I, 88, 4.
pāgas, splendour :
pāgasā ātyena, II, 34, 13³.
pāgasvat, brilliant :
pāgasvantab (vīrāb), X, 77, 3.
pāzī, hand, hoof :
 (I, 38, 11¹).
pātra, vessel :
 three *pātras*, filled with milk and
 Soma, (VIII, 7, 10²).
Pāthya :
Vrīṣhan Pāthya, (153.)
pārā, the other shore :
pārē, I, 167, 2; *pārām (pārshi nab)*,
 II, 33, 3; *pārām*, the end, V,
 54, 10.
pārāvata, pl., extranei, strangers :
pārāvataḥ, V, 52, 11¹.
pārāvata-hān :
pārāvata-ghnī (Sarasvatī), (V, 52,
 11¹).
pārthiva, earthly; earth :
pārthivam (sādma), I, 38, 10¹; V,
 87, 7¹; *pārthivā*, divyāni, I, 64,
 3; *pārthivāb*, V, 52, 7.—*pār-*
thivāt ādhi, from above the
 earth, I, 6, 10; (51 seq.); *pār-*
thiva, rāgas, dyū, (I, 19, 3¹); *pār-*
thivāni, earth, sky, and heaven,
 (52); *vīsvā pārthivāni*, the whole
 earth, VIII, 94, 9.
pārya :
pārye dyōb, at the close of the
 day, VI, 66, 8¹.
pāvakā, pure :
pāvakāsab, I, 64, 2; *pāvakām*, I,
 64, 12; *pāvakébhiḥ*, V, 60, 8;
pāvakāb, VII, 56, 12; 57, 5;
pāvakān, VIII, 20, 19.—*pāvaka*
 ○—○—, p. cxvi seq.

pāsa, snare :

pāṣān, the snares of (Druh), VII, 59, 8; vārunasya pāṣāt, VI, 74, 4.

pitṛ, father :

pitā, I, 38, 1; X, 186, 2; pitāram, II, 33, 12; pitāram utā mātāram, I, 114, 7; pitūb, I, 87, 5; pitṛi-nām nā sāmsāb, like the prayers of our fathers, X, 78, 3.—mānub pitā, I, 114, 2; II, 33, 13.—pitāb marutām, Rudra, the father of the Maruts, I, 114, 9; II, 33, 1; pitā, V, 60, 5; pitāram, V, 52, 16; pitṛe marutām, I, 114, 6.

pitrya, of the father or fathers :

pitryāni (ukthāni), VII, 56, 23; pitryam (vāyab), VIII, 20, 13.

pinv, to sprinkle, pour out :

pinvanti, I, 64, 5; 6^a; pinvate, II, 34, 8^a; pinvanti utsam, they fill the well, V, 54, 8; VII, 57, 1.

pipishvat, crushing :

pipishvatī, I, 168, 7.

pipishu, wishing to drink :

pipishavab, VII, 59, 4.

pippala, apple :

pippalam rūsat, the red apple (the lightning), V, 54, 12^a.

piś, to adorn :

piṣe, he decked himself, II, 33, 9; piṣe, it has been laid, V, 57, 6; piśrām, bedecked, V, 56, 1.—abhi piṣe, they have adorned, V, 60, 4.—ā piśāñāb, adorning, VII, 57, 3.

pīś, gold :

(I, 64, 8¹.)

piśā, gazelle :

piśāb-iva, I, 64, 8¹.

piśānga, tawny :

piśāngaiś (horses), I, 88, 2.

piśānga-arva, having tawny horses :

piśānga-arvāb, V, 57, 4.

pish, see pipishvat.

pitf, drinking :

pītāye, for to drink, I, 166, 7; VII, 59, 5; asyā sōmasya pītāye, VIII, 94, 10 to 12; pītīm arhasi, thou art worthy to drink, I, 134, 6 (bis).

pūms, man :

pūmsāb, V, 61, 6; pūmān, V, 61, 8.

putrā, son :

putrām, I, 38, 1; putrāb (prīśneb), V, 58, 5; (rudrāsya), VI, 66, 3; divāb putrāsab, X, 77, 2.

putra-krithā :

putra-krithēnā gānayab, ὄς γυναικας ἐν τεκνοποιῶν, V, 61, 3^a.

púnar, again :

I, 6, 4; VII, 58, 5; VIII, 20, 26.

púr, stronghold :

pûb-bhīb, I, 166, 8.

purandhrī, housewife :

(I, 134, 3¹.)

púram-dhi, morning, dawn :

púram-dhim, I, 134, 3¹.

purás, in front :

purāb, I, 170, 4.

purā :

of yore, I, 39, 7; V, 53, 1; formerly, I, 167, 10; VII, 56, 23; VIII, 7, 21.

purisha, soil :

from prī, (I, 64, 12^a; V, 55, 5^a.)

purishín :

purishínā, marshy, V, 53, 9.—purīshinaś, cultivators of the land, yeomen, V, 55, 5^a.

purú, many :

purú, I, 166, 3; 13; pūrvībhīb, I, 86, 6; pūrvīb, X, 77, 2.

puru-kshú, nourishing many :

puru-kshúm, VIII, 7, 13.

puru-āndrá, resplendent :

puru-āndrá (for Pada puru-ānd-rāb), V, 61, 16¹.

puru-tāma, manifold :

puru-tāmam, V, 56, 5.

puru-drapsá, rich in rain-drops :

puru-drapsāb, V, 57, 5.

puru-praisha, invoked by many :

puru-praishāb, I, 168, 5^a.

Puru-mīlba :

puru-mīlāya, V, 61, 9¹; (V, 61, 5^a); (359 seq.; 362.)

puru-rūpa, assuming many forms :

puru-rūpab, II, 33, 9.

purusha-ghná, man-slaying :

purusha-ghnām, I, 114, 10.

purushātā, men as we are :

VII, 57, 4.

Purushanti :

(360); (V, 61, 5^a; 9¹.)

puru-sprīh, much-desired :

puru-sprīhab, VIII, 20, 2.

Purūravas :

(307.)

push, to prosper :

púshyati, I, 64, 13^a; pushyema, let us foster, I, 64, 14; púshyanti nrimām, rich in manhood, VII,

- 56, 5; *pushrám*, prosperous, I, 114, 1.—See *pushyás*.
- pushrī*, prosperity:
- pushrīshu*, I, 166, 8.
- pushri-vārdhana*, wealth-increasing (Rudra):
- pushri-vārdhanam*, VII, 59, 12.
- pushyás*, prosperity:
- pushyāse*, VII, 57, 5.
- pū*, to clean:
- punishé*, (V, 58, 1¹); *punānāb*, who clean themselves from (Acc.), VI, 66, 4²; *pūtāsya*, clarified (Soma), VIII, 94, 5.—*pavanta*, (VII, 56, 3¹).
- pūtā-daksha*, endowed with holy strength:
- pūtā-daksham*, I, 2, 7¹.
- pūtā-dakshas*, endowed with pure strength:
- pūtā-dakshasab*, VIII, 94, 7; 10.
- pūtabhrit*, a Soma-vessel:
- (VIII, 94, 5²).
- Pūru*, N. of a people:
- (398.).
- pūrva*, former, old:
- pūrvāsu vi-ushrīshu*, VIII, 20, 15;
- pūrvān-iva sākhn*, V, 53, 16;
- pūrvam*, ancient, I, 166, 1.—
- pūrva*, before, opposed to *ūpara*, behind, (I, 167, 3²).
- pūrvā-pīti*, the early draught:
- pūrvā-pītaye*, I, 19, 9¹; 134, 1¹ (bis).
- pūrvyā*, old:
- pūrvyām*, V, 55, 8; *pūrvyāb* (agnīb), old, or, first, VIII, 7, 36¹.
- Pūshan*:
- is *kapardin*, (I, 114, 1²).
- priksh*, food:
- priksham yā*, to go in search of food, (II, 34, 3⁴); *prikshé*, to feed, II, 34, 4¹.
- prikshām*, adv., quick:
- II, 34, 3⁴.
- Prikshayāma*, N. pr.:
- (V, 54, 1²).
- priksha-yāvan* (?) :
- priksha-yāvane*, (V, 54, 1²).
- prik*:
- pra-priṣṭkatī* (dhēnā), satisfying, I, 2, 3¹.—*prikshase*, (I, 6, 7²).
- prināt*, a liberal worshipper:
- prinatāb*, I, 168, 7.
- prīt*, battle, fight:
- prīt-sū*, I, 64, 14; VIII, 20, 20¹.
- prītanā*, battle:
- prītanāsu*, I, 85, 8; VII, 56, 22; 23; 59, 4.
- prīthivī*, earth:
- prīthivī*, *antāriksha*, *dyū*, (50);
- prīthivī*, *rāgas*, *dyū*, (I, 19, 3¹);
- prīthivī*, X, 121, 5; I, 39, 6;
- the earth trembles, I, 37, 8; V,
- 54, 9; 56, 3¹; 60, 2; VI, 66, 9;
- opens wide, V, 58, 7; *prīthivī*
- utā dyaūb*, I, 114, 11; *prīthivīm*,
- X, 121, 1; V, 57, 3; (vi-undānti),
- I, 38, 9; V, 54, 8; *prīthivyāb*,
- X, 121, 9; I, 38, 2; 39, 3; X,
- 77, 3; 168, 1; *prīthivya*, V,
- 59, 1; *prīthivyām*, I, 168, 8.—
- prīthivī*, i. e. *prīthuvī*, (255);
- = *prīthvī*, pp. cxx; cxxi.
- prīthū*, broad:
- prīthūm*, I, 37, 11; *dirghām*
- prīthū*, far and wide, V, 87, 7.—
- prīthvī*, (255; 260.)
- prīthu-grāya*, wide-spreading:
- prīthu-grāyī*, I, 168, 7¹.
- prīthū-pāni*:
- (I, 38, 11¹).
- Prīni*, *Prīni*, the mother of the Maruts:
- prīnib*, I, 168, 9¹; V, 60, 5; VI,
- 66, 1: 3¹; VII, 56, 4; (V, 61,
- 4¹; VIII, 94, 1¹); *prīnim*, V,
- 52, 16; *prīnyāb*, II, 34, 2²;
- 10; *prīneb putrāb*, V, 58, 5.—
- prīnaya*, the clouds, VIII, 7,
- 10¹.
- prīni-mātri*, pl., sons of *Prīni*:
- prīni-mātarab*, I, 38, 4; V, 57, 2;
- 3; *prī*, I, 85, 2; V, 59, 6; VIII,
- 7, 3; 17.—(I, 85, 3¹; 168, 9¹;
- II, 34, 2³; V, 61, 4¹; X, 78,
- 6¹).
- prīshat-arva*, with spotted horses:
- prīshat-arvāb*, I, 87, 4¹; *prīshat-*
- arvāsab*, II, 34, 4.—(I, 37, 2¹;
- II, 34, 3²).
- prīshatī*, the spotted deer (the clouds):
- prīshatībhīb*, I, 37, 2¹; 64, 8; II
- 34, 3²; V, 58, 6¹; *prīshatīb*, I,
- 39, 6; 85, 4; 5; V, 55, 6¹; 57,
- 3; VIII, 7, 28; *prīshatīshu*, V,
- 60, 2.—(I, 87, 4¹; V, 53, 1¹).
- prīshbā*, back:
- prīshbām* (*divāb*), I, 166, 5; (V,
- 54, 1²); *prīshbē* (*sādab*), V, 61,
- 2; (V, 61, 3²).

prishṭba-prayag :

(V, 55, 1¹.)

prishṭba-yāgvān :

divāb ā *prishṭba*-yāgvane, who sacrifices on the height of heaven, V, 54, 1².

prī (or *par*), to carry over :

pārshatha, you carry off, I, 86, 7¹ ; *pārshi nab pārām āmhasab*, carry us to the other shore of anguish, II, 33, 3.—*āti pārāyatha*, you help across, II, 34, 15 ; (I, 86, 7¹).—*apa par*, to remove, *nib par*, to throw down, (I, 86, 7¹.)

prī, to fill :

pipartana, fulfil, I, 166, 6² ; (221.) —*pūrṇā* (naūb), full, V, 59, 2.

pēras, form :

pēsab, I, 6, 3 ; see *apeśās*.

pōsha, fulness :

pōsham (rāyāb), I, 166, 3.

paūmsya, valour :

paūmsyebhiḥ, I, 165, 7 ; VI, 66, 2 ; *paūmsyā*, manly deeds, I, 166, 7 ; V, 59, 4 ; *vriṣhni paūmsyam*, manly work, VIII, 7, 23.

pyai, to fill, to swell :

pipyata, II, 34, 6² ; *pīpāya*, it is brimming, VI, 66, 1 ; *pipyūshim* (isham), swelling, VIII, 7, 3 ; *pipyūshib* (ishab), VIII, 7, 19.

prā, prep. . . . :

prā (*āti tasthaū*), I, 64, 13 ; *prā* (verb understood), V, 54, 2 ; 87, 3² ; *prā rātheshu*, I, 85, 5.

pra-avitri, see *av*.

pra-kri/in, playing about :

pra-kri/inab (the Maruts), (I, 6, 8²) ; VII, 56, 16.

prā-ketas, wise :

pra-ketasab, I, 39, 9 ; V, 87, 9 ; *prā-ketasab*, I, 64, 8 ; attentive, VIII, 7, 12 ; *prā-ketase* (rudrāya), I, 43, 1.

prakkb, to ask :

sām prikkbase, thou greetest, I, 165, 3² ; p. xv.—See ā-*prikkbya*.

pra-gā, offspring :

pra-gāyai, VII, 57, 6 ; *pra-gābhiḥ* *prā gāyemahi*, II, 33, 1.—*pra-gāb*, beings, I, 43, 9.

Pragāpati :

prāgāpate, X, 121, 10.

pra-gñātrī, expert :

pra-gñātārāb nā gyēshibāb, X, 78, 2.

pra-tarām, further :

V, 55, 3.

prā-tavas, endowed with exceeding power :

prā-tavasab, I, 87, 1.

prāti, prep. . . . :

to, I, 19, 1 ; 171, 1 ; towards, I, 88, 6 ; 165, 12 ; me *arapat* *prāti*, V, 61, 9.

prati-skābh, see *skambh*.

pratnā, old :

pratnāsya, I, 87, 5.

prā-tvakshas, endowed with exceeding vigour :

prā-tvakshasab, I, 87, 1 ; V, 57, 4.

prath, to spread :

prāthishṭba, (the earth) opened wide, V, 58, 7 ; *paprathe*, (the earth) is stretched out, V, 87, 7¹.—*ā paprāthan*, they spread out, VIII, 94, 9.

prathamā, first :

prathamāni, I, 166, 7 ; *prathamāb*, II, 34, 12 ; *prathamāb āpūrvyab*, I, 134, 6¹.

prathama-gā, first-born :

prathama-gāb, X, 168, 3.

pra-dakshinī, turning to the right : V, 60, 1.

pra-dīv :

pra-dīvā, always, V, 60, 8.

pra-dīr, region :

pra-dīsab, X, 121, 4.

prā-nīti, guidance :

prā-nītishu, I, 114, 2¹.

pra-netrī, leader :

pra-netārāb mātarm, V, 61, 15 ; *pra-netārāb* (mānma), they guide, VII, 57, 2.

prā-patha, journey :

prā-patheshu, I, 166, 9².

prā-pada :

prā-padeshu, Roth for *prā-pathe-shu*, (I, 166, 9²).

pra-bhrithā, offering :

pra-bhrithē, II, 34, 11¹.

prā-yagyū, chasing :

pra-yagyavab, I, 39, 9 ; 86, 7 ; VII, 56, 14 ; *prā-yagyavab*, V, 55, 1¹ ; *prā-yagyave*, V, 87, 1 ; *prā-yagyūn*, hunters, VIII, 7, 33.

prāyas, offering :

prāyāmsi, I, 86, 7 ; *prāyab*, I, 134, 1 ; *prāyab-bhiḥ*, for the sake of our offerings, I, 2, 4¹.

- práyasvat, enjoying the offerings :
 práyasvantab, X, 77, 4.
 pra-yúg, driver :
 pra-yúgab, X, 77, 5¹.
 pra-yúdh, eager for battle :
 pra-yúdhab, V, 59, 5.
 pra-yotrí, one who removes :
 pra-yotā, (267.)
 pravá, spring, well :
 pravásab, X, 77, 5².
 pra-vana, pronus :
 (X, 77, 5²).
 pravátvat, bowing :
 pravátvatī, pravátvatīb, pravát-
 vantab, V, 54, 9.
 pra-van :
 prava=pravan, (X, 77, 5²)
 pravayana, a goad :
 (I, 166, 4¹).
 pravā, the blowing before :
 (X, 77, 5²).
 pra-vetri, driver :
 (I, 166, 4¹).
 prá-jasti, great praise :
 prá-jastim, V, 57, 7.
 pra-sis, command :
 pra-sīsham, X, 121, 2 ; (4.)
 práshri, leader :
 práshrib, I, 39, 6¹ ; VIII, 7, 28.
 prá-sita, springing forth :
 prá-sitāsab (wells), X, 77, 5.
 prá-siti, raid :
 prá-sitau, V, 87, 6¹ ; mā te bhūma
 prá-sitau, may we not be in thy
 way when thou rushest forth,
 VII, 46, 4.
 prá-sthāvan, marching forward :
 prá-sthāvānab, VIII, 20, 1.
 prá :
 prási, for pási, (Oldenberg, I, 134,
 5²).
 pránat, see an.
 prātāb, early :
 I, 64, 15 ; at the morning sacri-
 fice, VIII, 94, 6.
 priyá, beloved :
 priyé, I, 85, 7 ; priyása, I, 87, 6 ;
 kádha priyáb, for kadha-priyab
 (see kadha-pri), I, 38, 1¹ ; VIII,
 7, 31 ; priyā (nāma), VII, 56,
 10 ; áhani priyé, on a happy day,
 VII, 59, 2 ; priyāb tanvāb, our
 own bodies, I, 114, 7¹.
 pri, to please :
 pipriyānāb, well pleased, VII, 57,
 2.
 pru, to float :
 (X, 77, 5²).
 prush, to shower down :
 prushnuvānti, I, 168, 8 ; prushā
 (for Pada prusha), let me
 shower, X, 77, 1¹.
 prēshita, most beloved :
 prēshitāb, I, 167, 10.
 phaliga, for parigha (?) :
 (350.)
 bar, particle of asseveration :
 (V, 59, 1¹).
 badh, see vadh.
 bandh, to bind :
 baddhām ásti tanñshu, it clings to
 our bodies, VI, 74, 3.
 bāndhana, stem :
 urvārukām iva bāndhanāt, like a
 gourd from its stem, VII, 59,
 12.
 bandhu-eshá :
 bandhu-eshé, when there was in-
 quiry for their kindred, V, 52,
 16.
 babhrú, tawny :
 babhrúb, II, 33, 5 ; 9 ; babhráve,
 II, 33, 8 ; babhro, II, 33, 15.
 barhánā, weapon, bolt :
 barhánā, I, 166, 6² ; (226.)—bar-
 hánā tmánā, by their own
 might, X, 77, 3.
 barhís, grass-pile, altar :
 barhíb, I, 85, 6 ; VII, 57, 2¹ ; 59,
 6 ; barhíshi, I, 85, 7 ; 86, 4 ;
 VII, 46, 4¹.
 bála, strength :
 bálam, I, 37, 12 ; V, 57, 6.
 bala-dā, giving strength :
 bala-dāb, X, 121, 2.
 bahulá, manifold :
 bahulám, V, 55, 9.
 bānā, reed, arrow :
 (VIII, 20, 8¹).
 bādth, to drive away :
 árē bādthēhām, VI, 74, 2.—bā-
 dhante ápa, I, 85, 3 ; ápa bā-
 dhadvam, VII, 56, 20.—ní-
 bādhita, struck down, (268 seq.)
 bāhú, arm :
 bāhú (the regions are the two
 arms of Hiranyagarbha), X,
 121, 4 ; bāhú-bhīb, I, 85, 6¹ ;
 bāhúshu, I, 166, 10 ; VIII, 20,
 11 ; bāhrób, V, 57, 6.

- bâhú-ogas**, strong-armed :
bâhú-ogasab, VIII, 20, 6.
bâhú-gûta, quick with his arm :
bâhú-gûtab, V, 58, 4.
bîga, seed :
bîgam, V, 53, 13.
budh, to awake :
Sâyana, **bodhi**=**budhyasva**, (II, 33, 15².)—**prâ bodhaya**, awake, I, 134, 3.
budhnâ, bottom :
budhné apâm, X, 77, 4.
budhnyâ, hidden :
budhnyâ, VII, 56, 14¹.
brîh :
barhayati, to crush, (226.)—**upa-bârbrîhat**, she stretched out (dôb, her arm), V, 61, 5¹.—Cf. **vrih**.
brîhât, great, mighty :
brîhât, V, 55, 1; 2; 57, 8; 58, 8; **brîhât vâya**, VII, 58, 3; **brîhât gshîte**, VIII, 20, 6; **brîhât vademā**, we shall magnify, II, 33, 15; **brîhântam krátum**, I, 2, 8; **âpab brîhatîb**, X, 121, 7¹; 9; **brîhatâb divâb**, V, 59, 7; 87, 3.
brîhat-giri, dwelling on mighty mountains :
brîhat-girayab, V, 57, 8¹; 58, 8.
brîhât-diva, coming from the great heaven :
brîhât-divaib, I, 167, 2; (V, 57, 8¹).
brîhat-vayas, of great strength :
brîhat-vayasab (the Maruts), (I, 37, 9¹).
Brîhaspâti, a variety of Agni :
(I, 38, 13¹).
bradhnâ, bright :
bradhnâm, I, 6, 1¹.
Brâhmanaspâti, lord of prayer :
N. of Agni, (I, 38, 13¹); (246, note^a).
brahmanyât, prayerful :
brahmanyântab, II, 34, 11.
brahmân, m. priest :
brahmâ kâb, VIII, 7, 20; **brahmânam**, X, 77, 1⁴.
brâhman, n., prayer, hymn :
brâhma, I, 37, 4; 88, 4; 165, 11; II, 34, 7¹; **brâhmâni**, I, 165, 2; 4¹; 14; II, 34, 6; **brâhmanab pátim**, lord of prayer, I, 38, 13¹.
brû, to speak :
bruve (pûmân fti), he is called, V, 61, 8.—**âdhi brûhi nab**, bless us, I, 114, 10.—**ûpa bruvate**, they implore, I, 134, 2.—**prâ bruvâte**, they proclaim, V, 87, 2.—**sâm bruvate**, they talk together, I, 37, 13.
bhaksh, to enjoy :
bhakshiyâ (c. Gen.), V, 57, 7.
bhâga, luck :
bhâgam, luck, I, 134, 5; **bhâge â**, in wealth, II, 34, 8.
bhag, to obtain :
bhégire, V, 57, 5.—**â bhaga nab**, appoint us to, give us, help us to (Loc.), I, 43, 8; VII, 46, 4¹; **â bhagatana**, VII, 56, 21.—Desider., **bhiksh**, (220.)
bhadrá, good, auspicious :
bhadrá, good things, I, 166, 9¹; 10; (**sauṛavasāni**), VI, 74, 2; (**vāstrā**), beautiful, I, 134, 4; **bhadrá (râtîb)**, I, 168, 7¹; (**sumatîb**), I, 114, 9.
bhâdra-gâni, having an excellent mother :
bhâdra-gânayab, V, 61, 4¹.
bhan, to shout :
(V, 52, 12¹).
bhandât-ishî, in jubilant throng :
bhandât-ishṛaye, V, 87, 1.
bharatâ, Bharata (the warrior) :
bharatâya, V, 54, 14¹.
bharas, burden (?) :
(V, 54, 10¹).
bhârti, husband :
bhârtâ-iva, V, 58, 7.
bhâ, to shine :
vi-bhâti, he shines forth, X, 121, 6.
bhâgâ, share :
bhâgām, VII, 56, 14.
bhânû, splendour :
bhânûb divâb, V, 52, 6; **bhânûm**, V, 59, 1; **bhânû-bhiib**, I, 87, 6; VIII, 7, 8; 36.
bhâm, to be in wrath :
bhâmitâb, I, 114, 8¹.
bhâma, vigour :
bhâmena, I, 165, 8.
bhâmîn :
bhâmîna, VS. for **bhâmitâb**, (I, 114, 8¹).
bhâs, light :
bhâsâ, X, 77, 5.
bhiksh, to beg, to implore :
(220); **bhikshe**, I, 171, 1; **bhiksheta**, VIII, 7, 15.

bhind, to cut asunder :
 bhindanti, V, 52, 9.—bibhidub ví,
 they clove asunder, I, 85, 10.
 bhiyás, fear :
 bhiyásā, V, 59, 2; bhiyáse, (I, 87,
 6¹).
 bhishág, physician :
 bhishák-tamam bhishágām, the
 best of all physicians, II, 33, 4.
 bhī, to fear :
 bhayate, I, 166, 5; VII, 58, 2;
 bhayante, I, 85, 8; 166, 4;
 bibhāya, V, 60, 3; bibhyúshe,
 I, 39, 7; ábibhayanta, I, 39, 6.
 —See ábibhīvas, bhiyás.
 bhī, f., fear :
 bhiyā, I, 37, 8; 171, 4; V, 57,
 3^a; 60, 2; VIII, 7, 26.
 bhīmá, terrible :
 bhīmāb, II, 34, 1; bhīmāsab, VII,
 58, 2; mrigām ná bhīmám, II,
 33, 11^a.
 bhīma-yú, fearful :
 bhīma-yúb, V, 56, 3.
 bhīmá-sandriś, terrible to behold :
 bhīmá-sandriśab, V, 56, 2.
 bhumán, the feeding cloud :
 bhumā, (I, 64, 3¹).
 bhuṅg, to enjoy :
 bhuṅgé (ishé), VIII, 20, 8; ékam
 it bhuṅgé, of use, VIII, 20, 13.
 bhurván, whirl :
 bhurváni (apām), I, 134, 5 (bis);
 p. cxxii.
 bhúvana, being, world :
 víśvā bhúvanāni, bhúvanā, I, 64,
 3; 85, 8; 166, 4; II, 34, 4;
 víśvasmāt bhúvanāt, I, 134, 5.—
 asyá bhúvanasya bhūreḥ, of this
 wide world, II, 33, 9; asyá víś-
 vasya bhúvanasya rāgā (Vāta),
 X, 168, 2; bhúvanasya gārbhaḥ,
 X, 168, 4¹.
 bhū, to be . . . :
 bhúvaḥ, I, 86, 5¹; nab babbhútha,
 thou hast come to be with us,
 I, 165, 5; p. xv; babbhúvān,
 having grown, I, 165, 8; śam
 nab bhútam, VI, 74, 1; (190 seq.;
 435); bhūvan sákām, they be-
 came full of, VI, 66, 2; bodhi,
 II, 33, 15².—mā ápa bhútana,
 do not keep away, VII, 59, 10.
 —mā ápi bhūma tásyam, let us
 not fall under its power, VII,
 57, 4¹.—kútab ā babbhúva,

whence did he spring, X, 168,
 3.—pári babbhúva, he embraces,
 X, 121, 10.—vi-bhvāne, (48).—
 bhávya and bhútá, what is and
 what will be, (p. 4); bhútásya
 pátiḥ, the lord of all that is, X,
 121, 1.
 bhūman, earth :
 bhūma, I, 85, 5^a; 88, 2.
 bhūmi, earth :
 bhūmi and dyú, (50); bhūmib, I,
 87, 3; V, 59, 2; VIII, 20, 5;
 bhūmim, I, 64, 5; V, 59, 4;
 bhūmyām, I, 39, 4; bhūmy
 ā dade, p. cxvii.
 bhūri, much :
 bhūri, bhūríni, I, 165, 7; 166, 10;
 bhūri śakra, you have valued,
 VII, 56, 23¹; bhūreḥ, II, 33, 9;
 12.
 bhūri-pāni :
 (I, 38, 11¹).
 bhūsh, to honour :
 ā-bhūshantiḥ, who honour, I, 43,
 9; cf. ā-bhūshénya.
 bhrī, to bear, to carry :
 bibrhītha, I, 39, 10; VIII, 20, 26;
 bībhratī, V, 56, 8; háste bī-
 bhrat, I, 114, 5; bibharshi, II,
 33, 10; bharata, VII, 46, 1;
 bharate, I, 64, 13; bháradhyai,
 VI, 66, 3; gabhára, VII, 56, 4.
 —bībhrataḥ úpa, bringing to
 (Acc.), I, 166, 2¹.—prá bhára-
 dhve, you are carried forth, V,
 59, 4; prá bhara, I, 64, 1; prá
 bhare, I offer, V, 59, 1; 60, 1^a;
 prá bharadhvam, VI, 66, 9; prá
 bharāmahe, I, 114, 1; prá-
 bhrataḥ, hurled forth, I, 165, 4;
 (182); pp. xv : xxi.—prāti
 bharadhvam, bring forward,
 VIII, 20, 9.
 bhrīmi, quick, fresh :
 (II, 34, 1^a).—bhrīmim, cloud,
 II, 34, 1^a; vagrant, VII, 56,
 20².
 bhesagá, medicine :
 bhesagám, V, 53, 14; VIII, 20,
 25¹; X, 186, 1; bhesagáb
 gálāshab, II, 33, 7; (I, 43, 4³);
 háste b.bhrat bhesagá, carry-
 ing in his hand medicines
 (Rudra), I, 114, 5; bhesagā,
 II, 33, 12; 13¹; VII, 46, 3;
 bhesagāni, VI, 74, 3; bhesa-

- gásya* (mārutasya), VIII, 20, 23;
bheshagébhiḥ, II, 33, 2; 4.
bhogá, liberal:
bhogán, V, 53, 16.
bhrág, to shine:
bhrágante, VII, 57, 3; *ábhraḡi*,
 V, 54, 6.—*vi bhrágante*, I, 85,
 4; VIII, 20, 11; *vi-bhrágante*
 (for *vi-bhrágante*), V, 61, 12¹.
bhrágat-rishri, with brilliant spears:
bhrágat-rishrayab, I, 64, 11; 87,
 1; 168, 4; II, 34, 5; V, 55, 1;
 X, 78, 7; *bhrágat-rishrim*, VI,
 66, 11.
bhrágat-ganman, flame-born:
bhrágat-ganmānab, VI, 66, 10.
bhrágas, splendour:
bhrágasā, X, 78, 2.
bhrātri, brother:
bhrātarab, I, 170, 2; V, 60, 5; *bhrā-*
tab, I, 170, 3; *bhrātā*, X, 186, 2.
bhrātri-tvá, brotherhood:
bhrātri-tvám, VIII, 20, 22¹.
bhrúmi:
bhrúmim for *bhrímim*, (298); (II,
 34, 1⁶).
manhánā, in magnificence:
 V, 61, 10.
makshú, quickly:
 I, 39, 7; (II, 34, 12¹); VI, 66, 5;
 VII, 56, 15; I, 2, 6; soon, I,
 64, 15.
makhá, adj., strong, brisk:
 (46 seq.); *makhāb*, I, 64, 11;
makhébhyab, champions, VI,
 66, 9.
makhá, sacrifice:
makhásya dāvane, for the offering
 of the sacrifice, VIII, 7, 27¹; I,
 134, 1; (47.)—*makháb*, sacri-
 ficer (?), I, 6, 8¹.
maghá, wealth:
maghāni, VII, 57, 6.
maghá-vat, mighty, lord:
maghá-vā, V, 61, 19; *magha-van*,
 I, 165, 9; *maghāvat-bhyab*, VII,
 58, 3; II, 33, 14; *maghāvat-su*,
 I, 64, 14; *maghónām*, VII, 58,
 6; VIII, 94, 1.—*maghá-vā*, Ma-
 ghavat (Indra), I, 171, 3.
magmán, strength:
magmánā, I, 64, 3.
matí, thought; prayer:
iyám matíb, this prayer, V, 57, 1;
imāb matíb, I, 114, 1¹; *matáyab*,
 I, 165, 4¹; V, 87, 1; *matinām*,
 prayers, I, 86, 2¹.—*yáthā matím*,
 after their own mind, I, 6, 6²;
sváyā matyā, their own will, V,
 58, 5.—*matí*, thoughts, I, 165, 1.
mad, pron. . . .:
 me, they are mine, I, 165, 4; *ahám*,
 I, 171, 1; 4.
mad, to rejoice:
mādanti (c. Loc.), I, 85, 1; V, 61,
 14; (c. Acc.), V, 52, 1²; *mádatha*,
 V, 54, 10; VIII, 7, 20; *mádanti*,
 V, 56, 3¹; *mádantab*, VII, 59, 7;
svadháya mádantam, (34); *mat-*
sati, may he rejoice in (Gen.),
 VIII, 94, 6; *mādayādhvai*, I,
 37, 14; VII, 59, 6; *mādaya-*
dhvam (c. Gen.), I, 85, 6; *mā-*
dayādhvai, I, 167, 1.—*prā ma-*
danti, thy delight, VII, 57, 1¹.—
 See *mand*.
māda, enjoying, rapture, Rausch,
 feast:
mádab, I, 86, 4; *máde*, I, 85,
 10; V, 53, 3; VIII, 7, 12;
mádeshu, I, 134, 5; *mádāya*, I,
 37, 15; II, 34, 5.—(135.)
mada-kyút, enrapturing:
mada-kyútam, I, 85, 7²; (134 seqq.);
 VIII, 7, 13.
madirá, delightful:
madirám (*mádhū*), V, 61, 11; *madi-*
rásya, the sweet juice, I, 166, 7.
mádhū, sweet juice, mead:
mádhū, I, 19, 9; 166, 2; V, 61,
 11; VIII, 7, 10³; *mádhvab*
ándhasab, sweet food, I, 85, 6³;
mádhvab ándhasā, with the juice
 of sweetness, V, 54, 8³; for
mádhvab read *madhvád* (?), VII,
 57, 1¹; *mádhob*, II, 34, 5;
somyé mádhau, VII, 59, 6.
madhu-ád, eating honey, fond of
 honey:
madhu-ád (conjecture for *má-*
dhvab), VII, 57, 1¹.
mádhū-varṇa, honey-like:
mádhū-varṇam, I, 87, 2.
madhyamá, middle:
madhyamé, in the middle (heaven),
 V, 60, 6.
man, to think, to perceive:
manmahe, V, 52, 3; *mānyase*, V,
 56, 2; *manvánáb*, V, 52, 15;
manṣase, (I, 6, 7³); *mānyamā-*
nāb pársānāsab, thinking them-

- selves valleys, VIII, 7, 34.—*āti*
 manyase, thou despisest, I, 170,
 3.—*pari-mámsate*, he will de-
 spise, VII, 59, 3.
manab-gd, swift as thought :
manab-gúvab, I, 85, 4.
mánas, mind :
mánab, I, 170, 3; *mánab kṛinuté*,
 she is mindful, V, 61, 7; *mánab*
ánu gānatī, I, 134, 1; *mánāmsi*,
 VII, 56, 8; *mánasā*, X, 121, 6;
 I, 64, 1; 171, 2¹ (bis); *mahā*
mánasā, with strong desire, I,
 165, 2¹.
manā, wrath :
asyaí manāyai, II, 33, 5.
manishā, thought; prayer :
manishāb, VI, 66, 11; *manishām*,
 X, 77, 8; *manishā*, in my heart,
 I, 165, 10.—(I, 64, 12⁶).
manishín, wise :
manishínab, V, 57, 2.
mánu, man :
mánave, I, 165, 8; 166, 13.—
Mánub pitā, father Manu, I,
 114, 2; II, 33, 13¹.
mánus, man :
mánushab (*yóshā*), I, 167, 3.
mántra, song :
gyéshthab mántrab, the oldest
 song (Indra), (439).
mand, to please, to make rejoice :
 (VII, 57, 1¹); *mándantu*, I, 134, 2;
ámándat, I, 165, 11; *mamandú-*
shī, joyful, V, 61, 9; *mandadhve*,
 you rejoice, VIII, 7, 14.—*út*
mamanda, he has gladdened, II,
 33, 6.—See *mad*.
mandát-víra, delighting heroes :
 (I, 114, 1⁸).
mandasáná, pleased :
mandasánáb, V, 60, 7; *mandasánáb*,
 V, 60, 8.
mandín, delightful :
mandínab, I, 134, 2.
mandú, happy-making :
mandú, I, 6, 7.
mandrá, sweet-toned :
mandráb, I, 166, 11.
manman, thought; prayer :
mánma, *bráhma*, *gírab*, and *ukthā*,
 (I, 165, 4¹); *mánma*, VII, 57,
 2; *mánmāni*, I, 165, 13; *mánma-*
bhiś, VIII, 7, 15; 19; X, 78, 1.
manyú, courage, spirit, anger, wrath :
 (I, 37, 4²); (104); *manyáve*, I, 37,
 7; *manyú-bhiś*, fiercely, VII,
 56, 22.
mayab-bhū, beneficent, delightful :
mayab-bhúvab, I, 166, 3; V, 58, 2;
mayab-bhuvaś, VIII, 20, 24;
mayab-bhú, II, 33, 13; X, 186, 1.
máyas, delight :
máyab nab bhūta, be our delight,
 VIII, 20, 24; *nab máyab kṛidhi*,
 I, 114, 2.
mar, distantly connected with ar :
 (65.)
Marút . . . :
 etymology, p. xxiv seq.; *Marut*
 = *Mars*, p. xxv; *marut*, *maruta*,
 wind, p. xxiii; *marut*=*deva*,
 p. xxiv.
marútvat, with the Maruts :
marútvate (*Vishnu*), V, 87, 1;
rudráb marútvân, I, 114, 11;
 II, 33, 6.
marút-sakhi, the friend of the Maruts,
 (*Agni*) :
marút-sakhâ, (I, 38, 13¹).
márta, mortal :
mártab, I, 64, 13; VIII, 20, 22;
mártam, V, 61, 15; *mártasab*, I,
 38, 4; *márteshu*, VI, 66, 1.
marta-bhógana, food of mortals :
marta-bhóganam, I, 114, 6.
mártya, mortal :
mártyab, I, 19, 2; 86, 7; II, 34,
 9; V, 53, 15; VIII, 7, 15;
mártyam, V, 52, 4; *mártyasya*
 (*mâyínab*), I, 39, 2.
mártya-ishita, roused by men :
mártya-ishitab, I, 39, 8.
márya, manly youth :
maryâb, I, 6, 3¹; *maryâb*, I, 64, 2²;
 V, 53, 3; 59, 3²; 5; 6; VII,
 56, 1; 16; X, 77, 3; 78, 4;
maryâsab, V, 61, 4; X, 77, 2;
maryâb (*kshittinâm*), X, 78, 1.
mah :
mamahe, he has magnified, I, 165,
 13; *tát nab mamahantâm*, may
 they grant us this, I, 114, 11.
máh, fem. *mahī*, great, mighty :
mahā mánasā, I, 165, 2¹; *mahé*,
 I, 168, 1; V, 87, 1; VIII, 7, 5;
maháb, Abl., I, 6, 10; *maháb*,
 Gen., I, 19, 2; 3; 168, 6; V, 52,
 7; 87, 8; X, 77, 6; *maháb*, Acc.
 pl., II, 34, 11; Nom. pl., II, 34,
 12¹; *maháb mahī*, the great
 (mother) of the great, VI, 66,

- 3¹; mahāb mahīm su-stutīm, a great, great hymn of praise, II, 33, 8; mahīm īsham, II, 34, 8; mahīb īshab, VII, 59, 2; mahī, VII, 56, 4; II, 33, 14.
- mahā, great:
mahé vidāthe, V, 59, 2²; mahā-nām devānām, VIII, 94, 8.
- mahāt, great, mighty:
mahāntab, I, 166, 11; VIII, 20, 8; mahāntab, V, 55, 2; mahāntam utā arbhakām, our great or our small ones, I, 114, 7; mahānti mahatām, V, 59, 4; mahatīb apāb, VIII, 7, 22; mahatē rāwāya, I, 168, 9; mahatāb, V, 87, 4.
- mahān, might:
mahnā, I, 166, 11; V, 87, 2¹; VI, 66, 5; VIII, 20, 14.
- māhas, might:
(I, 86, 1¹); māhab, V, 52, 3; māhasā, V, 59, 6; māhāmsi, V, 60, 4; VII, 56, 14; māhab-bhib, I, 165, 5²; V, 58, 5; VII, 58, 2; (I, 86, 6¹).—mahām, great, I, 6, 6.
- mahās, adv., quickly:
mahāb, (II, 34, 12²); V, 87, 7; X, 77, 8.
- mahā-grāmā, a great troop:
mahā-grāmāb, X, 78, 6.
- mahāmaha, mahāmahivrata:
(VI, 66, 3¹).
- māhi, great; adv., exceedingly:
māhi, n., II, 34, 14; V, 54, 1; I, 43, 7.—Adv., māhi vriddhāb, grown large, V, 60, 3; māhi tve-shāb, exceeding terrible, VIII, 20, 7; truly, I, 167, 10.
- mahi-tvā, greatness, might:
mahi-tvā, Instr., X, 121, 3; 4¹; V, 58, 2; VII, 58, 1; mahi-tvām, I, 87, 3; 166, 1.
- mahi-tvanā, greatness, might:
mahi-tvanā, Instr., I, 85, 7; 86, 9; mahi-tvanām, I, 166, 12¹; V, 54, 5; 55, 4.
- mahinā, greatness, might:
mahinā, X, 121, 8; V, 57, 4; 87, 2¹.—See mahimān.
- mahi-bhānu:
mahi-bhānavab for ahi-bhānavab(?), (I, 172, 1¹).
- mahimān, greatness:
mahimānam, I, 85, 2; mahimā, I, 167, 7; V, 87, 6; mahinā=mahimnā, (V, 87, 2¹).—See mahinā.
- mahishā, mighty:
mahishāsab, I, 64, 7.
- mahī, earth:
mahī, X, 77, 4.
- mahiḥ:
mahiḥyāte, she is magnified, V, 56, 9.
- mahomahī (compound?):
(VI, 66, 3¹).
- mā, not . . .:
I, 38, 5¹; mó, I, 38, 6; mó sú, VII, 59, 5; mā, with Optative, VII, 59, 12².
- mā, to measure; to fathom:
memire yōganāni, they measure many miles, X, 78, 7; mimihi (ślōkam), fashion, I, 38, 14.—vi mamire (antāriksham), they have measured, V, 55, 2; vi-mānab (antārikshe rāgasab), X, 121, 5².
- mā, to roar:
mimāti, I, 38, 8¹; mīmātu, V, 59, 8.
- mānḡishṭha, bright red:
(232.)
- mātrī, mother:
mātā, VI, 66, 3¹; VIII, 94, 1; vatsām nā mātā, I, 38, 8; mātāram, V, 52, 16; pitāram utā mātāram, I, 114, 7; mātúb, I, 37, 9; apāb māttrib, (307.)
- māna, measure:
mānam, I, 39, 1¹.
- Māna:
mānāsab, the Mānas, I, 171, 5¹; (I, 165, 15¹).
- mānusha, adj., of men; m., man:
mānushā yugā, V, 52, 4.—mānushab, I, 37, 7; X, 77, 7; mānushāb, I, 38, 10; 39, 6.
- Māndāryā:
māndāryāsa, I, 165, 15¹; 166, 15; 167, 11; 168, 10; (183 seq.)
- Mānyā, the son of Māna (?):
mānyāsa, I, 165, 14¹; 15¹; 166, 15; 167, 11; 168, 10; (183 seq.; 203.)
- māyīn, deceitful; powerful:
māyīnab (mātyasya), I, 39, 2.—māyīnab (pl.), powerful, I, 64, 7; māyīnam, V, 58, 2.
- māruta, of the Maruts:
mārutam (jārdhab), I, 37, 1; 5; V, 52, 8; p. xxv; (ganām), I, 38, 15; 64, 12; V, 52, 13; 14; 53, 10; 58, 1; VIII, 94, 12; (rātham), V, 56, 8; mārutam

- (*nāma*), VI, 66, 5; VII, 57, 1¹;
mārutab (*ganāb*), V, 61, 13;
mārutāya (*sārdhāya*), V, 54, 1;
 VIII, 20, 9; *mārutasya dhām-*
nab, I, 87, 6.—*mārutāya*, to the
 host of the Maruts, VI, 66, 9.—
mārutasya bhesagāya, of the
 Marut-medicine, VIII, 20, 23.—
mārutam rudrāya sūnūm, the
 Marutlike son of Rudra, VI, 66,
 11¹; *māruta*, epithet of Vishnu,
 (134.)
mārāṭikā, consolation :
mārāṭikēbbhiḥ, VIII, 7, 30.
mārtāṇḍā, addled egg :
 (251.)
mās, month :
māt-bhiḥ, (I, 6, 3²)
māhina, mighty :
māhinab, I, 165, 3; p. xiv.—*mā-*
hinā = *mahimā*, greatness? (309.)
migh, see *ni-mēghamāna*.
mitrā, friend :
mitrām nā, I, 38, 13²; V, 52, 14;
mitrāya, II, 34, 4; *mitrānām*, I,
 170, 5.
Mitrā :
Aryaman, Mitra, Varuna, (V, 54,
 8¹); *mitrāb*, VII, 56, 25; VIII,
 94, 5; I, 43, 3; 114, 11; *mitra*,
 VII, 59, 1; *mitrām*, I, 2, 7.
mitra-pati, lord of friends :
mitrānām mitra-pate, I, 170, 5.
mitrāyu, looking for friends :
mitrāyāvab, *mitrāyuvab*, (II, 34,
 4¹)
Mitrāvaruna, du., *Mitra and Varuna* :
mitrāvarunau, I, 167, 8¹; **nā*, I, 2,
 9; *mitrāvarunau*, I, 2, 8.
mithās, each other :
mithāb, VII, 56, 2; 3; VIII, 20,
 21.
mithasprīdhya, clashing against each
 other :
mithasprīdhya-iva, I, 166, 9¹.
mimiksh, to sprinkle, to shower :
 (185; 187 seq.).—See *myaksh*.
mimikshā :
mimikshāb sōmab, (188.)
mimikshū :
mimikshūm indram, (188.)
mirā, from *mis* :
 (185.)
mish :
ni-mishatāb, the twinkling (world),
 X, 121, 3¹.
mih :
mimikshvā, sprinkle, (188.)
mih, rain, mist :
mīham, I, 38, 7; VIII, 7, 4; *mihé*,
 I, 64, 6.—*mihāb nāpātam*, rain,
 the offspring of the cloud, I, 37,
 11¹.
mī, to dim :
prā minanti, V, 59, 5.
mī/būb-tama, most liberal :
mī/būb-tamāya (*rudrāya*), I, 43, 1.
mī/būshmat, bountiful :
mī/būshmatī-iva, like a bountiful
 lady, V, 56, 3¹.
mīdbvās, bounteous :
mīdbvab (*rudra*), I, 114, 3; II, 33,
 14; *mī/būshab* (*rudrāya*), VI,
 66, 3; *tān rudrāya mī/būshab*,
 the bounteous sons of Rudra,
 VII, 58, 5¹; *mī/būshab* (*marū-*
tab), VIII, 20, 18²; *mī/būshām*,
 VIII, 20, 3¹; *mī/būshī*, V, 56, 9.
muḥ, to deliver :
muḥātātha, II, 34, 15; *muḥātām*,
 VI, 74, 3; *mukshīya*, VII, 59,
 12².—*prā nab muḥkatam*, VI,
 74, 4.—*prāti āmugdhvam*, you
 have clothed yourselves, V, 55,
 6; *prāti muḥishra pāṇ*, may
 he catch the snares, VII, 59, 8.
 —*vī muḥadhvam*, unharness, I,
 171, 1.—(270.)
mud, to rejoice :
mudé, V, 53, 5.
mūni, maniac :
mūniḥ-iva, VII, 56, 8¹.
mush, to strip :
mōshatha, V, 54, 6¹.
mushri-hān, boxer :
mushri-hā, V, 58, 4; VIII, 20, 20.
mūhus, suddenly :
mūhub, V, 54, 3.
mūrdhān, summit :
mūrdhā nābhā, I, 43, 9¹.
mrigā :
mrigāb iva hastīnab, like wild ele-
 phants, I, 64, 7²; *mrigāb nā*
bhīmāb, terrible like wild beasts,
 II, 34, 1²; *mrigām nā bhīmām*,
 like a terrible wild beast (the
 lion), II, 33, 11².—*mrigāb*, deer,
 I, 38, 5.
mriganyū, hunter :
mriganyāvab, (V, 55, 1¹)
mrig, to clear off :
ūt mrige, *nī mrige*, V, 52, 17.

mrid, to be gracious :

mriḷayantu nab, I, 171, 3; *mriḷāta nab*, I, 171, 4; V, 55, 9; 57, 8; 58, 8; *mriḷantu*, VII, 56, 17; *mriḷā* (*nab*), I, 114, 2; 10; II, 33, 11; *mriḷa*, I, 114, 6; II, 33, 14; *mriḷatam*, VI, 74, 4.

mriḷayāt-tama, most gracious :

mriḷayāt-tamā (*su-matīb*), I, 114, 9.

mriḷayāku, softly stroking :

mriḷayākub (*hāstab*), II, 33, 7.

mriṭyū, death :

mriṭyūb, X, 121, 2; *mriṭyōb*, VII, 59, 12.

mridh, to fail :

mardhanti, I, 166, 2; *mārdhati*, VII, 59, 4.

medhā, animal sacrifice :

(I, 88, 3¹; I, 43, 4¹).

medhā-pati, the lord of animal sacrifices :

medhā-patim, I, 43, 4¹.

medhas :

medhās and *vedhās*, (VIII, 20, 17¹).

medhā, wisdom :

medhā, I, 165, 14¹; *medhām*, II, 34, 7².—*medhāb*, minds, I, 88, 3¹.

medhā-pati :

(I, 43, 4¹).

meshā, ram :

meshāya meshyē, to ram and ewe, I, 43, 6.

mō, see *mā*.

myaksh, to cling :

(184 seqq.) : *mimyaksha* (with Loc.), I, 167, 3; *mimikshub*, I, 167, 4.—*sām mimikshub*, I, 165, 1²; p. xiii; V, 58, 5; *sām mimikshire*, they were united with, they obtained, I, 87, 6².

mraکش, to pound to pieces :

nī mimrikshub, I, 64, 4².

mraکشa-kṛtvan :

(I, 64, 4²).

yaksh, jagōn, to hunt :

(V, 55, 1¹).

yaksha, the Yakshas :

(V, 55, 1¹; VII, 56, 16¹).

yaksha-drīś, shining like Yakshas :

yaksha-drīśab, VII, 56, 16¹.

yag, to sacrifice :

yāgāma, V, 60, 6; *yāgāmahe*, VII, 59, 12; *yāgadhva* for *yāgadhvam*,

p. cxviii; *yāgamānāya*, V, 60, 7; *yāgamānasya*, VII, 57, 2; *īgānāb*, VII, 59, 2.—*ā-yegē* he acquired by sacrifices, I, 114, 2¹.

yagatā, worshipful :

yagatām, read *yagata*, II, 33, 10¹.

yāgatra, worshipful :

yagatrāb, V, 55, 10; 58, 4; VII, 57, 1; 4; 5.

yāgus :

from *yag*, (66.)

yagñā, sacrifice :

yagñām, I, 170, 4; X, 121, 8; II, 34, 12² (*vah*); V, 52, 4; 5; 10; 87, 9; VII, 59, 11; VIII, 20, 2; *havishmantab yagñāb*, X, 77, 1; *visvá-psub yagñāb*, X, 77, 4; *ut-rīkī yagñē*, X, 77, 7; *yagñā-yagñā*, to every sacrifice, I, 168, 1¹; *yagñālb*, I, 86, 2; X, 78, 1; *yagñēbhib*, I, 166, 14; *yagñēshu*, VII, 57, 1; X, 77, 8.

yagñā-vāhas, carrying off the sacrifices, worshipped, propitiated :

yagñā-vāhasab, I, 86, 2¹; (40); (II, 34, 12²).

yagñā-sādḥ, fulfilling our sacrifice :

yagñā-sādham (*rudrām*), I, 114, 4.

yagñīya, to be worshipped, worshipful :

yagñīyam nāma, I, 6, 4; *yagñīyāni nāmāni*, I, 87, 5²; (167); *yagñīyāb*, V, 52, 1; *yagñīyāb*, V, 87, 9; *yagñīyāsab*, V, 61, 16; *yagñēshu yagñīyāsab*, X, 77, 8; *yagñīyebhib*, V, 52, 5.

yāgyu = *prayagyū* (?) :

yāgyave, (V, 54, 1²).

yāgvan, sacrificing :

(V, 54, 1²); (66.)

yat, to strive :

yetire, I, 85, 8; V, 59, 2; VIII, 20, 12; X, 77, 2.—*ādhi yetire*, they fastened, I, 64, 4.—*sām yatantām*, may they come striving together, V, 59, 8.

yatā-sruk, holding ladles (full of libations) :

yatā-srukāb, II, 34, 11.

yāt-kāma, which we desire :

yāt-kāmāb, X, 121, 10; (4.)

yātra :

yātra, wherever, I, 166, 6; V, 55, 7; *yātra ādhi*, over whom, X, 121, 6; where, V, 61, 14; when, VIII, 20, 6.

yáthâ and yathâ, as, like:

yáthâ purâ, as of yore, I, 39, 7;
yáthâ, like, V, 54, 8; 13; 61,
10; VII, 57, 3; yathâ, V, 53, 7;
54, 4; 87, 7.—yáthâ matim, after
their own mind, I, 6, 6²; te yáthâ
mánab, what thy mind was, I,
170, 3; yáthâ kit mánase, hridâ,
V, 56, 2; yáthâ vidâ, you know,
V, 55, 2; yáthâ gushânta, VII,
56, 20; yáthâ vârantî, VIII, 20,
17.—yáthâ, so that, V, 59, 7;
61, 4; I, 43, 2 (tris); 3 (tris);
114, 1; II, 33, 15.

yathâ-varâm, wherever he listeth:
X, 168, 4.

yád, rel. pron. . . .:

yâsya, X, 121, 2¹; 4; (p. 4.)—yât ha
vâb bâlam, with such strength
as yours, I, 37, 12; yât ha vâb
purâ, as it was with you for-
merly, VIII, 7, 21; yât ádbhu-
tam, what strange thing, I, 170,
1.—yéna, that, I, 166, 14; yâs-
min, where, I, 168, 6.

yád, adv., when; that . . .:

yât-tátâb, X, 121, 7; yât sim, I,
37, 6; 9; yât ha, I, 37, 13; VIII,
7, 11; ádha yât, now that, I,
167, 2; yât ângâ, VIII, 7, 2;
yât-yât vâ, II, 34, 10; V, 60,
6; yât, if, I, 38, 4; yât, that, I,
165, 14; 166, 13; 14; 167, 7;
VII, 56, 4; 10.

yadâ, when:

V, 87, 4.

yádi:

when, I, 168, 8; if, VII, 56, 15.

Yádu:

yádum, VIII, 7, 18.

yam, to hold, to yield, to give:

árma yakkbata, VII, 59, 1; yakkba,
I, 114, 10; yamsat asmâbhyam,
I, 114, 5; yakkbamânâb âyu-
dhaih, wielding weapons, VII, 56,
13.—yakkbata ádhi, grant, I, 85,
12.—ní yemiré, they bent down
before (Dat.), VIII, 7, 5; 34.—
prâ-yatâs, thrust forth, I, 166,
4.—ví yanta, extend, I, 85, 12;
ví yantana, V, 55, 9; ví yamub,
they stretched (their legs) apart,
V, 61, 3²; ví yematub, they went
straight to (Dat.), V, 61, 9.

yâma, rein:

yâmab, V, 61, 2.

yamá, twin:

yamâb-iva, V, 57, 4.

Yamá:

yamásya pathâ, I, 38, 5².

yamayishnu:

yamayishnavab, SV. for namayi-
shnavab, (VIII, 20, 1¹).

Yamúnâ:

yamúnâyâm, V, 52, 17; (V, 53, 9¹.)

yayí:

yayím, way, I, 87, 2¹.—yayíb, the
wanderer, V, 87, 5¹.—yayiyab
(sindhavab), running, X, 78, 7.

yáva, barley:

(I, 38, 5².)

yávase, pasture grass, fodder:

yávase, I, 38, 5²; V, 53, 16.

yaví, or, yavyâ, young maid:

Instr., yavyâ, I, 167, 4¹.

yahví, river:

yahvíshu, VII, 56, 22.

yâ, to go . . .:

yâtave, I, 37, 10; VIII, 7, 8; 20,
6; yânti, they pass along, I,
37, 13¹; yâmi, I explore, V, 54,
15; súbham yâtâm, going in
triumph, V, 55, 1 to 9; (VIII,
20, 7²); yâthana súbham, V, 57,
2; (I, 87, 4²); yât âyâsub, when
they move about, VII, 57, 1.—
ânu yâtâ, go after, I, 38, 11.—
âva yâsat, will he bring down,
VI, 66, 5.—â yâ, to come . . .: â
yâtam úpa dravât, come quickly
hither, I, 2, 5; â yâsishra, may
it bring, ask for, I, 165, 15²;
166, 15; 167, 11; 168, 10; p.
xx; â nab yântu ákkba, I, 167,
2; â yâtam úpa nib-kritâm, I,
2, 6.—ní âyâtana, you went
down, V, 54, 5¹.—yâthana pári,
you go round, V, 55, 7.—prâ
yâta, come, I, 37, 14; prâ
yâtana, I, 165, 13; prâ yayub,
V, 53, 12; prâ âyâsishra, V, 58,
6.—ví yâthana, you pass through,
I, 39, 3¹; ví yâta, destroy, I, 86,
10¹; ví yâti, it passes between,
VI, 66, 7.

yâma, way, march:

yâmab, I, 166, 4; 172, 1¹; yâmam,
(I, 87, 2¹); VIII, 7, 2¹; 14;
yâmam yânti, VIII, 7, 4; yâmam
yêshibâb, VII, 56, 6; yâmena,
V, 53, 12; yâmâya, I, 37, 7;
39, 6; VIII, 7, 5; yâme, V, 54,

5; *yāmebhiḥ*, VIII, 7, 7; *yāme-shu*, I, 37, 8¹; 87, 3; V, 56, 7; VIII, 20, 5.—*yāmaḥ*, carriage, VI, 66, 7.
yāman, way, march:
yāma, II, 34, 10; *yāman*, I, 37, 3²; 85, 1; 166, 1; V, 52, 2; 58, 7; X, 77, 8; 78, 6; VII, 58, 2; *yāmani*, V, 53, 16; on moving, X, 77, 4; *yāmani* (*ishām*), on the search, I, 168, 5; *yāmanab*, out of your way, V, 57, 3²; *yāma-bhiḥ*, I, 37, 11; V, 56, 4.
yāma-rṛta, glorious on their march:
yāma-rṛtebhiḥ, V, 52, 15.
yāma-hūti, imploring invocation:
yāma-hūtishu, V, 61, 15.
yu, to keep off:
(I, 87, 4³); *yuyōta*, VII, 56, 9; *ārāt yuyota*, VII, 58, 6; X, 77, 6; *yuyodhi*, II, 33, 3; *mā nab yuyothāb*, do not deprive us of (*Abl.*), II, 33, 1; *nā vai yoshat*, it will never depart, II, 33, 9.—*yuyotana āpa*, keep far, V, 87, 8¹.—*vī yuyota*, deprive (*Acc.*) of (*Instr.*), I, 39, 8¹.
yugā:
pāre yugé, in former years, I, 166, 13; *mānushā yugā*, generation of men, V, 52, 4.
yukkb, to fail:
yūkkbati, V, 54, 13².
yug, to join, to yoke, to harness:
yugānti, I, 6, 1; 2; *yugāte*, I, 87, 3; II, 34, 8; *yukkte*, I, 134, 3; *yugdhvam*, V, 56, 6 (*tris*); *yuyugré*, V, 53, 1; *āyugdhvam*, V, 55, 6; 57, 3; *yuktā*, VIII, 94, 1; *āyukta*, he started, V, 87, 4.—*yuganta*, they joined together (heaven and earth), VI, 66, 6¹; VIII, 20, 4²; *āyugdhvam* (*tāvishāb*), you have assumed, I, 64, 7²; *yugānāb*, in company with, I, 165, 5.—*ā āyugdhvam*, you have yoked, I, 85, 4; *ā-yuyugré*, V, 58, 7.—*ūpo ayugdhvam*, I, 39, 6; *ūpa yugmahe*, I, 165, 5.—*prā āyugdhvam*, I, 85, 5; *prā yugata*, V, 52, 8; (X, 77, 5¹).—*vi-yukta*, *sejunctus*, (187).
yugā, together with (*Instr.*):
I, 39, 4¹.

yūgya, companion:
yūgyebhiḥ, I, 165, 7¹.
yudh, to fight:
yūdhyatab (*tritāsya*), VIII, 7, 24.—*prā yuyudhub*, they have rushed forward to fight, V, 59, 5.
yūdḥ, weapon, sword:
yudhā-iva, I, 166, 1²; *yudhā*, V, 52, 6¹; *yutsū*, (*Grassmann*, VIII, 20, 20¹).
yūyudhi, thirsting for fight:
yūyudhayab, I, 85, 8.
yuvatī, young woman:
yuvatīb, V, 61, 9; *yuvatīm*, I, 167, 6.
yūvan, youthful, youth:
yūvā (*ganāb*), I, 87, 4; V, 61, 13; *yūvā* (*rudrāb*), V, 60, 5; *yūvānam* (*Rudra*), II, 33, 11; *yūvānab*, I, 64, 3; 165, 2; 167, 6; V, 57, 8; 58, 8; *yuvānab*, V, 58, 3; *yūvānab*, VIII, 20, 17; 18; *yūnab*, VIII, 20, 19.
yushmāt . . .:
yushmākam, I, 39, 2; 4; *yushmāka*, VII, 59, 9; 10; p. cxviii.—*vaḥ* followed by *eshām*, V, 87, 2¹; *vaḥ*, for you or from you, VII, 56, 24¹.
yushmā-ishita, roused by you:
yushmā-ishitab, I, 39, 8¹.
yushmā-ūta, favoured by you:
yushmā-ūtab, VII, 58, 4 (*tris*).
yushmāka, your:
yushmākābhiḥ, I, 39, 8; *yushmākena*, I, 166, 14.
yushmā-datta, bestowed by you:
yushmā-dattasya, V, 54, 13.
yēshṭba:
yāmam yēshṭbāb, quickest to go, VII, 56, 6.
yógana:
yóganam, hymn, I, 88, 5¹.—*yóganam*, the daily course (of the sun), V, 54, 5.—*yóganāni*, many miles, X, 78, 7.
yodhā, soldier:
yodhāb, X, 78, 3.
yoshānā, woman:
yoshānā, V, 52, 14.
yóshā, woman, wife:
yóshā, I, 167, 3; *yóshāb*, X, 168, 2.
yós, wealth:
jām yób, health and wealth, (193 seq.); V, 53, 14²; *jām ka yób ka*, I, 114, 2; II, 33, 13.

- rawh**, to hurl :
ramháyanta, I, 85, 5¹.—*arahânáb*,
 racers, I, 134, 1.
- raksh**, to shield :
rakshata, I, 166, 8; *rákshata*, II,
 34, 9.
- rákshas**, fiend :
rákshab, I, 86, 9¹.
- raghu-pátvan**, swift-winged :
raghu-pátvánab, I, 85, 6¹.
- raghu-syád**, swiftly gliding along :
raghu-syádab, I, 64, 7; 85, 6.
- ragab-túr**, crossing the air :
ragab-túb, VI, 66, 7²; *ragab-túram*,
 chaser of the sky, I, 64, 12⁴.
- rágas**, air :
rágas, dyú, *rokaná*, (51; 55); *rágas*
 and *pārthiva*, (51 seq.; 55);
rágab, V, 53, 7; 59, 1; á *rágab*,
 through the air (?), (VII, 57,
 3¹); *rágasab* (pl.), X, 121, 5²;
maháb rágasab (Abl.), I, 6, 10;
 (Gen.), I, 19, 3¹; 168, 6.—*rágas*,
 water, rain; darkness, (I, 19,
 3¹); *rágamsi*, clouds, mists, I,
 166, 3; 4; V, 54, 4; *rágasab*
vi-sárgane, when the mist is
 scattered, V, 59, 3.
- ran**, to delight in (Loc.), to be
 pleased, to accept with pleasure
 (Acc.):
 (85; 86); *ránan*, V, 53, 16;
rananta, VII, 57, 5; *rananti*,
 I, 38, 2¹; *ranánatā*, you have
 rejoiced, I, 171, 1².
- rána**, fight :
ránāya, I, 168, 9.
- ránaya**, glorious :
rányāni, I, 85, 10.
- ranvá**, gay :
ranváb, VII, 59, 7.
- rátna**, treasure :
saptá rātnā, VI, 74, 1.
- ratna-dhéya**, gift of treasures :
ratna-dhéyāni, X, 78, 8.
- rátha**, chariot :
ráthe, II, 34, 7; *ráthaió-iva*, V,
 60, 1; *ráthānām ná aráb*, like
 the spokes of chariot-wheels,
 X, 78, 4.—*ráthe*, Indra's chariot,
 I, 6, 2.—*ráthāb*, the chariots of
 the Maruts, I, 38, 12; V, 55, 1
 to 9; (V, 87, 3¹; VI, 66, 2¹);
rāthān, V, 53, 5¹; *rāthebhió*, I,
 88, 1; V, 58, 6; *rāthaió*, VIII,
 7, 17; (VIII, 20, 2¹); *rāthānām*,
 V, 52, 9; 53, 10; VIII, 94, 1;
rātheshu, I, 39, 6; 64, 9; 85,
 4; 5; 87, 2; 166, 9; II, 34,
 8; V, 53, 2; 4; 56, 6; 7; 57,
 6; 60, 2; 4; 61, 12; VIII, 20,
 12.—*rātham*, the chariot of the
 Maruts, I, 167, 5; V, 56, 8;
rāthēna, VIII, 20, 10; *rāthasya*,
 I, 88, 2; *rāthe*, V, 54, 11; 56,
 6; VIII, 7, 28; 20, 8¹.—
rāthasya (Vāta's), X, 168, 1.—
rāthēna (Vāyu's), I, 134, 1;
rāthe, I, 134, 3.
- ratha-túr**, hastening the chariots :
rathatúb-bhió, I, 88, 2; *ratha-*
túb, X, 77, 8.
- rátha-vat**, consisting of chariots :
rátha-vat rádhāb, V, 57, 7.
- Rátha-víti Dārbhya** :
 (359 seq.; 362); (V, 61, 5²);
rátha-vítāu, V, 61, 18; *rátha-*
vítib, V, 61, 19.
- rathiyánti** :
rathiyánti-iva, whirling like chariot-
 wheels, I, 166, 5².
- rathí**, charioteer :
rathíó-iva, V, 61, 17; *rathyāb ná*,
 V, 87, 8; *rathyāb*, VII, 56, 21.—
rathyāb (*didhishāvab*), lords of
 chariots, X, 78, 5.—*rathyāb*
syāma, let us carry off, V, 54, 13¹.
- rathiyánti**, see *rathiyánti*.
- rathe-rúbh**, brilliant on chariots :
rathe-rúbham, I, 37, 1; V, 56, 9.
- ráthya** :
ráthyab sáptib, (I, 85, 1¹).
- rad**, to scratch, to bite :
rādati, I, 166, 6⁴; *rad*, to cut, to
 give, (222 seq.).
- rada**, radana, tooth :
 (I, 166, 6⁴).
- radhrá**, wretched, a sluggard :
radhrām, II, 34, 15¹; VII, 56,
 20¹; *radhrá* and *bhrími*, (II,
 34, 1⁶).
- rándhra**, hollow :
ukshnáb rándhram, 'the hollow of
 the bull,' VIII, 7, 26¹.
- rap**, to whisper :
 (II, 33, 3¹).—*me arapat prátí*, V, 61, 9.
- rápas**, mischief :
rāpab (*āturasya*), VIII, 20, 26¹;
rāpasab, II, 33, 3¹; 7.
- rapát-úddhan**, whose udders are
 swelling :
rapádúddha-bhió, II, 34, 5.

rabh, to cling :

rarabhe, I, 168, 3.—rabh, to rush upon, â-rabh, to begin, (I, 166, 1¹.)

rabhab-dâ, giving strength :

rabhab-dâb (Indra), (I, 166, 1¹.)

râbhas, vigour :

râbhab, (I, 166, 1¹.)

rabhasâ, robust :

rabhasâya, I, 166, 1¹; rabhasâsab (aṅgâya), I, 166, 10²; rabhasâb, V, 54, 3.

râbhishîba, most vigorous :

râbhishîbâb, (I, 166, 1¹); V, 58, 5.

ram, to stop, to arrest :

riramâma, I, 165, 2; p. xx; mǎ ní riramat, V, 53, 9; ramayanti, VII, 56, 19.

ram, to delight :

ramâya, V, 52, 13; raranta (read rarâta?), V, 54, 13².

rambhñ, clinging :

rambhñî-iva, I, 168, 3¹.

rayî, wealth :

rayîm, I, 64, 15; 85, 12; V, 54, 14; VIII, 7, 13; rayî-bhîb, I, 64, 10; pátayab rayîñm, X, 121, 10; V, 55, 10.

ramî, ray :

ramîm, VIII, 7, 8; ramâyab, V, 55, 3; ramîshu, I, 134, 4 (bis); ramî-bhîb, I, 87, 6²; darts (lightnings), I, 19, 8; reins, X, 77, 5.

râsa, rain :

râsasya, I, 37, 5.

Rasâ, the distant river :

rasâ, V, 53, 9¹; rasâyâ, X, 121, 4².

râ, to give :

ârâsata, I, 166, 3; ârâdhvam, I, 166, 12; VII, 59, 4; râsya, I, 114, 6; 9; râsi, II, 33, 12; raré, VII, 59, 5; rarâta (for raranta?), V, 54, 13².

râg, to shine :

vî râgatha, V, 55, 2; VIII, 7, 1.

râgan, king :

râgâ gâgatab, X, 121, 3; vívasya bhúvanasya râgâ, X, 168, 2; rîshim vâ râgânâ vâ, V, 54, 7; râgânâ, V, 54, 14; 58, 4; râgânâb-iva, I, 85, 8; râgânâb ná kîtrâb, X, 78, 1.

râga-putra, having kings for her sons :

râga-putrâ, ep. of Aditi, (254; 260.)

râtâ-havis, who has offered libations :

râtâ-havishe, II, 34, 8.

râtâ-havya, generous worshipper :

râtâ-havyâya, V, 53, 12.

râtî, gift :

râtîb, I, 168, 7¹; (V, 52, 11¹);

râtîm, VII, 56, 18.

râdh, to give :

(I, 166, 6¹); râdhyasya (vâsvab), to be gained, X, 77, 6; mǎ rîradhat, let him not deliver, II, 33, 5.

râdhas, wealth :

râdhab, II, 34, 11; V, 52, 17

(bis); 53, 13; 57, 7.

râmî, dark night :

râmîb, II, 34, 12.

ri :

rîñtî, it crunches, I, 166, 6¹.—rînaté, they go asunder, V, 58, 6².—rîñân apáb, they let the waters run, VIII, 7, 28.—ânû rîyate, it streams along, I, 85, 3.—ní rîñânti, they disperse, V, 56, 4.

rît :

prâ rîrîtré, they have risen above (Abl.), X, 77, 3.

ripû, enemy :

ripúb, II, 34, 9.

rîśâdas, devourer of foes :

rîśâdasab, I, 19, 5; 64, 5; X, 77, 3; 5; rîśâdasab, I, 39, 4; V, 60, 7¹; 61, 16; VII, 59, 9; rîśâdasam (várûnam), I, 2, 7.

rîsh, to suffer, to drop :

rîshyatha, V, 54, 4; ná rîshyati, V, 54, 7; mǎ rîrishab, do not hurt, I, 114, 7; 8; VII, 46, 3.

rîsh, hurt :

rîshâb, II, 34, 9; V, 52, 4.

rîshany, to fail :

mǎ rîshanyata, VIII, 20, 1.

rîh, to lick :

rîhaté, VIII, 20, 21¹.

rî, see ri.

rukma, gold, golden chains :

rukma, I, 88, 2; (II, 34, 2¹); ruk-mâb, I, 166, 10; V, 54, 11; VII, 56, 13; rukmâsab, VIII, 20, 11; rukmân, I, 64, 4¹; rukma, V, 52, 6¹; VII, 57, 3; rukmébhi, V, 56, 1; rukméshu, V, 53, 4.—rukma, weapons(?), (I, 85, 3²).—rukma-iva, like the golden disk (in heaven), V, 61, 12.

- rukma-vakshas**, gold-breasted :
rukma-vakshasab (the Maruts), (I, 64, 4¹); II, 34, 8; V, 55, 1; 57, 5; X, 78, 2; **rukma-vakshasab**, II, 34, 2¹; VIII, 20, 22.
- ruk**, to shine :
rókante, I, 6, 1³; **rókate**, I, 43, 5; **rókamânâb**, I, 165, 12.—**vī rukânâb**, far-shining, VII, 56, 13.
- rug**, to crash :
rugán, X, 168, 1.
- Rudrá** :
rudrâb, II, 34, 2; V, 60, 5; I, 43, 3; 114, 11; **rudra**, I, 114, 2 (bis); 3; 7; 8; II, 33, 1 seqq.; VII, 46, 2; 4; **rudrám**, V, 52, 16; I, 43, 4²; 114, 4; II, 33, 5; **rudráya**, I, 43, 1; 114, 1²; 6; VII, 46, 1; **rudrásya**, I, 64, 2; 12; 85, 1; V, 59, 8; VI, 66, 3; 11¹; VII, 56, 1; 58, 5¹; VIII, 20, 17; II, 33, 6; 8; 13; 14; **rudrát**, II, 33, 9; **Rudra** brings the medicines, (VIII, 20, 25¹); **Aditi** = **Rudra** (?), (I, 43, 2¹).—**Rudras**, **Vasus**, and **Adityas**, (VII, 56, 20³); **rudrâb**, I, 64, 3; 166, 2; II, 34, 13; V, 60, 2; **rudrásab**, I, 85, 2; V, 87, 7; **rúdrâb**, I, 39, 7; VIII, 7, 12; **rudrâb**, II, 34, 9; V, 54, 4; 60, 6; **rúdrâsab**, I, 39, 4; **rudrásab**, V, 57, 1; VIII, 20, 2.
- rudriya**, belonging to **Rudra** :
rudriyâsab, **Maruts**, I, 38, 7; V, 58, 7; **rudriyâb**, II, 34, 10; **rudriyâsab**, V, 57, 7; VII, 56, 22; **rudriyânâm**, VIII, 20, 3.—**rudriyam**, **Rudra's** healing, I, 43, 2.
- rúwat**, red :
rúwat pīppalam, the red apple, V, 54, 12¹.
- rûpá**, form :
rûpâni, V, 52, 11; **tveshâm rûpâm**, the blazing form, I, 114, 5; **ghóshâb jrinvire ná rûpâm**, X, 168, 4.
- reg**, to tremble, to shake :
régate (the earth), I, 37, 8; V, 60, 2; VI, 66, 9; VIII, 20, 5; **régamâne**, X, 121, 6; **régamânâb**, I, 171, 4; **regata**, V, 60, 3; **regatha**, V, 59, 4; **régati**, he stirs, I, 168, 5; **regayat**, he made tremble, V, 87, 5; **regáyanti**, VII, 57, 1.—**prá regate**, I, 87, 3; **áreganta prá**, they reeled forward, I, 38, 10.
- renú**, dust :
renúm, X, 168, 1.
- retab-dhâ** :
(V, 58, 7¹).
- revát**, with wealth :
revát váyab, health and wealth, X, 77, 7.
- rai** or **râ**, to bark :
(227 seq.)
- raí**, wealth :
râyâb, V, 54, 13; VII, 56, 15; 57, 6²; **râyâb pōsham**, fulness of wealth, I, 166, 3; **râyé**, VIII, 7, 18; **râyab**, treasures, I, 167, 1; V, 54, 7.
- raivatâ**, rich :
raivatâsab, V, 60, 4.
- róka**, light :
ná rókab, VI, 66, 6²; (V, 61, 12¹).
- rokaná**, light :
rokanâ (divf), I, 6, 1²; (diváb), VIII, 94, 9¹; **rokanât** (diváb), I, 6, 9¹; (49 seqq.); V, 56, 1; **nākasya ádhi rokané**, I, 19, 6; **rokaná**, **sūrya**, **nāka**, (50); three **rokanas**, (50 seq.)
- ródasī**, du., heaven and earth :
ródasī, (X, 121, 6¹); I, 64, 9²; 85, 1; (I, 167, 3²); V, 53, 6; VI, 66, 6¹; 7; VII, 56, 17; 57, 1; 3¹; 58, 1; I, 134, 3; VIII, 7, 16; 20, 4; 94, 11; for **ródasī** read **rodasī**, V, 61, 12¹; **ródasyob**, I, 168, 1.
- Rodasī**, f., wife of the **Maruts**, the lightning :
rodasī, (I, 64, 9²; 167, 3²); I, 167, 5; V, 56, 8¹; VI, 66, 6; **rodasī** (for **ródasī** iti), V, 61, 12¹; **rodasīm** (for **rodasī**), I, 167, 4¹; **Rodasī** as **Eileithyia**, (I, 167, 7¹).
- ródhas**, enclosure, fence, bank of a river :
(I, 38, 11²).
- ródhasvat**, still locked up, unopened :
ródhasvatib (clouds), I, 38, 11².
- rohít**, ruddy horse :
rohitab, V, 56, 6.
- róhita**, red (horse) :
rohitab, I, 39, 6¹; VIII, 7, 28; **róhitâ**, V, 61, 9; I, 134, 3.
- raurava**, skin of a deer :
(232.)

laghu, light :

laghu and guru, light and heavy syllables, p. xcvi.

loká, space :

loká and uloká, p. lxxiv seqq.

vámsaga, bull :

(140.)

vákmya, praiseworthy :

vákmyab, I, 167, 7.

vaksh (uksh), to grow, to wax :

vavakshúb, I, 64, 3; vavakshire, II, 34, 4; úkshantam utá ukshitám, I, 114, 7; ukshámānāb, V, 57, 8; 58, 8; ukshitāsab, I, 85, 2¹; sākām ukshitāb, V, 55, 3; sám-ukshitānām, V, 56, 5¹.—vívak-shase (?), (I, 6, 7².)

vakshánā, flank :

vakshánābhyab divāb ā, I, 134, 4².

vakshánā, offering (?) :

vakshánā, Instr.? V, 52, 15¹.

vákshas, chest :

vákshab-su, I, 64, 4; 166, 10; V, 54, 11; VII, 56, 13.

vañkú, swift :

vañkúm (rudrām), I, 114, 4.

vat, to speak, to tell :

voṭéb, I, 165, 3; voṭāma, I, 166, 1; voṭemahi, I, 167, 10; voṭanta, V, 52, 16 (bis); voṭatāt, V, 61, 18; kát voṭéma, I, 43, 1; ukýate, I, 114, 6; ávoṭāma námab asmai, I, 114, 11.—ádhi voṭata, bless us, VIII, 20, 26.—prá vivakmi, I praise, I, 167, 7; prá voṭanta, they told me of (Acc.), V, 52, 16; prá vāti, VII, 58, 6.

vákas, word, speech :

idám vákab, V, 54, 15; I, 114, 6.

vakasy, to murmur :

vakasyate, (of Soma), (148.)

vágra, thunderbolt :

vágram, I, 85, 9; VIII, 7, 22.

vágra-bāhu, holding the thunderbolt in his arms :

vágra-bāhub, I, 165, 8; vagra-bāho, II, 33, 3.

vágra-hasta, with the thunderbolt in their hands :

vágra-hastab, VIII, 7, 32.

vágrin, wielder of the thunderbolt :

vágrīne (Indra), VIII, 7, 10.

vat :

api-vātáyantab, welcoming, I, 165, 13¹; p. xix; api-vat, to

go near, to attend, Caus. the same, or, to bring near, (VII, 46, 3¹); api-vat in Zend, (202; 438.)

vatsá, the young :

vatsám, I, 38, 8; vatsāsab, calves, VII, 56, 16.

vad, to speak :

vadāmasi, I, 87, 5; brhát vadema, II, 33, 15; udyáte (opp. sas-yáte), V, 55, 8; vādān, they crack (the whips), I, 37, 3.—ákṭba vada, speak forth, I, 38, 13.—ā vadata, salute, I, 64, 9.—sám vadasva, speak with, (I, 165, 3²); I, 170, 5.

vadh, to strike, to slay :

vádhim, I, 165, 8¹; mā vadhīb, I, 170, 2¹; VII, 46, 4; I, 114, 7; 8; mó vadhīt, I, 38, 6; mā vadhishvana, V, 55, 9.

vádhar, weapon, bolt :

vádhab, II, 34, 9; VII, 56, 17.

vadha-snā, blow :

vadha-snaib, I, 165, 6¹.

van :

vanata, accept, VIII, 7, 9; see vat and su-apivāta.

vana, water :

(I, 64, 12².)

vāna, forest :

vānā, I, 64, 7; 88, 3¹; V, 57, 3; 60, 2; vānāni, V, 58, 6²; trees (lances), I, 171, 3¹.

vānaspāti, lord of the forest :

vānaspātiab, I, 166, 5; VIII, 20, 5; vānaspátin, I, 39, 5¹.

vanín, tree :

vanínab, I, 39, 3; VII, 56, 25.

vanín, worshipful :

vanínam, I, 64, 12².

vanushy :

vanushyatáb, of the plotter, VII, 56, 19.

vand, to worship :

vāndasva, I, 38, 15; V, 58, 2; VIII, 20, 14; 20; vāndamānam, greeting, II, 33, 12¹.

vanditrí, worshipper :

vanditāram, II, 34, 15.

vāndya, excellent :

vāndyāsab, I, 168, 2.

vandhúra, seat (on a chariot) :

vandhúreshu, I, 64, 9.

vap, to pull :

abhí vapanta, they plucked, VII,

- 56, 3¹. — ní vapantu, may they
mow down, II, 33, 11.
- vap, to sow :
vápanti marútab mīham, VIII, 7, 4.
- vápus, marvel :
vápúb, VI, 66, 1; vápushe, I, 64, 4².
- váptri, barber :
vápṭa-iva, (I, 166, 10⁴.)
- vayab-vrīdh, invigorating :
vayab-vrīdhāb, V, 54, 2.
- váyas, strength :
váyab, I, 37, 9¹; V, 55, 1; VII, 58,
3; VIII, 7, 35; 20, 13; revát
váyab, X, 77, 7; vayasā, II, 33, 6.
- váyasvat, consisting of food :
ráyab váyasvatab, V, 54, 13¹.
- vayā, germ, sprout, offspring :
vayām, I, 165, 15²; 166, 15; 167,
11; 168, 10; pp. xx; xxi; (207
seq.)
- vayā-vat, with offspring :
vayāvantam ksháyam, (208.)
- vayúna, way :
vayúneshu, II, 34, 4².
- vará, suitor :
varāb-iva, V, 60, 4; (II, 34, 1¹; V,
59, 3².)
- vára, delight :
várāya, VII, 59, 2.
- váram, adv., or, it may be :
I, 88, 2.
- varāhá, boar :
vrīshabhiḥ varāhaib, (140); (I, 88,
5².)—divāb varāhām arushām,
the red boar of the sky (Rudra),
I, 114, 5.
- varāhu, wild boar :
varāhūn, I, 88, 5².
- varivasy, to open :
varivasyāntab, VII, 56, 17.
- Várúna :
Aryaman, Mitra, and Varuna, (V,
54, 8¹); várúnab, VII, 56, 25;
VIII, 94, 5; I, 43, 3; 114, 11;
várúna, VII, 59, 1; várúnasya
páśāt, from the snare of Varuna,
VI, 74, 4; várúnam, I, 2, 7.
- várútha, protection :
várútham, II, 34, 14.
- vare-yú, wooing :
vare-yávab (máryāb), X, 78, 4¹.
- várkas, see samāná-varkas.
- várna, colour :
várnām, II, 34, 13.
- vartanī, road :
vartanīm, V, 61, 9.
- vartrí, one who stops :
ná vartā, VI, 66, 8.
- vartman, path :
vartmāni, I, 85, 3.
- várdhana, joy :
rudráya vārdhanam, I, 114, 6¹.
- várpas, design :
várpasā, I, 39, 1².
- várman-vat, mailed :
várman-vantab (yodhāb), X, 78, 3.
- várman, shield :
sárma várma kbardib, I, 114, 5.
- varshá, rain :
varshám, V, 58, 7.
- varshá-nirmig, clothed in rain :
varshá-nirnigab, V, 57, 4.
- várshishṭba, best, strongest :
várshishṭbayā, I, 88, 1²; várshish-
ṭhab, I, 37, 6; vrīshan, várshīyas,
várshishṭba, (144.)
- valkala, bark of trees :
(178.)
- vavrá, spring :
vavrásab, I, 168, 2².
- vas, to wish, to long for :
vajmi, II, 33, 13; usmási, I, 86, 10;
várāma, I, 165, 7²; urānti vām,
I, 2, 4; yāthā vāranti, as they
will it, VIII, 20, 17; vāvaśānāb,
the greedy, VII, 56, 10¹.
- vas, to clothe :
tāvishib with vas (I, 64, 7².)—
úrñāb vasata, they clothed them-
selves in wool, V, 52, 9².
- vas, Caus., to brighten :
vāsaya ushásab, I, 134, 3 (bis).
- vas, to dwell :
pravatsyam, prāvātsyam, p. xvii.
- vasavyā, wealth :
vasavyē, VII, 56, 21.
- Vásishṭba :
vásishṭbab, VII, 59, 3; the Vasish-
ṭbas are kapardinab, (I, 114, 1².)
- Vasu :
vasavab, II, 34, 9; V, 55, 8; VII,
56, 17; 20² (gods); 59, 8; X,
77, 6; śréshtab devānām vásub,
the best Vasu among the gods
(Rudra), I, 43, 5.
- vásu, kind :
vāsyasā hridā, VIII, 20, 18; vá-
syasī, V, 61, 6; (360.)
- vásu, wealth, treasure :
vāsu, V, 57, 3¹; VII, 59, 6; X, 77,
1; párvatatam vāsu, (V, 52, 11¹);
vāsvab, X, 77, 6; vāsūni, V, 61,

- 16; I, 134, 4; *vásūnām*, I, 170, 5; *vāsyab*, greater wealth, V, 55, 10.
- vasu-pati*, lord of treasures:
vasu-pate vásūnām, I, 170, 5.
- vasu-yā*, wishing for wealth:
vasu-yā, I, 165, 1.
- vāstu*, brightening up:
kshapāb vāstushu, at the brightening up of the night, i. e. in the morning, (I, 64, 8²).
- vastrī*, the lighter up:
kshapām vastā (Indra), (I, 64, 8²).
- vāstra*, garment:
bhadrā vāstrā, I, 134, 4.—(234);
vastrānta, the end of a garment, (I, 37, 6¹).
- vāsyas*, see *vāsu*.
- vah*, to draw, to carry, to drive:
vahati, I, 39, 6; VIII, 7, 28; *vāhate*, I, 167, 7; *vāhante*, V, 58, 1; 61, 11; *vāhadhve*, V, 60, 7; *vābave*, V, 56, 6 (bis); I, 134, 3 (bis).—*vāhadhve*, you bring, V, 53, 13; *śrīyam vahante*, VIII, 20, 7².—*yagñām ūhire*, they carried on the sacrifice, II, 34, 12²; (40); (V, 52, 15¹).—*vahatab ākṣba*, they carry hither, I, 165, 4.—*ā vahantu*, I, 85, 6; 134, 1; *ā vahanti*, VIII, 7, 35; *ā vahata*, VIII, 20, 23.—*parā vaha*, carry away, V, 61, 17.—*prā vāhadhve*, you come, X, 77, 6.
- vāhishṭba*, strongest:
vāhishṭbā, V, 56, 6; I, 134, 3.
- vāhni*:
 (37 seqq.)—*vāhni-bhiḥ*, with the swift Maruts, I, 6, 5¹; (37, 41, 43 seq.)—*vāhni* (for Pada *vāhniḥ*), the two horses, VIII, 94, 1¹; (39.)—*vāhni*, bright, luminous, (38 seq.); *vāhni-tama*, brightest, (38); ep. of Soma, (40); ep. of the Asvins and R̥bhus, (43); m., fire, light, Agni, (37 seq.); minister, priest, (38, 39, 40-43)—*vāhni*, fem.? (39 seq.)
- vā*, or . . .:
utā vā, I, 86, 3; V, 60, 6; *vā*, either (the second *vā* being left out), I, 86, 8.—*vā*, even, V, 52, 14.
- vā*, to blow:
ā vātu bheshaḡām, may he waft medicine, X, 186, 1.—*pra-vā*, *anu-vā*, (X, 77, 5²).
- vā*:
ā vivāse, I invite, VI, 66, 11; VII, 58, 5; *ā vivāseyam*, may I gain, II, 33, 6.
- vāghāt*, suppliant:
vāghātāb, I, 88, 6.
- vāḷ*, voice:
imām vāḷam, V, 54, 1; *vāḷā*, X, 77, 1.—*vāḷ*, *Vāḷ* (the voice of the thunder), I, 167, 3²; *vāḷam* (abhrīyām), I, 168, 8.
- vāga*, booty, wealth:
 (I, 2, 5¹); *vāgam*, I, 64, 13; VII, 56, 23; *vāge*, I, 43, 8; *vāgāb*, I, 167, 1¹; *vāgebhiḥ*, VII, 57, 5; (I, 2, 5¹).—*vāge*, fight, I, 85, 5.—*ārvantam vāgam*, a horse, his strength, i. e. a strong horse, V, 54, 14².
- vāga-peṣas*, glorious by booty:
vāga-peṣasam, II, 34, 6.
- vāga-yāt*, racing:
vāgayāt-bhiḥ, racing, V, 60, 1.—*vāgayāntāb*, (I, 167, 1¹).
- vāga-sāti*:
vāga-sātau, in battle, VI, 66, 8.—*vāga-sātibhiḥ*, with riches and booty, VIII, 20, 16.
- vāgin*, powerful; strong horse:
vāginam, I, 64, 6²; *vāgināb* (Gen.), I, 86, 3; VII, 56, 15; VIII, 20, 16; f. *vāgīni*, wealthy, strong, (I, 2, 5¹).—*vāgī arushāb*, red stallion, V, 56, 7; with *sāpti*, (I, 85, 1¹); *vāginam*, II, 34, 7; *vāgin*, the left horse, (I, 39, 6¹).
- vāgīni*, mare (?):
 (I, 2, 5¹); see *vāgin*.
- vāgīni-vat*, wealthy, liberal:
vāgebhiḥ vāgīni-vatī, (I, 2, 5¹).
- vāgīni-vasu*:
vāgīni-vasū, rich in booty, I, 2, 5¹.
- vānā*=*bāna*, arrow:
vānāb agyate, the arrow is shot, VIII, 20, 8¹.
- vānā*, voice:
vānām, I, 85, 10²; (II, 34, 1⁶).—*vānāb*, sacrificial music (?), (VIII, 20, 8¹).
- vāni*, speech:
vāni, I, 88, 6.
- vāta*, wind:
 (90); p. xxiii; *vātān*, I, 64, 5; V, 58, 7; *vātāsab nā sva-yūgab*,

- like self-harnessed winds, X, 78, 2; 3.—*vātasya*, the god Vāta, X, 168, 1; 2; *vātāya*, X, 168, 4; *vātaś*, X, 186, 1; *vāta*, X, 186, 2; 3.
- vāta*, going;
(90.)
- vāta-tvish*, blazing with the wind:
vāta-tvishab, V, 54, 3; 57, 4.
- vāta-svanas*, rushing like the wind:
vāta-svanasab, VII, 56, 3.
- vāmā*, wealth:
vāmām, V, 60, 7.
- vāyú*, wind:
p. xxiii; *vāyú-bhiś*, VIII, 7, 3; 4;
17.—*vāyúb*, the god Vāyu, I, 134, 3 (tris); *vāyo*, I, 2, 1 seqq.;
134, 1 seqq.
- vârkâryâ* (?) :
vârkâryâm devīm, sacred rite, I, 88, 4; (176; 178.)
- vârksha*, from the bark of trees:
(234.)
- vârya*, best:
vâryâni (bheshagâ), I, 114, 5.
- vâr*, to shout:
vâratī, V, 54, 2.
- vâśī*, dagger:
vâśībhiś, I, 37, 2; *vâśīb*, I, 88, 3¹;
vâśīshu, V, 53, 4; p. lxxxviii.
- vâśī-mat*, armed with daggers:
vâśī-mantaś, I, 87, 6; V, 57, 2.
- vâśrâ*, bull, f. cow:
vâśrâśab, *vâśrâś*, VIII, 7, 3; 7;
(I, 38, 8¹); *vâśrâś*, f., I, 37, 10; *vâśrâ-iva*, I, 38, 8¹; II, 34, 15.
- vī*, prep. . . .
vī, through, I, 39, 3; across, I, 168, 6; *vī vi-tarām*, II, 33, 2¹.
- vī*, m., bird:
vāyab arushāś, the red birds (of the Arvins), (26); *vāyab*, (I, 37, 9¹); *vāyab nā*, I, 85, 7; 87, 2; 88, 1; 166, 10; V, 59, 7; *vī-bhiś*, (the Maruts) with their birds, V, 53, 3².
- vī-akta*, resplendent:
vī-aktâś, VII, 56, 1.
- vī-ushri*, flashing forth (of the dawn), daybreak:
vī-ushrishu (*śarvatînām*), I, 171, 5; (*ushâśab*), II, 34, 12; (*pûrvâsu*), VIII, 20, 15; X, 77, 5; (I, 64, 8²).
- vi-rishri*, see *vy-rishri*.
- vī-oman*, sky:
vī-omani, V, 87, 9.
- vī-karshani*, active:
vī-karshanim, I, 64, 12.
- vī-ketas*, wise:
vi-ketasab, V, 54, 13.
- vi-gânivas*, sage:
vi-gânúshab, X, 77, 1.
- vinā*, to tear:
vi vinānti, they tear asunder, I, 39, 5.
- vī-tata*, see *tan*.
- vi-tarām*, far away:
II, 33, 2¹.
- vithurā*, broken:
vithurā-iva, I, 87, 3¹; (I, 37, 8¹);
vithurā-iva, like brittle things,
I, 168, 6¹.
- vithury*, to break:
vithuryāti, (the earth) breaks, X, 77, 4.
- vid*, to know (with Acc. and Gen.):
kâb veda, I, 170, 1; V, 53, 1; 61, 14; *vêda*, vidre, VII, 56, 2;
vidúb, I, 19, 3¹; 166, 7; V, 59, 7; *vidā*, you take notice of (Gen.), I, 86, 8¹; *vittât*, V, 60, 6; *vedab*, remember, I, 43, 9;
vidmā hí, we know quite well, I, 170, 3; VIII, 20, 3; *yáthā vidā*, V, 55, 2; *vidânâśab* (c. Gen.), X, 77, 6; *vididé*, I, 39, 4; *vidânab*, I, 165, 9; 10; *vidé hí*, VI, 66, 3.
- vidât-vasu*, giver of wealth:
vidât-vasum (Indra), I, 6, 6.
- vidátha*, assembly, sacrificial assembly, sacrifice:
vidátheshu, I, 64, 1²; 6; 85, 1; 166, 2; 7; 167, 6; VII, 57, 2; (276);
vidáthe, V, 59, 2¹; II, 33, 15.
- vidathyā*, eloquent:
vidathyā-iva, I, 167, 3².
- vidmán*, knowledge:
vidmānâ, V, 87, 2.
- vi-dyút*, lightning:
vi-dyút, I, 38, 8¹; 64, 9; *vi-dyútâ*, I, 86, 9; V, 54, 2; *vi-dyútâś*, I, 39, 9²; 64, 5; 168, 8; V, 52, 6; 54, 11; VII, 56, 13.
- vidyút-mahas*, brilliant with lightning:
vidyút-mahasab, V, 54, 3.
- vidyút-hasta*, holding lightnings in their hands:
vidyút-hastâś, VIII, 7, 25.

vidyūnmat, charged with lightning :
 vidyūnmat-bhīḥ, I, 88, 1.
 vidh, to sacrifice :
 vidhema havishā, X, 121, 1 to 9 ;
 168, 4 ; nāmasā vidhema te, I,
 114, 2 ; vidhatāb, of her servant,
 I, 167, 5.—vedhas from vidh,
 (VIII, 20, 17¹) ; vidatha, (350.)
 vi-dhartrī, ruler :
 vi-dhartā, VII, 56, 24.
 vi-dharman, rule :
 vi-dharmāne, VIII, 7, 5.
 vind, to find :
 āvindab, I, 6, 5 ; vidré, I, 87, 6 ;
 vidyāma, may we have, I, 165,
 15 ; 166, 15 ; 167, 11 ; 168, 10 ;
 171, 6.
 vip, to tremble :
 prā vepayanti, they make tremble,
 I, 39, 5 ; VIII, 7, 4.
 vī-pakshas, on each side :
 vī-pakshasā, I, 6, 2¹.
 vī-pathi, goer :
 vī-pathayaḥ, V, 52, 10.
 vipanyū, fond of praise :
 vipanyavaḥ, V, 61, 15.
 vī-pāka, full :
 vī-pākā, I, 168, 7.
 vipra, sage, poet :
 vipraḥ, VII, 58, 4 ; VIII, 7, 1 ; vipra,
 V, 58, 2 ; vipram, I, 86, 3 ; 165, 14 ;
 VIII, 7, 30 ; viprāya, V, 61, 9 ;
 viprasya, I, 85, 11 ; 86, 2 ; VII,
 56, 15 ; viprāsab, priests, X,
 78, 1.
 vi-bhāgā, distribution :
 vi-bhāgē, VII, 56, 21.
 vi-bhū, almighty :
 vi-bhū, I, 165, 10 ; vi-bhvāb, I,
 166, 11¹.
 vī-bhūti, power :
 vī-bhūtayaḥ, I, 166, 11¹.
 vibhva-tashrā, fashioned by Vibhvan :
 vibhva-tashrām, V, 58, 4¹.
 Vibhvan, one of the R̥bhus :
 (V, 58, 4¹).
 vi-bhvān, see bhū.
 vī-mahas, mighty :
 vī-mahasab, I, 86, 1¹ ; vī-mahasab,
 V, 87, 4¹.
 vi-māna, see mā.
 vi-mōtana, resting-place (of horses) :
 vi-mōtane, V, 53, 7.
 vi-rapsin, singer :
 vi-rapsinab, I, 64, 10¹ ; 87, 1 ;
 vi-rapsinab, I, 166, 8.

virūkmat, bright weapon :
 virūkmatab, I, 85, 3², 3.
 vi-rokin, bright, brilliant :
 vi-rokinab, (I, 85, 3²) ; V, 55, 3 ;
 X, 78, 3.
 vīvakshase, see vaksh.
 vivartana = nirgatya bhūmau vilu-
 ntbanam :
 (V, 53, 7²).
 vivāsvat :
 āditiḥ vivāsvān, (262.)
 vivās, see vā.
 viś, to enter :
 ā-vivēra, VI, 74, 2.—nī viśate, he
 rests, X, 168, 3.
 vīś, clan, tribe, people :
 vīt, VII, 56, 5 ; viśā, I, 39, 5 ;
 vīśab, I, 172, 3 ; I, 114, 3 ;
 viśām, I, 134, 6 ; vikshū, houses,
 VII, 56, 22 ; vīśab marūtām,
 the folk of the Maruts, V, 56, 1.
 viśpāti, king :
 viśpātiḥ, I, 37, 8¹.
 vīśva, all . . . :
 vīśve devāb, X, 121, 2 ; I, 19, 3² ;
 VIII, 94, 2 ; vīśve sa-gōshasab,
 all the united Maruts, I, 43, 3¹ ;
 vīśvā gātāni, X, 121, 10 ; vīśvā
 bhūvanāni, I, 64, 3 ; 85, 8 ;
 166, 4 ; II, 34, 4 ; vīśvāb kar-
 shazīb, I, 86, 5 ; vīśvam sādma
 pārthivam, I, 38, 10 ; vīśvā
 pārthivāni, VIII, 94, 9 ; vīśvā
 āhāni, I, 171, 3 ; vīśvam grāme
 asmīn, everything in this village,
 I, 114, 1 ; vīśvasya tāsya, of
 this all, V, 55, 8.
 vīśvā-āyu, everlasting :
 vīśvā-āyu, V, 53, 13.
 vīśvā-krishri, known to all men :
 (I, 64, 14¹).
 vīśvak, in all directions :
 vīśhūkīb, II, 33, 2 ; vīśhūkīm, VI,
 74, 2.
 vīśvā-kandra, all-brilliant :
 vīśvā-kandrāb, I, 165, 8.
 vīśvā-karshani, known to all men :
 vīśvā-karshanīm, I, 64, 14¹.
 vīśvā-ganyā :
 ep. of Aditi, (260.)
 vīśvā-dhāyas, satisfying all :
 vīśvā-dhāyasam, VIII, 7, 13.
 vīśva-plś, all-adorned :
 vīśva-plśab, VII, 57, 3 ; (I, 64, 8¹).
 vīśva-psu, perfect :
 vīśvā-psub (yagñāb), X, 77, 4.

visvá-bharas:

visvá-bharasam, (V, 54, 10¹.)

visvam, adv., everywhere:

X, 121, 7.

visvá-mānusha, known to all men:

(I, 64, 14¹.)

visvam-invá, enlivening everything:

visvam-invébhiḥ, V, 60, 8.

visvá-rūpa, manifold:

visvá-rūpāb (āngirasab), X, 78, 5¹;

visvá-rūpam (nishkām), variegated, II, 33, 10.

visvá-vedas:

visvá-vedasab, all-knowing, I, 64, 8; 10.—*visva-vedasab*, wealthy, V, 60, 7.

visvāhā, adv., always:

X, 78, 6.

Vishnu:

vishnub, I, 85, 7²; (133 seq.; 136 seq.); *vishnave*, V, 87, 1; (V, 87, 4¹); *vishnob*, V, 87, 8; *vishnob* eshāsya, the rapid Vishnu (Soma?), II, 34, 11¹; Soma (rain), VIII, 20, 3².—Vishnu and Trita, Vishnu's three steps, (II, 34, 10¹); Vishnu = Evayāmarut? (365.)

vishpāt, deliverer:

(I, 166, 8¹.)

vi-sārgana, scattering:

vi-sārgane, V, 59, 3.

visita-stuka, with dishevelled locks:

visita-stukā, I, 167, 5.

vi-stārā, straw:

vi-stārāb (read *vi-stārē*), V, 52, 10¹.

vi-sthā, kind, variety:

vi-sthāb, the gusts (of Vāta), X, 168, 2¹.

vi-spardhas, striving:

vi-spardhasab, V, 87, 4².

vihava, *vihavya*:

(I, 134, 6¹.)

vihūmat, invoking:

vihūmatinām, I, 134, 6¹.

vi-hruta, injured, crooked:

vi-hrutam, VIII, 20, 26; (I, 166, 8¹.)

vī, to stir up:

ā āvyata, I, 166, 4¹.

vī, to go:

āpa veti, it goes away, V, 61, 18.

vī, to enjoy:

vyantu, VII, 57, 6.

vīṭu, strong:

vīṭu, I, 39, 2.—*vīṭu*, n., stronghold, I, 6, 5².

vīṭu-pavī, strong-fellied:

vīṭupavī-bhiḥ, V, 58, 6; VIII, 20, 2¹.

vīṭu-pānī, strong-hoofed:

vīṭupānī-bhiḥ, I, 38, 11¹.

vītī, rejoicing, feast:

vītāye, V, 59, 8; VII, 57, 2; VIII, 20, 10; 16.

vīrá, hero, man:

vīráb, I, 85, 1; VI, 66, 10; X, 77, 3; *vīrásab*, V, 61, 4; *vīránab*, I, 114, 8; II, 33, 4; *vīráb* (Rudra), II, 33, 1¹; *vīráya*, V, 61, 5; *vīrásya*, I, 86, 4; (Indra), I, 166, 7.—*vīráb*, son, VII, 56, 24.

vīrá-vat, rich in men:

vīrá-vantam, I, 64, 15.

vīryā, strength:

vīryām, V, 54, 5.

vri, to keep back:

varanta, V, 55, 7; *vrata* from *vri*, *vrinoti*, (236); *vārayati*, to prohibit, (237).—āpa *avrinavata*, they have uncovered, II, 34, 1.—See *vartrī*, ā-*vrīta*.

vri, to choose, to desire:

vrine, VIII, 94, 8; *vrinīmahe*, I, 114, 9; *āvrinīta*, II, 33, 13.—ā *vrine*, VII, 59, 11; ā *vrinīmahe*, I, 39, 7; 114, 4; ā *vavridhvam* (better ā *vavridhvam*, see *vrīt*), (VIII, 20, 18².)

vrikā-tāti, among wolves:

II, 34, 9¹.

vriktā-barhis, for whom the sacred grass has been trimmed:

vrikta-barhishab, I, 38, 1²; VIII, 7, 20; 21; (I, 64, 1²; 165, 15²; 134, 6¹.)

vrikti, trimming (of the grass):

(I, 64, 1².)

vrikshā, tree:

vrikshām, V, 54, 6¹.

vrigāna, invigorating:

vrigānam, I, 165, 15²; 166, 15; 167, 11; 168, 10; 171, 6; p. xx.

vrigāna, n., enclosure, camp, hamlet:

(I, 165, 15²); *vrigāne*, I, 166, 14; *vrigāne nadīnām*, in the realm of the rivers, V, 52, 7; *vrigānā*, V, 54, 12; *vrigāneshu*, II, 34, 7²; (237.)

vriñg, to turn, to ward off, to clear :
(I, 165, 15³) ; *vriñgāse*, (I, 87, 6¹) ;
śirshā vavriḡub, *vavriktam*, to
turn back the heads, (269) ;
vavargūshinām, I, 134, 6¹.—
pāri vriñkta, spare, I, 172, 3 ;
pāri vrinaktu, VII, 46, 3 ; *pāri*
vriḡyāb, may it avoid, II, 33,
14².

vrit, to turn :

vartáyatha, I, 39, 3 ; *vartáyata*,
II, 34, 9 ; *ávartayat*, I, 85,
9.—*ānu ráthāb avrísata*, the
chariots followed, V, 55, 1
to 9.—*ā vavarta*, I, 165, 2 ;
ó vartta, I, 165, 14² ; p. xxi ;
ā vavridhvam (for *ā vavri-*
dhvam), VIII, 20, 18³ ; *abhi ā*
avart, VII, 59, 4 ; *ā vavrityām*,
let me bring hither, I, 168, 1 ;
VIII, 7, 33 ; *ā-vavártat*, II, 34,
14 ; *ā vavritana*, V, 61, 16.—
ví vavrite, it turns, I, 166, 9³ ;
ví vartante, they roll about, V,
53, 7².—*sám avartata*, there
arose, X, 121, 1 ; 7 ; (p. 4.)

vritta=versus :

p. xcv.

vritrá, *Vritra* :

*vritrá*m, I, 85, 9 ; 165, 8 ; VIII, 7,
23 ; *vritrá*m, enemy, VII, 58, 4.
vritra-túrya, struggle with *Vritra* :
vritra-túrye, VIII, 7, 24.

vriṭhā, freely, lightly :

I, 88, 6 ; 168, 4 ; wildly, V, 56,
4¹ ; quickly, VIII, 20, 10 ;
vriṭhā kri, to shake, (311.)

vriddhā, see *vridh*.

vriddhā-savas, endowed with full
power :

vriddhā-savasab, V, 87, 6.

vridh, to grow :

vavridhe, I, 37, 5 ; 167, 8³ ; *avar-*
dhanta, I, 85, 7¹ ; *vavridhánta*,
V, 52, 7 ; VI, 66, 2 ; *vavridhub*,
II, 34, 13¹ ; V, 59, 5 ; X, 77,
2 ; *vridhántam*, strong, VI, 66,
11 ; *vriddhāb*, grown, V, 60, 3 ;
vriddhāb, magnified, I, 38, 15² ;
vridhā, old, (I, 88, 1²) ; *vridhé*,
to grow, I, 85, 1⁴ ; *vridhāse*, (I,
87, 6¹) ; *vridham*, I, 167, 4² ;
vardha, strengthen, V, 56, 2 ;
vardháyanti, VII, 57, 7 ; *vár-*
dhān, VIII, 7, 19 ; *vavridhānāb*
asmān, prospering us, X, 78, 8 ;

ā vavridhub, V, 55, 3.—*pra-*
vridhā, thou who art grown
strong, I, 165, 9 ; p. xvii.—*ví*
vavridhub, V, 59, 6.—*sám va-*
vridhub, they have grown up
together, V, 60, 5.—*vridh* in
Zend, (I, 114, 6¹.)

vridhá, increasing :

vridhāsab sthā, I, 171, 2¹.

vriṣh, spargere, to rain down :

vriṣhiví, V, 53, 14¹ ; *varshayatha*,
V, 55, 5.—(139 ; 151 seq.)—*ā-*
vriṣh, to drink, (152.)

vriṣha-khādi, armed with strong
rings :

vriṣha-khādāyab, I, 64, 10².

vriṣhanarvá, with strong horses :

vriṣhanarvéna, VIII, 20, 10.

vriṣhat - aṅgi, strongly - anointed
(priests) :

vriṣhat-aṅgayab, VIII, 20, 9¹.

vriṣhan, strong, manly :

(138 seqq.) ; strong, powerful, (139
seq. ; 142 ; 149) ; (I, 64, 10³) ;
male, (139 seq.) ; man, husband,
(141 ; 144) ; *vriṣhanab paúmsye*,
(141) ; giver of rain, bounteous,
(141 seq.) ; fertilising, (142) ;
bull, horse, stallion, (25 seq. ;
139 ; 140) ; *arushāsab vriṣhanab*,
the red stallions, (26) ; *vriṣhnab*,
bulls, VIII, 20, 20 ; hero,
epitheton ornans, (142 seqq. ;
149 seqq.) ; applied to deities,
(145 seqq.) ; *arushāb vriṣhā*,
the red hero (Agni), fire in the
shape of lightning, (18 ; 25 ; 26) ;
name of Soma, (134 ; 136 ; 142 ;
146 seqq.) ; *vriṣhanam*, I, 85,
7² ; *vriṣhānam* with *ā*, (149) ;
N. pr. of a pious worshipper,
(152 seq.) ; Mahidhara, 'mind,'
(153) ; see *vārshishṭha*.—*vriṣha-*
nab, the strong Maruts, I, 165,
1 ; p. xiv ; VIII, 20, 12 ;
vriṣhanab, I, 85, 12² ; VII, 56,
18 ; 20 ; 21 ; 58, 6 ; II, 33, 13 ;
vriṣhnab, VIII, 7, 33 ; 20, 19 ;
vriṣhā ganāb, the manly host (of
the Maruts), I, 87, 4 ; *vriṣhne*
sárdhāya, I, 64, 1 ; VIII, 20, 9¹ ;
vriṣhanam mārutam ganām, I,
64, 12 ; VIII, 94, 12.—*vriṣhā*,
Rudra, II, 34, 2 ; Vishnu, V,
87, 5 ; *vriṣhne*, Indra, I, 165,
11.

- vr̥ṣha-nâbhi*, with strong naves :
vr̥ṣha-nâbhinâ, VIII, 20, 10.
vr̥ṣha-pâni :
 (I, 38, 11¹).
vr̥ṣha-prayâvan, strongly advancing:
vr̥ṣha-prayâvne, VIII, 20, 9.
vr̥ṣha-psu, with strong forms :
vr̥ṣha-psavaḥ, VIII, 20, 7; (VIII, 7,
 7¹); *vr̥ṣha-psunâ*, VIII, 20, 10.
vr̥ṣhabhâ, bull, manly hero :
 (139; 140); *vr̥ṣhabhâb* (*usr̥yab*),
 Dyū, the bull of the Dawn, V,
 58, 6²; Rudra, II, 33, 6; *vr̥ṣha-*
bha, II, 33, 4; 7; 15; *vr̥ṣha-*
bhâya, II, 33, 8; *vr̥ṣhabha*,
 Indra, I, 165, 7; 171, 5; *vr̥ṣha-*
bhâsya, I, 166, 1.
vr̥ṣha-manas, manly-minded :
vr̥ṣha-manâb, I, 167, 7.
vr̥ṣha-vrata, epithet of Soma :
 (I, 85, 4²).
vr̥ṣha-vrâta, the manly host :
vr̥ṣha-vrâtâsab, I, 85, 4².
vr̥ṣhî, shower, rain :
vr̥ṣhîb, I, 38, 8; *vr̥ṣhîm*, I, 39,
 9²; V, 55, 5¹; 58, 3; *vr̥ṣhî*, V,
 53, 5¹; *vr̥ṣhîrayab*, II, 34, 2¹; V,
 53, 2¹; 6; 10; *vr̥ṣhî-bhiḥ*, V,
 59, 5; VII, 56, 13¹; VIII, 7, 16.
vr̥ṣhni, manly :
vr̥ṣhni paūmsyam, manly work,
 VIII, 7, 23; *vr̥ṣhni śavab*, (V,
 58, 7¹).
vr̥ṣhnya :
 (V, 58, 7¹).
vr̥ṣi, to draw :
vī vr̥ṣhatam, draw far away, VI, 74,
 2.—Cf. *brih*.
vēdi, altar :
vēdim, I, 170, 4.
vedyā (?) :
vedyābhiḥ, clearly (?), I, 171, 1³.
vedhās, wise :
vedhāse, I, 64, 1; VII, 46, 1¹; *ve-*
dhāsab, V, 52, 13¹; *vedhasab*, V,
 54, 6.
vedhās, servant (worshipper) :
vedhāsab, VIII, 20, 17¹.
ven, to cherish :
venab, I, 43, 9.
vēnat, suppliant :
vēnatab, I, 86, 8.
vaī :
nā vaī u, never, II, 33, 9¹; 10.
vai, to wither :
 part. *vâta* and *vâna*, (90.)
Vaidat-arvi :
valdat-arviḥ yâthâ, like Vaidadarvi,
 V, 61, 10; (V, 61, 5²; 9¹; 360;
 362.)
vaiyavâ :
 not *vayyasva*, pp. liii, lvi.
vaīra-deya, weregild :
vaīra-deye, V, 61, 8¹.
Vaīsvânara, N. of Agni :
vaīsvânara, V, 60, 8.
vyath, to shake :
vyathate, V, 54, 7; *vithura* from
vyath, (I, 168, 6¹).
vyâthi, rolling :
vyâthib, V, 59, 2¹.
vyadh, to strike :
vidhyata, I, 86, 9.
vyâ :
 (I, 166, 4¹).
vyūha :
 p. lxxx.
vyr̥ṣhî (*âyudhavīṣha*) :
vyr̥ṣhîbhiḥ, (VII, 56, 13¹).
vragâ, stable :
vragé, I, 86, 3.—*vragâm*, strong-
 hold, VI, 66, 8.—*vragâb*, keeper,
 (228.)
vratâ, sway, &c. :
 (236 seqq.); what is enclosed, pro-
 tected, set apart, (236 seq.; 383
 seq.); *apâm vraté*, within the pale
 of the waters, (384); law, (237
 seq.; 384); *ānu vratām*, accord-
 ing to law, (238); *vratâ* (*dhârâ-*
yante), duties, VIII, 94, 2; sway,
 power, (239); *vratām*, I, 166,
 12²; *vraté tâva*, at thy command,
 under thy auspices, (239); sacri-
 fice, (238 seq.); deeds of the
 gods, (239.)
vrâta, troop :
vrâtam-vrâtam, each troop, V, 53,
 11.
śams, to recite, to praise :
śasyate, I, 86, 4; *śasyâte* (opp.
udyâte), V, 55, 8; *śasyânte*, VII,
 56, 23; *śamsamânâya*, var. l. for
śasamânâya, (I, 85, 12¹).—*â śams*,
 (271.)—*ût śamsa*, V, 52, 8.—*prâ*
śamsa, I, 37, 5.
śamsa, spell, blessing, curse; praise,
 prayer :
 (I, 166, 13¹; 271); *narām śamsab*,
 (Indra) praised by men, Mân-
 nerlob, II, 34, 6¹; (439.)—

- sámsam*, curse, VII, 56, 19;
sámsât, reproach, I, 166, 8.—
sámsâb, prayers, X, 78, 3.
sámsa, singer:
sámsam, I, 166, 13¹; (271.)
sámsya, glorious:
sámsyam, II, 34, 11.
sak, to be able:
sikvas from *sak*, (V, 52, 16¹).—
kathám saka, how could you,
 V, 61, 2.
sakrá, hero:
sakráb, I, 166, 1.
sana, hemp:
 (233.)
satá, hundred:
satám hímâb, I, 64, 14; V, 54, 15;
 II, 33, 2; *ékam-ekâ satâ*, each
 a hundred, V, 52, 17; *dhenûnâm*
satám, V, 61, 10; *satásya nri-*
nâm sriyam, the happiness of a
 hundred men, I, 43, 7.
satá-arkas:
satá-arkasam, may be *satá-rikasam*,
 p. lxxxv.
satá-avaya, consisting of a hundred
 sheep:
parûm satá-avayam, V, 61, 5.
satâbhugi, hundredfold:
satâbhugi-bhîb, I, 166, 8.
satasvin, winning a hundred:
satasvî, VII, 58, 4.
satín, hundredfold:
satínam, I, 64, 15; *satínab*, with
 hundredfold wealth, VII, 57, 7.
sátru, foe:
sátrub, I, 39, 4; *sátrob*, I, 165, 6.
sam, to work, to perform worship, to
 praise:
 (166); *sasamânâya*, I, 85, 12¹;
sasamânâsya, I, 86, 8.
sám, well, pleasant, sweet; health:
 (190 seqq.); I, 165, 4²; with *bhû*,
 (190 seqq.); VI, 74, 1; p. cxi;
 with *as*, (191 seqq.); I, 114, 1;
 with *asor bhû* understood, (192);
 with *kar, vah*, (192); I, 43, 6;
 with *pû, vâ*, &c., (192 seqq.);
sám yób, health and wealth,
 (193 seqq.); V, 53, 14; I, 114,
 2; II, 33, 13.
sâmî, deed:
sâmî, Loc., I, 87, 5²; *sâmî* and *sâmî*,
 (V, 87, 9¹).
sám-tama, most welcome, blissful:
sám-tamam (hridé), I, 43, 1; *sám-*
tamebhiḥ (bhesagébhiḥ), II, 33,
 2; *sám-tamâ (bhesagâ)*, II, 33,
 13.
sám-bhaviṣṭâb, most blissful:
sám-bhaviṣṭâb, I, 171, 3; *sám-*
bhaviṣṭâb, X, 77, 8.
sam-bhû, healthful:
sam-bhû, X, 186, 1.
sam-yób, for health and wealth:
 I, 43, 4³.
sara, reed, arrow:
 (398.)
sarâd, harvest:
sarât-bhîb, I, 86, 6.—*Sarad* =
 Ceres, p. xxiv.
sâru, shaft:
sârub, I, 172, 2.
sârdha, host:
sârdhas mârutas = *cerfo Martio*,
 p. xxv; *sârdham*, V, 53, 10; 56,
 9; *sârdham-sârdham*, V, 53,
 11; *sârdhâya*, I, 37, 4; 64, 1;
 V, 54, 1; 87, 1¹; VI, 66, 11;
 VIII, 20, 9; *sârdhasya*, VII,
 56, 8; *sârdhab*, see *sârdhas*;
 (67 seq.; 69).—*sârdhân ritâsya*,
 the companies of our sacrifice,
 VIII, 7, 21.—*sârdha*, strong, (68.)
sârdhas, might, host:
 (67; 68 seqq.); *sârdhab*, I, 37, 1¹;
 5; V, 52, 8¹; 54, 6; VII, 59,
 7; (V, 87, 1¹); *sârdhâmsi*, V,
 87, 7¹.
sârman, shelter, protection:
sârma, I, 85, 12; V, 55, 9; VII,
 59, 1; I, 114, 5; 10; *sârman*,
 VII, 56, 25.
sarya, made of reeds:
saryâ, f., an arrow, also a sacrificial
 vessel, (398.)
saryana, lands in Kurukshetra:
 (398.)
Saryanâ-vat, N. of a lake:
saryanâ-vati, VIII, 7, 29¹.—A
 sacrificial vessel, (VIII, 7, 29¹).
sârvara, dark:
sârvarîb, the dark cows (the
 clouds), V, 52, 3².
sâvas, strength:
sâvab, I, 37, 9; 39, 10; V, 58, 7¹;
 87, 2; 6; *sâvasâ*, I, 39, 8; 64,
 8; 9; 13; 167, 9; 171, 5²; VI,
 66, 6; VII, 57, 1¹; *sâvase*, V,
 87, 1¹; *sâvasab*, I, 167, 9; V,
 52, 2; *sâvâmsi*, VII, 56, 7.—
Savas, (251.)

śavishīṭha, most powerful :

śavishīṭha, I, 165, 7.

Śāṛīyāsī :

(V, 61, 5^a) ; (360 ; 362) ; see *śāsvat*.

śāsvat, all :

śāsvataḥ, V, 52, 2 ; *śāsvatām* ékam ft, VIII, 20, 13.—*śāsvatinām*, the eternal dawns, I, 171, 5.—*śāṛīyāsī*, compar., more frequent, V, 61, 6 ; (360.)

śākīn, hero :

śākīnab, V, 52, 17¹.

śāṇakshaumakīra, clothes of hemp or linen :

(234.)

śās :

ā *śāsate*, they call for me, I, 165, 4.

śikvas, wise, powerful :

śikvasaḥ, V, 52, 16¹ ; 54, 4.

śiksh for *śaksh* :

(V, 52, 16¹.)

śikhā :

(V, 52, 16¹.)

śipra-vat :

śipravān, (II, 34, 3^a.)

śiprā, helmet ; jaw :

śipre, jaws, (II, 34, 3^a ; I, 2, 3¹).—*śiprāḥ* (*hiraṇyāyib*), headbands, V, 54, 11 ; helmets, VIII, 7, 25.

śiprīn, helmeted or possessed of jaws :

(II, 34, 3^a.)

śimī-vat, vigorous, powerful :

śimī-vān, V, 56, 3 ; *śimī-vatām*, VIII, 20, 3 ; *śimī-vantaḥ*, X, 78, 3.

śivā, propitious :

śivābhiḥ (*ūtī-bhiḥ*), VIII, 20, 24.

śīsu, young one, calf :

śīve, II, 34, 8 ; *śīsavab*, VII, 56, 16.

śīṣṭa, child :

śīṣṭāḥ ná *kṛīṣyab*, X, 78, 6.

śībham, adv., fast :

I, 37, 14.

śīrshān, head :

śīrshān, VIII, 7, 25 ; *śīrshā-su*, V, 54, 11 ; 57, 6 ; *śīrshā vavṛiktam*, (269.)

sukrā, bright :

sukrāb-iva *sūryab*, I, 43, 5 ; *sukrām* (*ūdhāb*), VI, 66, 1 ; *sukré* (*ūdhani*), II, 34, 2^a ; *sukrásab*,

I, 134, 5 ; *sukrēbhiḥ* *hiraṇyab*, II, 33, 9.

suk, to shine :

sūkān, VI, 66, 2 ; *susukvāmsab*, V, 87, 6 ; *susukānāb*, brilliant, II, 34, 1 ; *sukatā*, II, 34, 12.

súki, bright, brilliant :

súkayab, I, 64, 2 ; VI, 66, 4 ; 11 ; VII, 57, 5 ; I, 134, 4 ; 5 ; *súki*, *súkinām*, *súkim*, *súki-bhyab*, *súkayab*, VII, 56, 12 ; *súkini*, pure, II, 33, 13.

súki-ganman, bright born :

súki-ganmānab, VII, 56, 12.

sundhyū, brilliant :

sundhyāvab, V, 52, 9.

subh, see *sumbh*.

śubh, splendour, beauty, glory :

subhā, I, 165, 1 ; p. xiii ; VII, 56, 6 ; *subhé*, I, 64, 4^a ; 88, 2 ; for triumph, I, 87, 3^a ; 167, 6 ; V, 52, 8 ; 57, 3 ; VII, 57, 3 ; *śubham yā*, to go in triumph, V, 55, 1 to 9 ; 57, 2 ; (VIII, 20, 7^a.)—*śubhab*, gems, V, 54, 11.

subham-yā :

(164) ; (I, 87, 4^a.)

subham-yāvan, triumphant :

subham-yāvā, V, 61, 13 ; (164 ; I, 87, 4^a.)

subham-yū, triumphant :

subham-yāvab, X, 78, 7 ; (164.)

subhrā, brilliant :

subhrāb, VII, 56, 8 ; *subhrāb*, I, 19, 5 ; 85, 3^a ; 167, 4 ; VII, 56, 16 ; VIII, 7, 25 ; 28.—*subhrāb*, VIII, 7, 2 ; 14.

subhra-khādi, armed with bright rings :

subhra-khādayab, VIII, 20, 4.

subhra-yāvan :

subhra-yāvānā, (164.)

sumbh, to shine ; to adorn :

subháyanta, VII, 56, 16 ; *sobhāse*, to be glorious, X, 77, 1 ; *subháyante*, they adorn themselves, I, 85, 3 ; *sūmbhamānāb*, I, 165, 5 ; VII, 56, 11 ; 59, 7 ; *subhānāb*, bright, I, 165, 3^a ; p. xv ; *subháyat-bhiḥ*, brilliant, V, 60, 8 ; (162.)—*prā sumbhante*, they glance forth, I, 85, 1.

susukvāni :

(I, 168, 1^a.)

susukvās and *susukānā*, see *suk*.

śúshma, breath, strength :

śúshmaḥ, I, 165, 4³; p. xv; breath, VII, 56, 8; *śúshmam*, I, 64, 14; 165, 1⁴; pp. xiii seq.; xxi; VIII, 7, 24; 20, 3; *śúshmāya*, power (blast), VIII, 7, 5; *śúshma* with *vrīṣhan* and *vrīṣabhā*, (140; 149.)

śushmin, strong :

śushmī, VII, 56, 24; *śushmīne*, I, 37, 4.

śūra, hero :

śūrāb, I, 64, 9; *śūrāb-iva*, I, 85, 8; V, 59, 5; *gānāsab śūrāb*, VII, 56, 22; *gigivāmsab ná śūrāb*, X, 78, 4.

śūśu-vās, always increasing :

śūśu-vāmsam, I, 64, 15; *śūśu-vāmsab*, strong, I, 167, 9.

śrīnga, horn :

śrīngam, V, 59, 3.

śridh, strong :

śārdhantam, V, 56, 1.

śé-vridh, conferring blessings :

śé-vridhab, V, 87, 4.

śo :

nī-śitāni, prepared, I, 171, 4.

śokās, blast of fire :

śokāb, I, 39, 1.

śōna, brown :

śōnā, I, 6, 2.

śobhās, see *jumbh*.

śōbhishībā, most splendid :

śōbhishībāb, VII, 56, 6.

śkut, to trickle :

śkótanti, I, 87, 2.

Syāvā :

syāvāya, V, 61, 9.

Syāvā-arva :

syāva-arva, V, 52, 1; (V, 61, 5²); (359 seq.)

Syāvārva-stuta, praised by *Syāvārva* :

syāvārva-stutāya, V, 61, 5².

syenā, hawk :

syenāb, VII, 56, 3; *syenāsab ná pakshīnab*, like winged hawks, VIII, 20, 10; *syenāsab*, X, 77, 5; *syenān-iva*, I, 165, 2; (175.)

srath :

srathayanta, they tire, V, 54, 10. —*srathayante*, they soften, V, 59, 1. —*śrathantu*, may they loose it (plural instead of dual), (258.)

srathary, to melt :

sratharyāti, X, 77, 4¹.

śrávas, glory :

śrávab, I, 165, 12; 171, 5; V, 52, 1²; I, 43, 7; *śrávāmsi*, V, 61, 11; *śrávase*, I, 134, 3.

śravasyú, eager for glory :

śravasyúb, VIII, 94, 1; *śravasyávab*, I, 85, 8. —*śravasyúm*, glorious, V, 56, 8.

śrāyá, going :

śrāyāb, V, 53, 4².

śrī :

āpa-sritab, retired, V, 61, 19. —*śrī-sriyānāb*, fastened, VII, 56, 13.

śriyāse, see *śrī*.

śrī, splendour, beauty, glory :

śrīb, V, 57, 6; *śriyā*, V, 61, 12²; VI, 66, 4; VII, 56, 6; *śriyā śrēshībab*, II, 33, 3; *śriyē*, I, 88, 3; V, 55, 3; VIII, 7, 25; X, 77, 2; *śriyē śrēyāmsab*, V, 60, 4²; *śriyāse*, I, 87, 6¹; V, 59, 3² (bis); *śriyāb*, I, 85, 2²; 166, 10; VIII, 20, 12; *śriyam váhante*, they bring with them beautiful light, VIII, 20, 7². —*śriyam*, happiness, I, 43, 7; *śriyē*, for happiness sake, I, 64, 12.

śru, to hear :

śrinve, I, 37, 3; *śrinóti*, I, 37, 13; *śrinutá*, I, 86, 2¹; *śróta*, V, 87, 8; 9; *śrudhī*, I, 2, 1; *śrinótu*, I, 114, 11; VII, 46, 1¹; *śurāva*, V, 53, 2; *śrinvire*, V, 87, 3; X, 168, 4; *śrinomi* (with two Acc.), I hear thou art —, II, 33, 4. —*ś śrot*, listened, I, 39, 6¹; *śroshantu ā*, I, 86, 5². — See *śróttri*.

śrutá, glorious :

śrutám, I, 6, 6; V, 52, 17; II, 33, 11; *śrutāsu*, V, 60, 2.

śrútya, glorious :

śrútyam, I, 165, 11.

śrushī, a hearing :

śrushīm, I, 166, 13.

śrushī-mát, to be obeyed :

śrushī-mántam, V, 54, 14³.

śréni, row :

śréniḥ, V, 59, 7¹.

śréyas :

śriyē śrēyāmsab, glorious for glory, V, 60, 4².

śrēshībā, best :

śrēshībab, I, 43, 5. — *śrēshībab śriyā*, the most beautiful in beauty, II, 33, 3.

śrēṣṭhība-tama, the very best :

śrēṣṭhība-tamāb, V, 61, 1.

śrōtri, listening to :

śrōtārab (yāma-hūtiṣhu), V, 61, 15.

ślōka, hymn :

ślōkam, I, 38, 14.

śvās, to-morrow :

śvāb, I, 167, 10 ; 170, 1.

svi, to flourish :

śrāvāma, I, 166, 14 ; see *śru-vās*.

svit, to shine :

vī svitan, X, 78, 7.

svityāñk, bright :

svitāñk, II, 33, 8.

sakrīt, once (only) :

VI, 66, 1.

sakthān, leg :

sakthāni, V, 61, 3.

sākhi, friend :

sākhā, I, 170, 3 ; X, 186, 2 ; *apām*

sākhā, X, 168, 3 ; *sākhye*

sākhāyab, I, 165, 11 ; *sākhāyab*,

V, 52, 2 ; *sākhāyab*, VIII, 20, 23 ;

sākhin ākkba sakhāyab, I, 165,

13 ; *sākhin*, V, 53, 16.

sakhi-tvā, friendship :

sakhi-tvé, VIII, 7, 31.

sakhyā, friendship :

sakhyāsa, V, 55, 9 ; X, 78, 8 ;

sakhyāya vrīdham, to grow their

friend, I, 167, 4.

sak, to follow :

sisakti, I, 38, 8 ; *sakādhyai*, I, 167, 5.

—*saketa*, may he remain united,

V, 52, 15. — *sākante dāksham*,

they assume strength, I, 134, 2.

sātā, with :

I, 167, 7 ; *sātā marūt-su*, among

the Maruts, V, 56, 8 ; 9 ; *sutē*

sātā, VII, 59, 3¹.

sa-gātyā, common birth :

sa-gātyēna, VIII, 20, 21.

sa-gūsh, endowed with :

sa-gūb, V, 60, 8.

sa-gōshas, friend :

sa-gōshasab, V, 57, 1 ; I, 43, 3¹ ;

sa-gōshasab, V, 54, 6 ; *sa-gōshāb*,

allied with, (263.)

sāt, hero :

(I, 165, 3².)

sāt-arva, with good horses :

sāt-arvab, V, 58, 4.

sāt-pati, lord of (brave) men :

sat-pate, I, 165, 3² ; *sāt-patim*, II,

33, 12.

satyā, true :

satyāb, I, 87, 4 ; 167, 7 ; *satyām*,

truly, I, 38, 7 ; VII, 56, 12 ;

tirāb satyāni, in spite of all

pledges, (VII, 59, 8¹.)

satyā-dharman, righteous :

satyā-dharmā, X, 121, 9.

satyā-javas, of true strength :

satya-javasab, I, 86, 8 ; 9 ; *satyā-*

javasam, V, 52, 8¹.

sātya-srut, truly listening :

sātya-srutab, V, 57, 8 ; 58, 8.

satrā, together :

V, 60, 4.

satrāk, common :

satrākīm, VII, 56, 18 ; *satrākab*,

together, X, 77, 4.

sātvan, giant :

sātvānab, I, 64, 2³.

sad, to sit down :

sīdan, I, 85, 7 ; *sattāb*, VII, 56,

18. — *sīdata ā*, sit down on (Acc.),

I, 85, 6 ; *ā sadata* (barhīb), VII,

57, 2 ; 59, 6. — *nī seda*, VII, 59,

7. — *pra-sattāb*, V, 60, 1.

sādana, seat :

pārthive sādane, (I, 38, 10¹) ; *ritā-*

sa sādanesu, sacred places, II,

34, 13².

sadanya, distinguished in the assem-

blies :

(276.)

sādām, always :

II, 34, 4 ; I, 114, 8.

sādas, seat :

sādab, I, 85, 2 ; 6 ; 7 ; V, 61, 2 ;

(V, 61, 3²) ; *sādasab*, V, 87, 4.

sādā, always :

VII, 56, 25 ; 57, 7 ; 58, 6 ; 46, 4 ;

VIII, 20, 22 ; 94, 3.

sādman, seat, place :

sādma (pārthivam), space (of the

earth), I, 38, 10¹ ; seat (of the

earth), V, 87, 7¹ ; *sādma*, altar,

(I, 38, 10¹.)

sadmán, m. :

sadmānam divyām, (I, 38, 10¹.)

sadyāb-ūti, quickly ready to help :

sadyab-ūtayab, V, 54, 15 ; *sadyāb-*

ūtayab, X, 78, 2.

sadyās, quickly :

sadyāb, V, 54, 10.

sadhā-stha, abode, council :

sadhā-sthe, V, 52, 7 ; 87, 3.

sadhriñinā, assembled :

sadhriñināb, I, 134, 2.

sadhryāk, together :

sadhryākab, V, 60, 3.

san, to gain :

sānat, V, 61, 5 ; sānitā, VII, 56, 23.

sanāt, always :

VII, 56, 5 ; X, 78, 8.

sā-nābhi, holding together :

sā-nābhayab, X, 78, 4.

sanī, luck :

sanīm, II, 34, 7⁸.

sā-nī/ā, dwelling in the same nest :

sā-nī/āb, I, 165, 1 ; VII, 56, 1 ; p. xiv.

sanutār, far :

V, 87, 8 ; X, 77, 6.

sānemi, entirely :

VII, 56, 9.

sap, to follow, to attend on, to worship :

(I, 85, 1¹.)

sapatnī :

(129.)

sapary, to serve :

saparyati, VIII, 7, 20.

saptā-gihva, seven-tongued :

saptā-gihvāb (vāhnayab), (39.)

saptā-tantu, having seven threads (the sacrifice) :

(253.)

saptān, seven :

saptā saptā jākīnab, the seven and seven heroes, V, 52, 17¹ ; saptā rātnā, the seven treasures, VI, 74, 1.

sāpti, horse, yoke-fellow :

sāptayab, I, 85, 1¹ ; 6 ; saptayab, VIII, 20, 23 ; sāpti, the middle horse, (I, 39, 6¹.)

sa-prāthas, wide-spreading :

sa-prāthab, VIII, 20, 13.

sapsarā, fed :

sapsarāsab, I, 168, 9.

sabab-dūgha, juice-yielding :

sabab-dūghā, I, 134, 4².

sā-bandhu, kinsman :

sā-bandhavab, V, 59, 5¹ ; VIII, 20, 21¹.

sabar, juice, milk, water :

(I, 134, 4².)

sa-bādh, companion :

sa-bādhab, I, 64, 8.

sā-bharas, toiling together :

sa-bharasab, V, 54, 10¹.

sabhā, assembly, court :

(276.)

sabhā-va¹, courtly :

sabhā-vatī, I, 167, 3².

sabhā-sahā, strong in the assembly : (276.)

sabhéya, courtly, polite :

(276.)

sām, prep., with . . . :

I, 64, 8 ; 167, 3.

samā, like, worth as much :

samāb (read samā?), V, 61, 8¹.

sāmāna, feast :

sāmanam nā yóshāb, X, 168, 2².

samānā, together :

I, 168, 1.

sa-manyú, pl., friends of one mind :

sa-manyavab, II, 34, 3 ; 5 ; 6 ;

VIII, 20, 1 ; 21 ; confidants (of Vishnu), V, 87, 8.

samáyā, at once :

I, 166, 9².

sam-āraṇa, battle :

sam-āraṇe, I, 170, 2.

sam-arāṇā, see *rī*.

sa-maryā, battle :

sa-maryé, I, 167, 10.

samaba, well :

V, 53, 15.

samānā, common, equal :

samānām, VI, 66, 1 ; VII, 57, 3 ;

VIII, 20, 11 ; samānāsmāt, V,

87, 4 ; samānébhiḥ, I, 165, 7 ;

fem. samānī, (I, 165, 1¹.)

samānā-varṇas, of equal splendour :

samānā-varṇasā, I, 6, 7.

samānyā, all equally :

I, 165, 1¹.

sām-ukshita, see *vaksh*.

samudrá, sea :

samudrām, X, 121, 4 ; (arṇavām),

I, 19, 7² ; 8 ; samudrāsyā, I, 167,

2 ; samudratāb, V, 55, 5 ; samu-

dréshu, VIII, 20, 25.—samudrá,

welkin, (58) ; confluvies, (61) ;

adj. watery, flowing, (61 seq.)

sām-riti :

(I, 64, 15¹.)

sām-okas, surrounded :

sām-okasab, I, 64, 10.

sam-karénya, see *abhisam-karénya*.

sam-drīś, sight :

sam-drīśi sthāna, you are to be

seen, V, 87, 6 ; sūryasya sam-

drīśab, from the sight of the

sun, II, 33, 1.

sām-mīla, united, endowed with :

sām-mīlāsab (c. Instr.), I, 64, 10 ;

- sám-mislâb (c. Loc.), I, 166, 11 ;
(c. Instr.), VII, 56, 6.
- sam-râg, king :
sam-râg, VII, 58, 4.
- sam-vârana, the hidden place :
sam-vâranyasya, X, 77, 6.
- sam-vâk, colloquium :
(I, 167, 3^a.)
- sám-hita, strong :
sám-hitam, I, 168, 6.
- sa-yûg, together with :
sa-yûk, X, 168, 2.
- sa-râtham, on the same chariot :
X, 168, 2.
- Sarâyû, the river S. :
sarâyub, V, 53, 9¹.
- sâras, lake :
sârâmsi trîni, VIII, 7, 10².
- Sarasvatî, the river :
(V, 52, 11¹.)
- sârga, drove :
sârgam (gâvâṇ), V, 56, 5.
- sârva, whole :
sârvayâ (viâ), I, 39, 5.
- sarvâ-tâti, salus :
sarvâ-tâtâ, in health and wealth,
(260.) — sarvâ - tâtâ, together,
VII, 57, 7.
- sâvana, libation :
sâvanâni, II, 34, 6 ; sâvane, in the
Soma offering, VII, 59, 7.
- sâ-vayas, of the same age :
sâ-vayasab, I, 165, 1.
- sâk, to cling :
sâkâta, I, 64, 12³.
- sas, to sleep :
gârâb â sasatîm-iva, as a lover
(wakes) a sleeping maid, I,
134, 3.
- sasahî, victorious :
sasahîb, I, 171, 6.
- sasrivâs, see sri.
- sasvâr, in secret :
VII, 59, 7¹.
- sasvârtâ, secretly :
VII, 58, 5.
- sah, to resist, to conquer :
sâhante (sâhâmsi sâhasâ), VI, 66,
9 ; sâhantî, VII, 56, 5 ; sâha-
mânâya, VII, 46, 1 ; sâhantab,
strong, V, 87, 5.
- sahâ, together with :
I, 38, 6 ; V, 53, 2 ; 14¹ ; sahô, VIII,
7, 32.
- sahâ, strong :
sahâb, VIII, 20, 20.
- sahab-dâ, giver of victory :
sahab-dâb, I, 171, 5.
- sâhas, strength :
sâhab, II, 34, 7 ; V, 57, 6 ; VIII,
20, 13 ; sâhâmsi sâhasâ sâhante,
VI, 66, 9 ; sâhab sâhasâ (for
Pada sâhasab) â namanti, VII,
56, 19¹.
- sahasâ-vat :
sahasâ-van, p. cxxii seq.
- sahâsra, thousand :
sahâsram, I, 167, 1 (tris) ; VII,
46, 3.
- sahâsra-bhrishri, thousand-edged :
sahâsra-bhrishrim, I, 85, 9.
- sahasrîn, thousandfold :
sahasrînam, I, 64, 15 ; V, 54, 13 ;
sahasrînab, I, 167, 1.—sahasrî,
winning a thousand, VII, 58, 4.
- sahasrîya, thousandfold :
sahasrîyâsab, I, 168, 2 ; sahasrîyam,
VII, 56, 14.
- sâhasvat, strong :
sâhasvat, aloud, I, 6, 8.
- sâhiyas, bravest :
sâhiyasab, I, 171, 6¹.
- sâhuri, strong :
sâhuri, VII, 58, 4.
- sâ-hûti, divided praise :
sâ-hûti, II, 33, 4.
- sahô, see sahâ.
- sâkâm, together :
I, 37, 2³ ; 64, 4 ; 166, 13 ; V, 55,
3 (bis) ; VI, 66, 2.
- sâkam-ûksh, growing up together :
sâkam-ûkshe, VII, 58, 1.
- sâlbri, victor :
sâlbâ, VII, 56, 23.
- sâtî, conquest :
sâtîb, I, 168, 7¹.—sâtîm, help, I,
6, 10.
- sâdh, to finish, to fulfil :
sâdhan, VI, 66, 7 ; sâdhantâ, I, 2, 7.
- sâdhâranî, belonging to all :
sâdhâranîyâ-iva, I, 167, 4¹.
- sâdhu-yâ, kindly :
I, 170, 2.
- sânu, ridge :
sânunab pári (divâb), V, 59, 7 ;
divâb sânu, V, 60, 3.
- sâman, song :
sâma-bhi, X, 78, 5.
- sâma-vipra, clever in song :
sâma-vipram, V, 54, 14.
- sâm-tapana, full of heat :
sâm-tapanâb, VII, 59, 9.

sām-rāgya, the being the universal ruler :

sām-rāgyena, VII, 46, 2¹.

sāyaka, arrow :

sāyakāni, II, 33, 10.

sāsahī, see sasahl.

simhā, lion :

simhāb-iva, I, 64, 8 ; vrīshā simhāb, (140.)

siñk, to pour out :

ásiñkan, I, 85, 11.

sīndhu, stream, river :

sīndhava, I, 168, 8 ; V, 53, 7 ; VIII, 7, 5 ; X, 78, 7 ; (X, 78, 6¹).—sīndhub, the Indus, V, 53, 9¹ ; the river, I, 114, 11 ; sīndhum, VIII, 20, 24¹ ; sīndhau, VIII, 20, 25

sīndhu-mātri, pl., the sons of Sindhu, N. of the Maruts :

sīndhu-mātara, X, 78, 6¹ ; (I, 85, 3¹ ; 168, 9¹) ; (307.)

śim, particle :

I, 37, 6 ; 9.

su, to press out, to pour out (Soma) :

suvāna, dissyllabic, p. cxxi ; suvānāb (indu-bhi), VIII, 7, 14 ; sunvatē, V, 60, 7 ; sunvatāb, I, 2, 6 ; sutāb, I, 86, 4 ; VIII, 94, 4 ; sutāb, I, 2, 4 ; 168, 3 ; sutānām sōmānām, I, 134, 6.—See also sutā.

sú, well :

I, 37, 14 ; 38, 6 ; V, 54, 15 ; VIII, 94, 3 ; X, 77, 4 ; VI, 74, 4 ; quickly, I, 165, 14 ; loud, VIII, 20, 19 ; greatly, VIII, 7, 18 ; ó sú, II, 34, 15 ; VII, 59, 5 ; VIII, 7, 33 ; mó sú, VII, 59, 5 ; sahó sú, VIII, 7, 32.

su-ák, fleet :

su-ákāb, VII, 56, 16.

su-ápas, clever :

su-ápāb, I, 85, 9 ; V, 60, 5.

su-apivāta, implored, desired :

su-apivāta (Rudra), freely accessible, VII, 46, 3¹ ; (I, 165, 13¹) ; see vat.

su-ápnas, wealthy :

su-ápnasab, X, 78, 1.

su-arká, resounding with beautiful songs :

su-arkāb, I, 88, 1¹.

su-ávas, gracious :

su-ávasam, V, 60, 1 ; su-ávān, svavadbhi, (I, 6, 3².)

su-árva, possessed of good horses :

su-árva, V, 57, 2 ; VII, 56, 1.

su-ādhi, full of devotion :

su-ādhyāb, X, 78, 1.

su-āyudhá, with good weapons :

su-āyudhāb, V, 57, 2 ; su-āyudhāsab, V, 87, 5² ; VII, 56, 11.

su-uktá, hymn :

su-ukténa, I, 171, 1 ; su-uktám, VII, 58, 6.

su-upāyana :

(VII, 46, 3¹.)

su-krít, good deeds :

su-kríte, I, 166, 12.

sú-kríta, well-made :

sú-krítam, I, 85, 9 ; sú-krítāb, I, 134, 2.

su-kshatrā, powerful :

su-kshatrāsab, I, 19, 5.

su-kshiti, dwelling in safety :

su-kshitāye, VII, 56, 24.

su-khá, easy :

su-khēshu (rátheshu), V, 60, 2.

su-khādi, armed with beautiful rings :

su-khādāye, (I, 64, 10²) ; V, 87, 1 ; su-khādāyab, I, 87, 6.

su-gá, flowing freely :

su-gāb, I, 165, 8.—su-gám, to a good end, V, 54, 6 ; su-gám, welfare, I, 43, 6.

su-gāndhi, sweet-scented :

sugāndhim, VII, 59, 12.

su-gopātama, having the best guardians :

su-gopātama, I, 86, 1¹.

su-kāndrá, bright :

su-kāndrá, II, 34, 13.

su-kētú, kindness :

su-kētúnā, I, 166, 6¹.

su-kētúna, gracious :

su-kētúnām (Soma), (I, 166, 6¹.)

sú-gāta, well-born :

sú-gātāya, V, 53, 12 ; sú-gātā, V, 56, 9 ; su-gātāsab ganúshā, V, 57, 5 ; 59, 6 ; VIII, 20, 8 ; su-gātāb, I, 88, 3 ; 166, 12 ; su-gātām, well-acquired, VII, 56, 21.

su-gihvá, soft-tongued :

su-gihvāb, I, 166, 11.

sutá, the pressed juice (of Soma), libation :

asya sutásya, VIII, 94, 6 ; suté sákā, VII, 59, 3¹ ; sutāsab, I, 165, 4 ; sutānām, I, 2, 5.

- su-tashṭa :
= vibhva-tashṭa ? (V, 58, 4¹.)
- sutā-soma, pouring out Soma :
sutā-somāb, I, 167, 6 ; sutā-some
rātha-vītau (Loc. abs.), V, 61, 18 ;
sutā-somāb, I, 2, 2.
- su-dāmsas, powerful :
su-dāmsasab, I, 85, 1.
- su-dānu, bounteous giver :
su-dānavab, I, 39, 10 ; 172, 1 ;
2 ; 3 ; VII, 59, 10 ; VIII, 7,
12¹ ; 19 ; 20 ; 20, 23 ; su-
dānavab, I, 64, 6¹ ; (113 seqq.) ;
1, 85, 10 ; II, 34, 8¹ ; V, 52, 5 ;
53, 6 ; 57, 5 ; VIII, 20, 18 ; X,
78, 5 ; su-dānub, generous sacri-
ficer, VI, 66, 5.
- su-dās, liberal giver :
su-dāse, V, 53, 2.
- su-dīna, always kind :
su-dīnā, V, 60, 5.
- su-ditī, flaming :
suditī-bhiḥ, VIII, 20, 2.
- su-dūgha, flowing with plenty :
su-dūghā, V, 60, 5.
- su-devā, beloved by the gods :
su-devāb, V, 53, 15.
- su-dravinas :
ep. of Aditi or Agni, (260.)
- su-dhānvan, carrying good bows :
su-dhānvānab, V, 57, 2.
- sū-dhita :
sūdhitā-iva, well-aimed, I, 166, 6⁶ ;
sū-dhitā, well grasped, I, 167,
3.
- su-nishkā, decked with beautiful
chains :
su-nishkāb, VII, 56, 11.
- su-nitī, good leader :
su-nitāyab, X, 78, 2.
- su-nritā, su-nritū :
(I, 134, 1².)
- su-plī, handsome :
su-plīab, I, 64, 8.
- su-putrā, having good sons :
su-putrā (Aditi), (254 ; 260.)
- su-péras, well-adorned, brilliant :
su-pérasam, II, 34, 13 ; su-pérasab,
V, 57, 4.
- su-praketā, brilliant hero :
su-praketébhiḥ, I, 171, 6.
- su-barhis, for whom we have pre-
pared good altars :
su-barhishab, VIII, 20, 25.
- su-bhāga, blessed, fortunate :
su-bhāgab, I, 86, 7 ; VIII, 20, 15 ;
su-bhāgā, V, 56, 9 ; su-bhagāsab,
V, 60, 6.
- su-bhāgā, blessed, happy :
su-bhāgab, I, 167, 7 ; su-bhāgān,
X, 78, 8.
- su-bhū, strong :
su-bhvāb, V, 55, 3 ; 59, 3 ; 87, 3 ;
su-bhvē, VI, 66, 3.
- sū-makha, joyful, powerful :
sū-makhāya, I, 64, 1 ; 165, 11 ; sū-
makhāsab, I, 85, 4 ; sū-makhāb,
V, 87, 7.
- su-matī, favour, goodwill ; prayer :
su-matīb, II, 34, 15 ; VII, 57, 4 ;
59, 4 ; I, 114, 9 ; (219 seq.) ; su-
matīm, I, 171, 1¹ ; 114, 3 ; 4 ;
sumatī-bhiḥ, VII, 57, 5.—su-ma-
tīm, prayer, I, 166, 6^{1a} ; (220
seq.)
- su-manasyāmāna, kind-hearted :
su-manasyāmānā, VI, 74, 4 ; (435.)
- su-mātrī, having a good mother :
su-mātārāb, X, 78, 6.
- su-māyā, mighty :
su-māyāb, I, 88, 1 ; su-māyāb, I,
167, 2.
- su-māruta :
su-mārutam gacām, the goodly host
of the Maruts, X, 77, 1⁴ ; 2.
- su-méka, firmly established :
su-méke, VI, 66, 6² ; VII, 56, 17.
- sumnā, favour :
sumnām, V, 53, 9 ; VIII, 7, 15 ; I,
43, 4 ; 114, 9 ; 10 ; II, 33, 1 ; 6 ;
sumnā, I, 38, 3¹ ; VIII, 20, 16 ;
sumnébhiḥ, VII, 56, 17 ; sum-
néshu, V, 53, 1.—(221.)
- sumna-yāt, wishing for favour :
sumna-yāntab, VIII, 7, 11.—sumna-
yān, well-disposed, I, 114, 3.
- su-yāma, well-broken (horses) :
su-yāmebhiḥ, V, 55, 1.
- su-rāna, delightful gift :
su-rānāni, V, 56, 8.
- su-rātna, rich :
su-rātnān, X, 78, 8.
- su-rātha, possessed of good chariots :
su-rāthāb, V, 57, 2.
- su-rātī, full of blessings :
su-rātāyab, X, 78, 3.
- suvitā, welfare, blessing :
suvitāya, I, 168, 1 ; V, 57, 1 ; 59,
1¹ ; 4 ; VIII, 7, 33 ; suvitā, I,
38, 3¹.
- su-vīra, with valiant offspring :
su-vīrab, V, 53, 15 ; 58, 4 ; su-vīram,

- I, 85, 12; V, 57, 7; X, 77, 7;
 su-vîrâ, VII, 56, 5; su-vîrâb, II,
 33, 15.
 su-vîrya, with plentiful offspring:
 su-vîryasya (râyâb), VII, 56, 15.
 su-vrîkti, pure offering, prayer:
 su-vrîktîm, I, 64, 12; suvrîktî-bhiḥ,
 I, 168, 1.
 su-vrîdh, well-grown:
 su-vrîdhab, V, 59, 5.
 su-jâmi, zealously:
 su-jâmi = su-jâmî (surâmyâ), V,
 87, 9¹.
 su-jârman, yielding the best pro-
 tection:
 su-jârmânab, X, 78, 2.
 su-jastî, praise:
 sujastî-bhiḥ, V, 53, 11.
 su-jîpra, with beautiful cheeks:
 su-jîprab (Rudra), II, 33, 5; (II,
 34, 3³).
 su-jûkvan, brilliant:
 su-jûkvânab, V, 87, 3.
 su-jéva, kind friend:
 su-jévau, VI, 74, 4.
 su-jâvab-tama, most glorious:
 su-jâvab-tamân, VIII, 20, 20.
 sú-samskrîta, well-fashioned:
 sú-samskrîtâb, I, 38, 12.
 sú-sadris, like one another:
 sú-sadrisab, V, 57, 4.
 su-sandris, beautiful to behold:
 su-sandrisab, X, 78, 1.
 Su-sôma, N. of a country:
 su-sôme, VIII, 7, 29¹.—su-sôma, a
 sacrificial vessel, (VIII, 7, 29¹).
 Su-somâ, N. of a river:
 (398 seq.).
 sú-stuta, highly praised:
 sú-stutâb, I, 166, 7.
 su-stutî, praise:
 su-stutîb, VII, 58, 6; su-stutîm,
 VII, 58, 3; II, 33, 8.
 su-stûbh, chanting beautifully:
 su-stûbbab, X, 78, 4.
 su-hâva, who readily hears our call:
 su-hâvab, II, 33, 5¹.
 su-hâstya, handy priest:
 su-hâstyab, I, 64, 1.
 sú, to bring forth:
 ásûta, I, 168, 9.
 sū, f., genetrix:
 svâm, Loc., (V, 58, 7¹).
 sūd:
 sūsūdatha, you lead rightly, V,
 54, 7.
 sūnú, son:
 sūnúm, I, 64, 12; 166, 2; VI, 66,
 11¹; sūnâvab, I, 37, 10¹; 85, 1;
 VIII, 20, 17.
 sūnrita:
 sūnritâ, glory, VII, 57, 6.—sūn-
 ritâ, dawn, I, 134, 1².
 sūra, sun:
 sūrab út-itab, X, 121, 6; sūrab,
 (V, 59, 3²); sūram, I, 86, 5²;
 see svâr.
 sūri, lord:
 sūrâvab, V, 52, 16; VIII, 94, 7;
 X, 78, 6; sūrîm, VII, 57, 7; sūrî-
 bhiḥ, V, 52, 15¹.
 sūrya, sun:
 sūrya, nâka, roṭanâ, (50); sūryab
 nâ, V, 54, 5; 59, 3²; X, 77, 3;
 I, 43, 5; sūryam, VIII, 7, 22;
 sūryasya-iva, V, 55, 3; 4; sūr-
 yasya lākshub, V, 59, 5; sūr-
 yasya sam-drîsab, II, 33, 1;
 sūryâya, VIII, 7, 8¹; sūrye út-
 ite, V, 54, 10; sūryâb-iva, I,
 64, 2.
 sūrya-tvaḥ, with sun-bright skin:
 sūrya-tvaḥab, VII, 59, 11.
 Sūryâ, Sūryâ (the Dawn):
 sūryâ-iva, I, 167, 5.
 sūryâmâsâ, sun and moon:
 VIII, 94, 2.
 sri, to run, to flow:
 sasrub, V, 53, 2¹; sasrûshîb, I, 86,
 5¹; sîsratab, V, 54, 10.—prâ sas-
 rub, they went forth, V, 53, 7.
 srig, to let loose, to send forth:
 srigâmi, I, 19, 9; srigata, I, 39,
 10; sriganti, VIII, 7, 8; asri-
 kshata, V, 52, 6; âsargi, I, 38,
 8.—âva-srîshrâ divâb, sent from
 heaven, VII, 46, 3.—vî sriganti,
 V, 53, 6.
 sripâ-dânu, possessed of flowing
 rain:
 sripâ-dânû, (115).
 sēnâ, army:
 sēnâb (of Rudra), II, 33, 11².
 senâ-nî, ep. of Rudra:
 (II, 33, 11²).
 so:
 âva syatam, tear away, VI, 74, 3.
 —See prâ-sita.—vi syanti, they
 rush forth, I, 85, 5.
 Sôbhari:
 (VIII, 20, 2²); sôbharînam, VIII,
 20, 8; sobhare, VIII, 20, 19.

Sobhari-yú, friend of the Sobharis :
sobhari-yávab, VIII, 20, 2².

sóma, Soma :

sóma² sutáb, I, 86, 4; VIII, 94, 4¹; soma, I, 43, 7; 8¹; 9 (bis); Soma and Rudra, (435); sómam, V, 60, 8; sómasya, I, 85, 10; 87, 5; 134, 1; asyá sómasya pitáye, VIII, 94, 10 to 12; só-mâb, X, 78, 2; I, 2, 1; sómâ-sab, I, 168, 3¹; sómânâm, I, 134, 6.—See *vrishan*.

soma-paribâdh :

soma-paribâdhab, read soma, pari-bâdhab, I, 43, 8¹.

sóma-píti, Soma-drinking :

sóma-pítaye, VIII, 94, 3; 9; I, 2, 3.

soma-píthá :

(I, 19, 1¹.)

somârudrâ, Soma and Rudra :

somârudrâ, 'au, VI, 74, 1 to 4.

somyá, of Soma :

somyám mádhu, I, 19, 9; somyé mádhau, VII, 59, 6.

saudhanvaná, Ríbhū :

saudhanvanásab, (I, 6, 4².)

saúbhaga, delight, happiness :

saúbhagam, V, 53, 13; saúbha-gâya, V, 60, 5; saúbhagâ, I, 38, 3.

sauravasá, glory :

sauravasáni, VI, 74, 2.

Sauhotra :

Purumí/ba Sauhotra, (362.)

skand, to spring :

áti skandanti, they spring over, V, 52, 3¹.

skambh :

prati-skâbhe, to withstand, I, 39, 2.

skambhá-deshna, whose gifts are firm :

skambhá-deshnâb, I, 166, 7.

stan, to thunder :

stanáyantam, I, 64, 6⁴; stanáyan, X, 168, 1.

stanáyat-ama, having thundering strength :

stanáyat-amâb, V, 54, 3.

stabh :

stabhitám, established, X, 121, 5; tastabhánê, standing firm, X, 121, 6.—vi rôdasî tastabhúb, they hold heaven and earth asunder, VIII, 94, 11.

stu, to praise :

stushé, V, 58, 1¹; VIII, 7, 32; astoshi, X, 77, 1; stuhi, V, 53, 3; stuhí, V, 53, 16; II, 33, 11; stuvaté, VIII, 7, 35; stuvatáb, V, 53, 16; stávânab, II, 33, 11; staunáb, not stavânab, (VI, 66, 5¹); stutáb, I, 171, 3; II, 33, 12; stutásya, VII, 56, 15; stutáb, V, 52, 14; stutásab, I, 171, 3; VII, 57, 6; 7; úpa stuhi, praise, VIII, 20, 14.

stubh, to rush :

stobhati (vab práti), ástobhayat, I, 88, 6¹; (178); to shout, (V, 52, 12¹); to praise, p. xcvi.—práti stobhanti, (streams) gush forth, I, 168, 8.

stubb, to stamp :

in tri-stúbh, (VIII, 7, 1¹); p. xcvi.

strí, star :

strí-bhiḥ, I, 87, 1¹; 166, 11; II, 34, 2.

stená, thief :

Sâyana, stauná = stena, (VI, 66, 5¹.)

stotri, praiser :

stotâ, I, 38, 4; stotrín, X, 78, 8; stotríbhyaḥ, II, 34, 7.

stotrá, praise :

stotrásya, V, 55, 9; X, 78, 8.

stobhagrantha :

(V, 52, 12¹.)

stóma, praise, hymn :

stóma, bráhmaṇ, ukthá, (I, 165, 4¹); stómaḥ, I, 165, 11; 15; 166, 15; 167, 11; 168, 10; 171, 2; stómam, V, 52, 4; 60, 1; 61, 17; VIII, 7, 9; stómân, I, 114, 9; stómaib, V, 56, 5¹; VIII, 7, 17; stómebhiḥ, VIII, 7, 21; II, 33, 5².

stóma-vâhas, offering hymns of praise :

(40.)

stauná, unkind (?) :

staunáb, VI, 66, 5¹.

strí, woman :

tvâ strí, V, 61, 6; (360.)

stryambikâ :

derivation of Tryambaka, (VII, 59, 12¹.)

sthávira, strong :

stháviraḥ, I, 171, 5.

sthâ, to stand :

tísh/bat, VIII, 20, 4; úrdhvâ tish/batu, I, 134, 1²; tasthau,

- I, 64, 9; V, 56, 8; VI, 66, 6.—
 prá āti tasthāu, he surpasses, I, 64, 13.—mā āpa sthāta, do not stay away, VIII, 20, 1¹.—mā āva sthāta, do not go away, V, 53, 8.—ā tasthūb, they stepped to (Acc.), I, 85, 7; V, 60, 2; ā rātheshu tasthūshab, V, 53, 2; ā asthāpayanta, they placed, I, 167, 6.—ūt tishība, arise, V, 56, 5.—pāri sthūb, they surrounded, I, 167, 9; pāri tasthūshab, standing around, I, 6, 1²; mā pāri sthāt, let not prevent, V, 53, 9.—vi tasthire, they have spread, VIII, 7, 8; 36.
 sthāb-raśman, with firm reins :
 sthāb-raśmānab, V, 87, 5.
 sthātū :
 sthātūb karātham, what stands and moves, pp. lxxii seqq.
 sthātri, charioteer :
 sthātārab, V, 87, 6.—sthāt-rīn, for sthātūb, p. lxxiii; sthātūb gāga-tab, p. lxxiv.
 sthirā, strong, firm :
 sthirām, I, 37, 9; 39, 3; 64, 15; sthirā (Rodasi), I, 167, 7; sthirā, I, 39, 2; VIII, 20, 1¹; 12; VII, 56, 7; II, 33, 14²; sthirāb, I, 38, 12; sthirāśya, V, 52, 2; sthirébhiḥ, II, 33, 9.
 sthirā-dhanvan, whose bow is strong :
 Rudra, (II, 33, 14²); sthirā-dhan-vane, VII, 46, 1.
 snū, ridge :
 snū-bhiḥ, V, 60, 7; 87, 4; ādhi snūnā divāb, VIII, 7, 7; cf. sānu.
 spāt, truly :
 V, 59, 1¹.
 spāras, help :
 spārase, VIII, 20, 8.
 spar, to bind :
 (I, 166, 8¹).
 spār, spy :
 spār, (V, 59, 1¹).
 spārḥā, brilliant :
 spārḥē, VII, 56, 21; spārḥābhiḥ, VII, 58, 3; spārḥāni, VII, 59, 6.
 spārḥā-vira, of excellent men :
 spārḥā-vīram, V, 54, 14.
 sprī, see spāras.
 spridh, to strive :
 aspridhran (c. Dat.), VI, 66, 11; VII, 56, 3.
 sprīdh, enemy :
 sprīdhāb, V, 55, 6.
 sma, particle :
 hī sma, smāsi sma, I, 37, 15; utā sma, V, 52, 8; 9; yush-mākam sma, V, 53, 5; ādha sma, V, 54, 6; VI, 66, 6; VII, 56, 22; ihā sma, V, 56, 7; nahi sma, VIII, 7, 21.
 smāt, together :
 V, 87, 8; VIII, 20, 18.
 smi, to smile :
 āva smayanta, they smiled upon (Loc.), I, 168, 8.
 syand, to haste :
 syannāb, V, 53, 7.
 syandana, carriage :
 (V, 87, 3²).
 syandrá, rushing :
 syandrāb, V, 52, 8; syandrāśab, V, 52, 3; the rushing chariots, V, 87, 3².
 srág, garland :
 srakshú, V, 53, 4.
 sridh, to fail, to miss :
 ná sredhati, V, 54, 7; āsredhantaḥ, VII, 59, 6.
 srīdh, enemy :
 srīdhāb, VIII, 94, 7.
 svā, one's own :
 svām, V, 58, 7¹; 59, 1; svām ókab, VII, 56, 24¹; svéna, I, 165, 8; svāyā (matyā), V, 58, 5; svāt, from his own place, V, 87, 4.
 svāb, see svār.
 svab-drīś, seeing the sun :
 svab-drīk, VII, 58, 2².
 svāb-nri, man of Svar :
 svab-narab, V, 54, 10.
 svāb-vat, heavenly, splendid :
 svāb-vatī, splendid, I, 168, 7; heavenly Aditi, (260.)
 svā-kshatra, strong :
 svā-kshatrebhiḥ, I, 165, 5¹.
 sva-gā, self-born :
 sva-gāb, I, 168, 2.
 svaṅg, to embrace :
 (235, note *.)
 svā-tavas, strong in themselves :
 svā-tavasab, (I, 64, 4⁴; 165, 5¹); I, 64, 7¹; 85, 7; 166, 2; 168, 2; sva-tavasab, VII, 59, 11; svā-tavase, VI, 66, 9; svata-vadbhiḥ, (I, 6, 3²).

- svadhâ, custom, *ṛθος*, *Sitte* :
(32 seqq.); svadhâ, I, 165, 6;
svadhâm ânu, according to their
wont, I, 6, 4²; 88, 6; 165, 5;
p. xv; VII, 56, 13; VIII, 20, 7;
(V, 54, 5¹).—svadhâyâ, by itself,
sponte suâ, 34 seq.; by them-
selves, I, 64, 4⁴; svadhâbhih,
themselves, V, 60, 4¹.
- svadhâ, food :
(35 seq.); svadhâm, I, 168, 9²;
svadhâ, sacrificial term, (36.)
- svadhâ-van, self-dependent :
svadhâ-vne, VII, 46, 1¹.
- svâdhiti, axe :
(I, 88, 2¹; 166, 6⁶); svâdhitiya, p.
cxvii.
- svâdhiti-vat, holding the axe :
svâdhiti-vân, I, 88, 2¹; (171.)
- svanâ, shouting :
svanâb, V, 87, 5; svanât, I, 38,
10; svanê, V, 60, 3.
- svap, to tear, to pull (?) :
(I, 166, 10⁴).
- svapî, beak :
sva-pûbhih, VII, 56, 3¹; (I, 166,
10⁴.)
- svâ-bhânu, self-luminous :
svâ-bhânava, I, 37, 2; V, 53, 4;
VIII, 20, 4; (I, 64, 4⁴); svâ-
bhânave, V, 54, 1.
- svâ-yata, self-guided :
svâ-yatâsab, I, 166, 4.
- svayâm, self :
(V, 60, 4¹); themselves, I, 87, 3;
VII, 56, 11; yourselves, V, 55,
2; 87, 2.
- svâ-yaras, famous :
svâ-yarasab, X, 77, 5.
- svâ-yukta, of one's own accord :
svâ-yuktâb, I, 168, 4.
- sva-yûg, self-harnessed :
sva-yûgab (vâtâsab), X, 78, 2;
(I, 168, 5¹).
- svâr, ether :
svâb, X, 121, 5²; light, I, 168, 2¹;
sky, V, 54, 15; sūrab, of the
sun, VIII, 7, 36.
- sva-râg, sovereign :
sva-râgab, V, 58, 1; sva-râgab,
of the lord (Soma), VIII, 94,
4¹.
- svâritri, singer :
svâritârab, I, 166, 11.
- svâ-rokis, self-luminous :
svâ-rokishab, V, 87, 5.
- svarga, heaven :
(X, 121, 5²).
- svaryâ, heavenly :
ârmânam svaryâm, V, 56, 4².
- svavas, see su-âvas.
- svâ-vidyut, with their own lightning :
svâ-vidyutab, V, 87, 3.
- svâ-vrikti :
(I, 64, 1²).
- svâ-rokis, self-shining :
svâ-rokib (Rodasî), VI, 66, 6.
- svâsara, nest, fold :
svâsarâni, II, 34, 5; svâsareshu,
II, 34, 8.
- sva-srî, going, moving by them-
selves :
sva-srî, I, 87, 4; sva-srîtab, (I,
64, 4⁴; 7¹); I, 64, 11.
- svastî, favour :
svastî-bhih, V, 53, 14; VII, 56,
25; 57, 7; 58, 6; 46, 4; svastî,
happily, II, 33, 3.
- svâdû, sweet :
svâdôb svâdiya, sweeter than
sweet, I, 114, 6.
- svânâ, rattling :
svânêbhih, VIII, 7, 17.
- svânin, noisy, turbulent :
svâninam, (I, 64, 12²).
- svâhâ, hail to you !
VII, 59, 6.
- svit :
kvâ svit, I, 168, 6; X, 168, 3.
- svri, to sound, to roar :
svrânti, V, 54, 2; 12; âsvaran,
V, 54, 8; sasvâb, I, 88, 5.
- svêda, sweat :
svêdasya, I, 86, 8; varshâm
svêdam âkrîre, they have
changed their sweat into rain,
V, 58, 7.
- ha, particle :
yât ha, I, 37, 12; 13; 39, 3; 85, 7;
87, 3; 88, 5; VIII, 7, 11; 21;
I, 134, 2; kât ha nûnâm, I, 38,
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kâb ha, V, 59, 4; yûyâm ha, V,
59, 4.
- hamsâ, swan :
hamsâsab, II, 34, 5; VII, 59, 7.
- han, to kill, to strike :
hanti, VII, 58, 4; hantana, VII,
59, 8; hâmsi, II, 33, 15; âhan,
I, 85, 9; hanyate, V, 54, 7;
gaṅghananta, I, 88, 2; gighâm-

- sasi, I, 170, 2.—abhí gíghāmsati, he tries to hurt us, VII, 59, 8.—
 áva hantana, strike down, II, 34, 9.—út gighnante, they stir up, I, 64, 11.—pārā hathá, you overthrow, I, 39, 3; pārā-hatā, staggering, V, 56, 3.—sám hánanta, they fight together for (Loc.), VII, 56, 22.
- hānu, jaw :**
 hānvā-iva, I, 168, 5¹.
- hānman, bolt :**
 hānmanā, VII, 59, 8¹.
- hayé, hark !**
 V, 57, 8; 58, 8.
- hári, bay :**
 hári, the two bays (of Indra), I, 6, 2; 165, 4; hári vríshanā, the bay stallions, (139); sāpti hári, (I, 85, 1¹); hári (of the Maruts), V, 56, 6.—hári with synizesis, p. cxxiii.
- hari-vat, with bay-horses :**
 hari-vaś, I, 165, 3; 167, 1.
- hári-sipra, golden-jawed (or -helmeted) :**
 (II, 34, 3².)
- harmura :**
 (217, note b.)
- harmyá, fire-pit, hearth, house :**
 (218 seqq.)—harmyá, living in houses, I, 166, 4⁴.
- harmye-sthá :**
 harmye-stháś, standing by the hearth, (217); VII, 56, 16.
- hary, to be pleased with (Acc.) :**
 haryata, V, 54, 15.—práti haryate, it is acceptable, V, 57, 1; práti haryanti, they yearn for me, I, 165, 4.
- haryatá, delicious :**
 (147 seq.)
- háva, call :**
 hávam, I, 86, 2; V, 87, 8; 9; VIII, 7, 9; I, 114, 11; I, 2, 1.
- hávana, invocation :**
 hāvanāni, V, 56, 2.
- havana-śrút, mindful of invocations :**
 havana-śrút, II, 33, 15².
- havás, call, prayer :**
 havásā, I, 64, 12¹; VI, 66, 11.
- haviś-kṛt, sacrificer :**
 haviś-kṛtām, I, 166, 2.
- haviśmat, carrying oblations :**
 haviśmān, I, 167, 6; haviśmantab, X, 77, 1; I, 114, 8.
- havís, sacrifice :**
 haviś, VII, 59, 9; I, 114, 3; haviśhā, X, 121, 1 to 9; I, 166, 3; X, 168, 4; haviśhab, V, 60, 6; haviśshi, I, 170, 5; VII, 57, 6; haviś-bhiś, II, 33, 5.
- hávīman, invocation :**
 hávīman, VII, 56, 15; hávīma-bhiś, II, 33, 5.
- hávya, called to assist :**
 hávyaś, VIII, 20, 20¹.
- havyá, offering, libation :**
 havyá, I, 171, 4; VII, 56, 12; 59, 5; VIII, 20, 9; 10; 16.
- havyá-dāti, offering :**
 havyá-dātim, V, 55, 10.
- has, to laugh :**
 gaśh from has, (284.)
- hásta, hand :**
 hástab (bheshagáb gálāshab), II, 33, 7¹; háste bībhrat bheshagá, I, 114, 5; hástayab, I, 38, 1; hásteshu, I, 37, 3; 168, 3.
- hastín, elephant :**
 hastínab, I, 64, 7².
- hā, to flee :**
 gñhita, I, 37, 7¹; dyaúb gñhite bríhát, the sky makes wide room, VIII, 20, 6.—ápa ahā-sata, út ahā-sata, (VIII, 7, 2¹).—ní gihate, they bend down, V, 57, 3; 60, 2; VIII, 7, 34; ní ahā-sata, they have gone down, VIII, 7, 2¹.—prá gihite, flies out of your way, I, 166, 5².
- hā, to forsake, to leave behind :**
 ágahātana, VIII, 7, 31; hitvá, V, 53, 14.
- hāridra, yellow :**
 (232.)
- hí, indeed, truly, for . . . :**
 áit hí, VII, 59, 7; hí kam, VII, 59, 5; vidmá hí, I, 170, 3; VIII, 20, 3.
- hi, to prepare :**
 hinomi, VII, 56, 12.
- hims, to hurt :**
 má nab himsít, X, 121, 9.
- hitá, friend :**
 hitáb-iva, I, 166, 3; hitá, kind, = sú-dhita, (225.)
- hinv, to rouse :**
 hinvantu, II, 34, 12.
- himávat, the snowy mountain :**
 himávantaś, X, 121, 4; (p. 4.)
- hímā, winter :**
 satām hímāś, during a hundred

- winters, I, 64, 14; V, 54, 15; II, 33, 2.
- híraṇya*, gold:
- híraṇyam-iva*, I, 43, 5; *híraṇyaib*, with golden ornaments, V, 60, 4; II, 33, 9.
- Hiranya-garbhá*, the Golden Child: *híraṇya-garbháb*, X, 121, 1¹; (p. 3 seq.; 6.)
- híraṇya-akra*, on golden wheels: *híraṇya-akrân*, I, 88, 5.
- híraṇya-nirṇig*, gold-adorned: *híraṇya-nirṇik*, I, 167, 3.
- híraṇya-pāni*, golden-hoofed: *híraṇyapāni-bhiḥ*, VIII, 7, 27; (I, 38, 11¹.)
- híraṇyāya*, golden:
- híraṇyāyebhiḥ*, I, 64, 11; *híraṇyāyam* (*vāgram*), I, 85, 9; *híraṇyāyib*, V, 54, 11; VIII, 7, 25; *híraṇyāyān* (*ātkān*), V, 55, 6; *híraṇyāyāb*, golden-coloured, V, 87, 5; *híraṇyāyāsab*, golden (chariots), VI, 66, 2¹; *híraṇyāye kōse*, VIII, 20, 8¹.
- híraṇya-ratha*, on golden chariots: *híraṇya-rathāb*, V, 57, 1.
- híraṇya-varṇa*, golden-coloured: *híraṇya-varṇān*, II, 34, 11.
- híraṇya-vāsi*, armed with golden daggers: *híraṇya-vāsiḥ*, VIII, 7, 32.
- híraṇya-sipra*, golden-jawed: *híraṇya-siprāb*, II, 34, 3².
- híri-sipra*, golden-jawed (or -helmeted): (II, 34, 3².)
- hīd*, to hate: *gihīriré*, VII, 58, 5; *hīritāsya*, furious, VII, 46, 4.
- hu*, to sacrifice: *guhūmāb* (c. Gen.), X, 121, 10; *guhavāma te haviḥ*, I, 114, 3.
- hri*, to be angry: *yāthā ná hriṇishé*, II, 33, 15.
- hriḍ*, heart:
- hriḍā*, I, 171, 2; V, 56, 2; *vās-yasā hriḍā*, VIII, 20, 18; *hriḍé*, I, 43, 1; X, 186, 1; *hrit-sú*, I, 168, 3.
- hēlas*, anger: *hēlab*, I, 171, 1; 114, 4.
- hetī*, weapon: *hetīb*, II, 33, 14; *hetāyab*, pp. xlviii; 1.
- hōtri*, caller: *hōtrishu*, VIII, 20, 20¹.
- hōtri*, the *Hotri* priest: *hōtā*, VII, 56, 18; VIII, 94, 6¹; *pāṭka hōtrīn*, II, 34, 14; *hōtrishu*, (VIII, 20, 20¹.)
- hrāduni-vrīt*, whirling the hail: *hrāduni-vrītab*, V, 54, 3.
- hru*, to injure: *vi hruvāti*, he can injure, I, 166, 12; (I, 166, 8¹.)
- hvri*, or *hvar*, to overthrow: *guhuranta*, I, 43, 8; *hru* and *hvar*, (I, 166, 8¹.)
- hve*, to call, to invoke: *havāmahe*, II, 34, 11; VIII, 7, 6; 11; I, 114, 8; *hvae*, V, 56, 5; *huve*, VIII, 94, 10 to 12; I, 2, 7; *havate*, VII, 56, 18; *hāvate*, he is invoked (?), II, 33, 5¹; *vīpram hāvamānam*, VIII, 7, 30.—*ānu hvaya*, call after, V, 53, 16.—*āva hvaye*, I call down, V, 56, 1.—*ā huvāmahe*, we call towards us, V, 56, 8; *ā huve*, V, 56, 9; VII, 56, 10; *ā gohavitī*, he calls again and again, VII, 56, 18.—*nī hvayāmahe*, we call down, I, 114, 4; 5.—*prā hūyase*, thou art called forth, I, 19, 1.

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III.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS ON THE RIG-VEDA.

I have often stated how much I was indebted to the labours of others in all I have endeavoured to do for the Veda. I have to make the same acknowledgment once more. Many indeed of those with whom I once worked side by side have ceased from their labours, but the gaps which death has caused have been filled by many young and equally valiant soldiers. I am almost afraid to mention names, lest I should seem forgetful of some by whose labours I have benefitted. The elaborate publications of M. Bergaigne occupy a prominent place, and seem to me to have hardly received the credit which they deserve. Scholars are too apt to forget that we may differ from the results arrived at by our colleagues, and yet admire their industry, their acumen, their genius. Professor Ludwig has continued his work, undismayed by the unjust and unseemly attacks of his rivals. Professor Oldenberg's contributions, *Das altindische Âkhyâna*, 1883; *Ṛigveda-Saṃhitâ und Sâmavedârcika*, 1884; *Die Adhyâyatheilung des Ṛigveda*, 1887, and lastly, the *Prolegomena* to his *Hymnen des Ṛigveda*, 1888, have opened new and important fields of critical investigation. Different views have been ably represented by Pischel and Geldner in their *Vedische Studien*.

Professor Avery's *Contributions to the History of Verb-Inflection in Sanskrit* (1875), Professor Lanman's *Statistical Account of Noun-inflection in the Veda* (1877), are indispensable helps to every student of the Veda. Professor Delbrück's *Syntaktische Forschungen* (1871-1879) und *Das Altindische Verbum* (1874) marked a decided advance in critical scholar-

ship. Almost every case of the noun in the Veda has found its special investigator, the Dative in Delbrück (1867), the Genitive in Siecke (1869), the Vocative in Benfey (1872), the Instrumental in Wenzel (1879), the Accusative in Gaedicke (1880). The nominal suffixes have been treated by Bruno Lindner in his *Altindische Nominalbildung* (1878); the suffixes of the Infinitive by Professor Ludwig (1871) and Professor Wilhelm (1870 and 1873). Geldner and Professor Kaegi have given a popular and useful account of the results of Vedic studies in *Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda* (1875), and *Der Rigveda* (1881).

The following is a list of the more important publications on the Rig-veda which have proved useful to myself and will prove useful to others. This list does not pretend to be complete, but even in its incomplete form, I hope that it may be serviceable to students of the Rig-veda.

The following abbreviations have been used :—

Bezz. Beitr. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von A. Bezzenberger.

Festgruss an Böhtlingk = Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk zum Doctor-Jubiläum von seinen Freunden. Stuttgart, 1888.

Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

KZ. = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Rev. hist. rel. = Revue de l'histoire des religions, publiée by M. Jean Reville. Paris.

ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 123, line 6 from below, *read* visvá-mânusha *for* visvá-manusha

- „ 138, „ 19, *read* samsamânâya *for* samsa°
- „ 138, „ 20, *read* samsanam *for* samsanam
- „ 173, „ 4 from below, *read* ârâ *for* âra
- „ 278, „ 17 seq., *read* of Indra *for* of the Maruts
- „ 315, „ 8, *read* gaṅganâ- *for* gañganâ-

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

| CONSONANTS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. | |
|--|----------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|
| | I Class. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | | | क | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | k | |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | | | ख | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | kh | |
| 3 Media | g | | | ग | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | | |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | | | घ | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | | |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | | | | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | | |
| 6 Nasalis | h (ng) | | | ङ | { 𐬚 (ng) } 𐬛 (N) | | | | | | |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | | | ह | 𐬜 (h) | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | h, hs | |
| 8 " lenis | ' | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 " asper faucalis | "h | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | "h | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 " asper fricatus | | 'h | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | | 'h | | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | | k | | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | k | |
| 14 " aspirata | | kh | | 𐬞 | | | | | | kh | |
| 15 Media | | g | | 𐬟 | | | | | | | |
| 16 " aspirata | | gh | | 𐬠 | | | | | | | |
| 17 " Nasalis | | h | | 𐬡 | | | | | | | |

| CONSONANTS (continued). | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlevi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------------------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | . . . | . . . | य | 𐬨 ^{init.} 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨 | ي | ي | י | y |
| 19 Spiritus asper | . . . | (y) | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 20 " lenis | . . . | (y) | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 21 " asper assibilatus | . . . | s | . . . | श | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | ش | ش | ש | . . . |
| 22 " lenis assibilatus | . . . | z | . . . | . . . | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | z |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | . . . | . . . | त | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | ת | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | . . . | . . . | थ | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | ת | th |
| 25 " assibilata | . . . | . . . | TH | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 26 Media | d | . . . | . . . | द | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 27 " aspirata | dh | . . . | . . . | ध | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 28 " assibilata | . . . | . . . | DH | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 29 Nasalis | n | . . . | . . . | न | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | נ | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | . . . | . . . | ल | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | ל | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | . . . | l | . . . | . . . | . . . | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 32 " mollis 2 | . . . | . . . | L | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | . . . | s (ʃ) | स | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | ש | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 35 " lenis | z | . . . | z (ʒ) | . . . | . . . | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | ז | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | . . . | . . . | z (ʒ) | . . . | . . . | 𐬨𐬨𐬨 | . . . | . . . | . . . | zh |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | . . . | . . . | z (ʒ) | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|--|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | | II Class. | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | o | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | ë | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3 " labialis | ö | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 " longa | ä | | (a) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 7 " longa | ï | | (é) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | ä | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 9 " longa | ä | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ri | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 11 " longa | rï | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 13 " longa | û | | (u) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 15 " longa | ê (ai) | | (e) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | äi | | (ai) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 17 " " | ei (êi) | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 18 " " | oi (öu) | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 19 Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 20 " longa | ô (au) | | (o) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | äu | | (au) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 22 " " | eu (äu) | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 23 " " | ou (öu) | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 24 Gutturalis fracta | ä | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | ï | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 26 Labialis fracta | û | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 27 Gutturo-labialis fracta | ö | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

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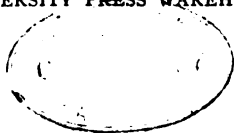
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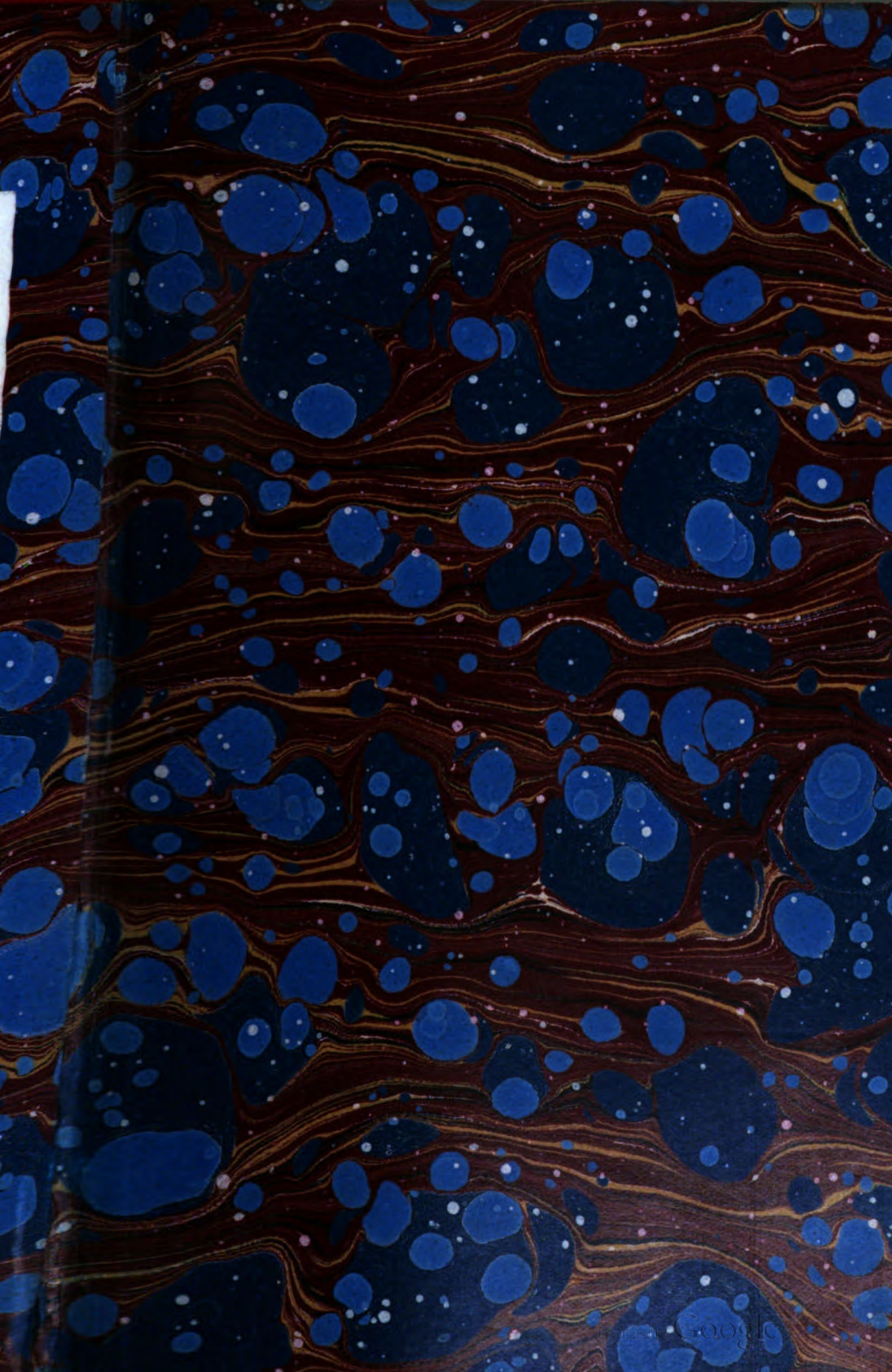
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INTRODUCTION

TO

NÂRADA.

THE Nârada-smṛiti or Nâradiya Dharmaśāstra first attracted attention nearly a century ago by being quoted in the Preface to Sir W. Jones's celebrated translation of the Code of Manu. What caused it to be brought before the notice of the learned world, was its bearing on the origin and history of the authoritative law-book of ancient India. The statements extracted by Sir W. Jones from the opening chapter of Nârada's law-book require some modification at present, as he was not acquainted with the larger and more authentic of the two versions of Nârada's work, which is now translated. It appears from the present work (pp. 1-4) that Nârada, the reputed compiler of the Nâradiya Dharmaśāstra, refers to four, instead of three, successive versions of the Code of Manu, in 100,000 slokas or 1,080 chapters, in 12,000, 8,000, and 4,000 slokas. The authorship of these four versions is assigned, respectively, to Manu, Nârada, Mârkaṇḍeya, and Sumati, the son of Bhṛigu, and the Nârada-smṛiti is described as an abridgment, made by Nârada, of the ninth or Vyavahâra (legal) chapter of the original Code in 100,000 slokas. The first part of Nârada's abridgment of the ninth chapter of Manu's Code is designed as a mâtṛikâ or vyavahâra-mâtṛikâ, 'summary of proceedings-at-law' or 'general rules of procedure.'

Though the mythical nature of the Preface to the Nârada-smṛiti is sufficiently apparent, some facts which recently have come to light impart a higher degree of probability to the alleged connexion between Manu and Nârada, than was formerly allowed by myself. Thus the contents of Nârada's Preface to his Smṛiti appear

to have been known to such an early author as Medhâtithi, who quotes it, rather loosely it is true, in his Commentary on the Code of Manu, where he says that 'this work, consisting of one hundred thousand (slokas), was composed by Pragâpati and abridged successively by Manu and the rest¹.' This goes far to prove that the Preface to the Nârada-smṛiti had attained notoriety as early as the ninth century A. D., and must be nearly or quite as old as the remainder of the work. The antiquity of the account given by Nârada of the origin and history of the principal code of ancient India is supported to some extent by the Paurânîk statement regarding four successive remodellings of the original composition of Svâyambhuva (Manu), by Bhrigu, Nârada, Brîhaspati, and Âṅgiras², and by a curious tradition preserved in the Mahâbhârata, to the effect that the original Dharmaśâstra, produced by Brahman in 100,000 chapters, was successively reduced to 10,000, 5,000, 3,000, and 1,000 chapters by Saṃkara, Indra, Brîhaspati, and Kâvya³. What is more, in a colophon of the ancient Nepalese MS. of the Nârada-smṛiti, that work is actually designed as the Mânava Dharmaśâstra in the recension of Nârada (mânave dharmaśâstre nârada-proktâyâm samhitâyâm), just as the Code of Manu in the colophons is usually called the Mânava Dharmaśâstra in the recension of Bhrigu (mânave dharmaśâstre bhriguproktâyâm samhitâyâm, or mânave dharmaśâstre bhriguprokte). Again, the chapter on theft (*kaurapratishedha*), which has come to light in Mr. Bendall's Nepalese Palm-leaf MS. of Nârada, and in a Nepalese paper MS. recently discovered by the same scholar, forms an appendix to the body of the Nârada-smṛiti, exactly in the same way as an analogous chapter on robbery and other criminal offences is tacked on at the close of the eighteen titles of law in the Code of Manu, IX, 252-293. It also deserves to be noted, perhaps, that the Dhamathats of Burma, while professing to be founded

¹ Manuśikāśaṅgraha, p. 39, gloss on Manu I, 58; Bühler, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxv, p. xv.

² Mandlik's Hindu Law, p. xlvii.

³ Mahâbhârata XII, 59, 22, and 80 foll.; Bühler, *ibid.* p. xcvi.

on the laws of Manu, contain several rules and maxims which may be traced to the *Nārada-smṛiti*, whereas they do not occur in the Code of Manu¹.

Although, therefore, there appears to be an element of truth in *Nārada's* account of the history of the Code of Manu, and of his own *Smṛiti*, there can be no doubt that the actual position of the two works has been inverted by him. The composition of *Bṛigu*, or of *Sumati*, the son of *Bṛigu*, i.e. the now extant Code of Manu, is not posterior, but decidedly anterior, in date to the *Nārada-smṛiti*, as may be gathered easily from a comparison of both works. Thus e.g. *Nārada* mentions twenty-one modes of acquiring property, fifteen sorts of slaves, fourteen species of impotency, three kinds of women twice married, and four kinds of wanton women, twenty women whom a man must not approach, thirty-two divisions of the law of gift, eleven sorts of witnesses, five or seven ordeals, four or five losers of their suit, two kinds of proof and two kinds of documents, seven advantages resulting from a just decision, eight members of a lawsuit, one hundred and thirty-two divisions of the eighteen principal titles of law. The first germs of some of these theories may be traced to the Code of Manu, and it is interesting to note how these germs have been developed by *Nārada*. As a rule, his judicial theories show an infinitely advanced stage of development as compared to Manu's, and his treatment of the law of procedure, in particular, abounding as it does in technical terms and nice distinctions, and exhibiting a decided preference for documentary evidence and written records over oral testimony and verbal procedure, exhibits manifest signs of recent composition.

An analogous inference may be drawn from the fact that *Nārada* was apparently acquainted with a work either identical with, or closely allied to, the now extant Code of Manu. His analysis of the contents of the original Code composed by Manu in 100,000 slokas corresponds in the main to the topics

¹ Forchhammer, The Jardine Prize Essay, pp. 54-58.

treated in that work as it now stands. He quotes the opening verse of the original gigantic work of Manu, and it is a remarkable coincidence that this verse agrees with Manu I, 5, 6, i.e. with the actual exordium of the Code of Manu, as vv. 1-4 serve as an introduction only, and may be a subsequent addition. Forensic law is alleged to have formed the subject of the ninth chapter of the original composition of Manu. In the Code of Manu, law and judicature are discussed in the eighth and ninth chapters. The twenty-four chapters, divided into one thousand and eighty, i.e. 45×24 sections, of the original Code, seem to represent double the twelve chapters of the Code of Manu. On the other hand, Sumati, the son of Bhrigu, who is alleged to have reduced the original Code of Manu to its present size, and to have produced the law-book now current among mankind, may be identified with Bhrigu, the supposed author of the actual Manu-smṛiti; and the number of 4,000 slokas, which is assigned to his composition, may be taken to be a rough statement of the actual extent of the Manu-smṛiti, which in reality runs up to 2,685 slokas only.

A consideration of these facts leaves but little doubt that the compiler of the Nārada-smṛiti, whoever he was, must have been acquainted with a work closely akin to the now extant Manu-smṛiti. This is so much the more probable because several of his references to the authoritative enunciations of Manu may be actually traced to the Manu-smṛiti¹, and because a number of verses either occurring in the MSS. of the Nārada-smṛiti, or attributed to him by the digest-writers, recur in the Code of Manu.

However, though acquainted with the Code of Manu, the so-called Nārada was far from offering a mere slavish reproduction of its doctrines in his own work. On the contrary, the Nārada-smṛiti must be considered as an independent, and therefore specially valuable, exposition of the whole system of civil and criminal law, as taught in the law schools of the period. It is in fact the only Smṛiti, completely preserved

Discrepancies
between Manu
and Nārada.

¹ See e.g. Appendix 26 (p. 227) and Manu VIII, 320; Appendix 34 (p. 228) and Manu VIII, 334; Appendix 36, 37 (p. 228) and Manu VIII, 124, 125.

in MSS., in which law, properly so-called, is treated by itself, without any reference to rules of penance, diet, and other religious subjects; and it throws a new and an important light on the political and social institutions of ancient India at the time of its composition. Several of the doctrines propounded by Nārada are decidedly opposed to, and cannot be viewed in the light of developments from, the teaching of Manu. Thus e.g. Nārada advocates the practice of Niyoga, or appointment of a widow to raise offspring to her deceased husband; he declares gambling to be a lawful amusement, when carried on in public gaming-houses; he allows the remarriage of widows; he virtually abrogates the right of primogeniture by declaring that even the youngest son may undertake the management of the family property, if specially qualified for the task; he ordains that, in a partition of the family property, the father may reserve two shares for himself, and that, in the case of a partition after his death, the mother shall divide equally with the sons, and an unmarried sister take the same share as a younger son; he lays down a different gradation of fines from those laid down by Manu, &c.¹

It may be argued that Nārada would not have ventured to differ from the Code of Manu on such essential points as these, unless he had found good authority for doing so in other early works or dicta attributed to the primeval legislator of India, and that this fact furnishes another reason for attaching some credit to what Nārada relates of the original Code in 100,000 verses, and of its successive abridgment. Thus much is certain, that a great many floating proverbs and authoritative enunciations of Manu and of *Vṛiddha* or *Bṛīhan-Manu* must have existed by the side of the Code of Manu in the times of Nārada as well as before and after his period, when they were quoted in the *Mahābhārata*² and in the Com-

¹ See the foot-notes, *passim*.

² See Nārada XII, 80-88, and Manu IX, 65-68; Nārada XVII, 1-8, and Manu IX, 221-228; Nārada XII, 97, and Manu V, 162; Nārada XIII, 5, and Manu IX, 105-109; Nārada XIII, 13, 14, and Manu IX, 104, 131; Nārada, Appendix 30, 31, and Manu VIII, 138.

mentaries and Dharmanibandhas from Medhâtithi's Manu-bhâshya down to Gagannâtha's Digest, translated by Colebrooke. The compiler of the Nârada-smṛiti may have incorporated a number of these dicta in his own composition. At the same time, it is far from improbable that a work on law, called the Code of Manu in the version of Nârada, may have existed by the side of the celebrated Code of Manu in the version of Bhrîgu, and that the unknown compiler of the Nârada-smṛiti may have utilised that work for his own composition, and enhanced the value and authority of the latter by referring to, and arranging in his own way, the reports current with regard to Manu and Nârada. The precise nature of the origin of such a work as the Nârada-smṛiti must needs remain a matter for speculation; but it certainly was an established practice with Sanskrit writers to graft their own compositions on earlier works attributed to fabulous personages of the heroic age of India, and indeed to fabricate an authority of this kind for the productions of their own pen.

The probable date of the Code of Manu may be turned
 Date of the Nârada-smṛiti. to account for determining the date of the Nârada-smṛiti; just as the presumable date of the latter work has been used in its turn for fixing the chronological position of Manu. The composition of the two works is separated, apparently, by a considerable interval of time. If, therefore, the date of Manu has been rightly placed between the second centuries B.C. and A.D. by Professor Bühler¹, it would seem to follow that the Nârada-smṛiti can hardly belong to an earlier period than the fourth or fifth century A.D. The same conclusion may be arrived at by other, and independent considerations.

Thus the Nârada-smṛiti agrees on many important
 Compared with other Smṛitis, points, especially in the law of evidence, with the Dharmaśāstras or Smṛitis of Yāgyavalkya, Vishnu, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana, and Vyāsa. It may be a little older than the three last-named works,

¹ Loc. cit. p. xcvi.

which belong to the latest productions of the *Smṛiti* epoch of Hindu Law, but its legal rules and judicial theories have a decidedly more advanced character than either Vishnu's or Yāgñavalkya's. The *Smṛiti* of Vishnu cannot belong to an earlier period than the third century A. D.¹, and the Yāgñavalkya *Smṛiti* is not likely to be anterior to it in date².

Again, the judicial trial which is described in the well-known drama *Mṛikkhakaṭikā* corresponds in all essential features to the rules laid down in Nārada's chapter on 'The Plaint'³. If, then, the Nāradiya Dharmaśāstra and the *Mṛikkhakaṭikā* are contemporaneous productions, we have a further reason for assigning the composition of the former work to the fifth or sixth century A. D. It may also be noted that Nārada (XII, 74) regards sexual intercourse with a female ascetic, pravratitā, as a kind of incest. In the earlier Indian dramas likewise, such as Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and Sūdraka's *Mṛikkhakaṭikā*, the position of nuns and monks is highly dignified.

Last, not least, the European term *Dīnāra*, i. e. denarius or *δηνάριον*, which is so important for the purposes of Indian chronology, occurs repeatedly in the *Nārada-smṛiti*. In the first passage (Introd. II, 34, p. 32), *Dīnāras* are mentioned among other objects made of gold, and it would seem that a gold coin used as an ornament is meant, such as e. g. the necklaces made of gold mohurs, which are being worn in India at the present day. 'A string of *Dīnāras*' (*dīnāra-mālaya*) used as a necklace occurs in a well-known Jain work, the *Kalpa-sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu⁴. It is, however, possible that the '*Dīnāras* or other golden things' may be gold coins simply, and that Nārada means to refer to forged or otherwise counterfeit coins. The second passage (Appendix v. 60, p. 232) is specially valuable, because it contains an exact

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. vii, p. xxxii.

² Tagore Law Lectures, p. 49.

³ See, particularly, p. 27, note on 18.

⁴ See Dr. Jacobi's edition, par. 36 (p. 44), and the same scholar's translation of the *Kalpa-sūtra*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii, p. 232.

statement of the value of a Dīnāra which, it says, is called a Suvarṇa also. The reception of Dīnāras among the ordinary coins of that period shows that their circulation in India must have commenced some time before the Nārada-smṛiti was written. The first importation of gold Dīnāras into India cannot be referred to an earlier period than the time of the Roman emperors, and the gold Dīnāras most numerous found in India belong to the third century A.D.¹

The earliest reference to a work called Nārādiya Dharmaśāstra seems to be contained in a work of the sixth century, Bāṇa's Kādambarī². Whether the compiler of the Pañkatantra was acquainted with the Nārada-smṛiti appears to be doubtful. The Pañkatantra in Kosegarten's edition contains a legal text which is attributed to Nārada, though it is not to be found in the Nārada-smṛiti. The standard Bombay edition of the Pañkatantra has that very text, but the name of Nārada is omitted³. Medhātithi's Manubhāṣhya, which seems to belong to the ninth century, contains several references to the Nārada-smṛiti, and Asahāya, who appears to have preceded Medhātithi, is the reputed author of the ancient Commentary on it, which has largely been used for the present work⁴.

These considerations tend to show that the composition of the Nārada-smṛiti cannot be referred to a more recent period than the fifth century A.D., or the sixth century at the very latest. Nor can it belong to a much earlier age than that. This estimate of its age agrees with the results arrived at, thirteen years ago, from the very scanty data then available.

¹ Bühler, S. B. E., vol. xxv, p. cvii; West and Bühler, p. 48; Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 245; Jolly, Tagore Law Lectures, p. 36; Hömle, Proceedings of the Seventh Congress of Orientalists, p. 134.

² P. 91 in Peterson's edition. See Bühler, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxv, p. cvii, note 1.

³ See Kosegarten's Pañkatantra III, 94; Bombay ed., III, 2. It is true that the two texts immediately preceding the text in question in the Pañkatantra may be compared with Nārada XI, 2 and I, 5, 79.

⁴ The fact that Asahāya refers to a coin called dramma, i. e. the Greek δραχμή, may be used for fixing the earlier limit of his date.

The present translation, unlike the Institutes of Nārada previously published by myself (London, Trübner & Co., 1876), is based in the main on what may be termed the large version of Nārada, and accords throughout with the editio princeps of the Nārada-smṛiti in the Bibliotheca Indica. The reasons which have induced me to consider the large version as the original and authentic composition of Nārada, and to make it the basis of my edition of the Sanskrit text in the Bibliotheca Indica, have been stated in my volume of Tagore Law Lectures, pp. 54-56. In those parts of the work also where both versions agree, or where the only extant MS. of the large version is deficient and has to be supplied from the MSS. of the minor version, the present translation will be found to differ not inconsiderably from my previous rendering of the 'Institutes of Nārada.' The discovery of five valuable MSS. of the minor version, besides the three used in preparing the 'Institutes of Nārada,' the recovery of Asahāya's ancient and valuable Commentary on the Nārada-smṛiti, and the dies diem docet have united to produce a considerable number of new results. Among the new MSS. discovered, the fifteenth-century Nepalese Palm-leaf MS. of Mr. Bendall is the most important, and has furnished an entire new chapter, the authenticity of which is proved by numerous references in the mediaeval and modern Digests of Law. The chapter in question has been termed an Appendix in the present work (pp. 223-232). It is found, likewise, in a Nepalese paper MS. of the minor version, discovered very recently by Mr. Bendall among the Nepalese MSS. of the British Museum, where it had been labelled wrongly as Kaurapratishtedha.

The Commentary of Asahāya, as far as it goes, has furnished the substance of the foot-notes to the present translation, in which it has been quoted constantly as 'A.' Asahāya was a standard writer in the province of Hindu Law, and his Nāradabhāshya is a very valuable production indeed. He shares with other early commentators of law-books the peculiarity of indulging every now and then in illustrations

taken from the every-day life of his period, which help to throw some light on the practical working of Indian Law in those times. As an instance of this tendency I would cite his remarks on a rule concerning liability for debts (pp. 43, 44). Of course it would be dangerous to trust his philological skill everywhere, and some of his interpretations are decidedly artificial. What is worse, the Commentary of Asahâya has not been preserved in its original shape, but in a recast due to one Kalyânabhaṭṭa, whose name is entirely unknown to fame. It is just possible that Kalyânabhaṭṭa, instead of confining his activity to supplying deficiencies and correcting mistakes in the copies of Asahâya's Commentary, may have inserted some new verses in the text of the Nârada-smṛiti as well. Such might be conjectured, for example, to be the origin of the four verses, Introd. I, 21-24 (pp. 9-13), which are quoted in none of the authoritative Digests, and objectionable as to grammar and metre. It should be remembered, however, that Kalyânabhaṭṭa declares the original work of Asahâya to have been spoiled by negligent scribes, and so the grammatical blunders may be charged to their account.

The latter half of Asahâya's Commentary being lost, I had to avail myself for the corresponding portion of the Other auxiliary
writings. Nârada-smṛiti, of the glosses of other mediaeval writers, by whom the texts of Nârada have been quoted and discussed a great deal. Their opinions have been adverted to very fully, in the chapter on inheritance especially, both on account of the practical importance of inheritance for the law-courts of modern India, and because each of the various schools of Sanskrit lawyers has been anxious to interpret the sayings of Nârada to its own advantage. For the curious and somewhat obscure disquisition on fourteen kinds of impotency (XII, 11-18, pp. 167-169), I have been able to use the advice of my late lamented friend Dr. Haas, the well-known student of Indian medical science. A somewhat analogous passage in the canonical literature of the Buddhists has been kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Rhys Davids¹.

¹ Kullavagga X, 17, 1. See Sacred Books of the East, vol. xx, p. 349.

The sign of an asterisk (*) has been prefixed to those texts of Nārada which were found to be Nārada's reputed as a legal writer. quoted in one or several of the Sanskrit Commentaries or Digests of Law. The same method has been observed previously in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Sanskrit text, but a considerable number of quotations has come to light since then. The repute of Nārada as a legal writer appears to have been so great that upwards of half his work has been embodied in the authoritative compositions of the mediaeval and modern writers in the province of Sanskrit law.

Under the heading of Quotations from Nārada, all those texts have been collected at the close of the present translation which are attributed to Nārada in one or several of the Digests and Commentaries, without being traceable in the MSS. of the Nārada-smṛiti. Between these quotations have been inserted, for the sake of completeness and in order to fill up the gaps between the single texts contained in the quotations, a number of unpublished texts from the MSS. of the minor version, and from the final chapter on Ordeals in the ancient Nepalese MS. of the Nārada-smṛiti¹. A complete edition of that chapter will, I trust, be published by Dr. A. Conrady. The quotations have been taken from all the principal Sanskrit works on law, from Medhātithi's Manubhāshya downwards. For a detailed statement of the particular work and chapter from which each text has been quoted, I may refer to the foot-notes. Most texts being quoted in more than one work at a time, it has not been thought necessary to give complete references to every such work in each particular case, but I have made a point of referring as much as possible to those law-books which exist in English, both for convenience of reference and in order to facilitate a comparison of the present translation with previous renderings of the texts of Nārada. All the unpublished texts have been given in the foot-notes in the original Sanskrit, together with the names of the works from which they have been taken. The MSS.

¹ Regarding that chapter, see Preface to Nārada-smṛiti, pp. 6, 7.

of these works were obtained principally from the India Office and Deccan College libraries; for some of them I was able to use copies of my own. A peculiar source of difficulties lies in the fact that these works differ considerably as to the names of the authors of the single texts. Many texts were no doubt proverbial sayings, and appropriated therefore by several writers. In other cases, the mutually conflicting statements of various writers regarding the authorship of the texts may be attributed to carelessness. Grammatical blunders and faulty readings, as well as the *varietas lectionis*, have been referred to in important cases only. I subjoin a list of the abbreviations used in the foot-notes to the present translation.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Aparârka=Aparârka's Commentary on the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti*,
Deccan College MS.

Âpastamba, see Manu.

Baudhâya, see Manu.

Col. Dig.=Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law (translation of
Gagannâtha's work).

Dâyabhâga=Colebrooke's translation of the *Dâyabhâga* on Inheri-
tance, or the Sanskrit text of the D., in the Calcutta edition of
1829.

Dâyakramasaṅgraha=Wynch's translation in Stokes's Hindu Law-
Books, or the Calcutta edition.

Gagannâtha=Gagannâtha's *Vivâdabhaṅgârnava* (the work trans-
lated by Colebrooke), Bengali MS. in my possession.

Gautama, see Manu.

{ M. or Mitâksharâ=Mitâksharâ, the Calcutta edition of the *Vya-
vahâradhyâya*, or Colebrooke's version of the *Mitâksharâ* on
Inheritance.

{ M. Macn.=Macnaghten's translation of the *Mitâksharâ* on Ad-
ministration of Justice.

Manu=the Code of Manu, ed. Jolly, London, 1887; or Professor
Bühler's translation of the same. For the principal editions and
translations of Âpastamba, Baudhâya, and the other old law-
books, I may refer to my volume of Tagore Law Lectures.

{ May.=Mandlik's translation of the *Vyavahâra Mayûkha*, in his
Hindu Law, Bombay, 1880.

{ May. (text)=Mandlik's edition of the same, *ibid*.

{ Mayûkha=the same work.

Ninor Nârada=The Institutes of Nârada, transl. by J. Jolly, London,
1876; or the unpublished Sanskrit original of the same work.

Nârada=the present translation.

Nârada-smṛiti=The Institutes of Nârada, edited by J. Jolly, in
the Bibliotheca Indica series.

Nepalese Nârada=Mr. Bendall's Nepalese Palm-leaf MS. of Nârada.

Raghunandana=Raghunandana's *Vyavahâratattva*, the Calcutta
edition.

Ratn.=Vivâda Ratnâkara, in the Bibliotheca Indica.

- Smṛitīk.* = Devanabhaṭṭa's *Smṛitīkandrikā*, India Office MS.
Smṛitīkandrikā = the same, or the chapter on Inheritance, transl. by Iyer.
Tod. or *Todarānanda* = Vyavahārasaukhya in *Todar* Mall's *Todarānanda*, Deccan College MS.
 (Uncertain) = texts quoted as '*Smṛiti*' generally, without the name of the author being given.
Vasishṭha, see Manu.
Vīram. = *Vīramitrodaya*, in Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition.
Vishṇu, see Manu.
Viv. = *Vivādatāntāmaṇi*, translated by Tagore, Calcutta, 1863.
Vivādatāntāmaṇi = the Sanskrit text, Calcutta edition of 1837.
V. T. = *Vivādatāntāmaṇi* by Kamalākara, India Office MS.
Vy. K. = *Vyavahāratāntāmaṇi* by Vāṭaspatimisra, Devanāgarī MS. in my possession.
Yāgyavalkya, see Manu.
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NÂRADA.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

1. HOLY MANU, in order to promote the welfare of all beings, composed a book here, which was to become the foundation of the established rule of conduct. It was made up of twenty-four sections, on (1) the creation of the world; (2) the various kinds of living beings; (3) the extent of the virtuous

1. Regarding the historical value and bearing of this Preface, see Introduction. The table of contents, which is here given for the original Code of Manu, corresponds in the main to the contents of the now extant version of that work. Thus the creation of the world is treated of, Manu I, 5-57; the various kinds of living beings, I, 34-50; the virtuous countries, II, 17-23; the constitution of a judicial assembly, XII, 108-114; the performance of offerings, III, 69-286; IV, 21-28, &c.; established usage (*Âtâra*), *passim*, all the multifarious rules of private morals and social economy falling under this head; forensic law, chapters VIII and IX; the extirpation of offenders, IX, 252-293; the mode of life of a king, chapter VII; the system of the four castes and four orders, I, 87-101; IX, 325-336, &c.; marriage laws, III, 1-62; the mutual relations between husband and wife, IX, 1-103; the order of succession, IX, 103-220; the performance of obsequies, III, 122-286; rules of purification, V, 57-146; rules of diet, V, 1-56; saleable commodities, and those which may not be sold, X, 85-94; the classification of offences, XI, 55-71; the twenty-one hells, IV, 88-90; penances, XI, 72-266. The Upanishads are frequently referred to, e.g. II, 165; VI, 29. Secret or mysterious doctrines are e.g. those taught in the twelfth chapter of the Code of Manu. A somewhat analogous table of contents of the Code of Manu is given in that work itself, I, 111-118.

country; (4) the constitution of a judicial assembly; (5) the performance of offerings according to the Vedas and Vedāṅgas; (6) established usage; (7) forensic law; (8) the extirpation of offenders; (9) the mode of life of a king; (10, 11) the system of the (four) castes and (four) orders; (12) marriage laws; (13) the mutual relations between husband and wife; (14) the order of succession; (15) the performance of obsequies; (16) the elucidation of difficult points regarding purification; (17) the rule as to what may be eaten and what not; (18, 19) the law regarding vendible commodities, and those which must not be sold; (20) the various kinds of crime; (21) heaven and hell; (22) penances; (23) the Upanishads; (24) secret doctrines.

2. Holy Manu, after having thus (composed) that (book) in a hundred thousand ślokas, and in one thousand and eighty chapters, delivered it to the divine sage Nârada. He having learnt it from him, reflecting that a work of this kind could not be remembered easily by mortals on account of its size, abridged it in twelve thousand (ślokas) and delivered it to the great sage Mârkaṇḍeya.

3. He having learnt it from him, and reflecting on

2. The Manu who is referred to in this place is no doubt Manu Svâyambhuva, or 'Manu sprung from the self-existent Being,' to whom the Code of Manu is said to have been revealed by Brahman; see Manu I, 58. Nârada is one of the seven principal Rîshis. He is also reckoned among the Pragâpatis, 'lords of creatures' or 'creators,' and is viewed as the chief of heavenly musicians. Mârkaṇḍeya is elsewhere called 'the long-lived,' and is celebrated for his austerities. He is the reputed author of a well-known Purâna, called after him the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâna.

3. Bhrîgu, one of the great Rîshis of antiquity, is in the Code of Manu introduced as a son of Manu, and as the compiler of the

the (limited duration and) capacity of human life, reduced it to eight thousand (slokas), and delivered this (abridgment) to Sumati, the son of Bhrigu.

4. Sumati, the son of Bhrigu, after having learnt (this book) from him and considered what human capacity had been brought down to through the (successive) lessening of life (in the four ages of the world), reduced it to four thousand (slokas).

5. It is this (abridgment) which Manes and mortals read, whilst the gods, Gandharvas, and other (exalted beings) read in extenso the (original) code, consisting of one hundred thousand (slokas). There the first sloka runs as follows: 'This universe was wrapped up in darkness, and nothing could be discerned. Then the holy, self-existent Spirit issued forth with his four faces.'

6. After this exordium, chapter follows chapter

present version of the Code of Manu; see Manu I, 35, 59, 60. The fact of his being mentioned here as the father of Sumati, the compiler of the final recension of the Code of Manu, renders it probable that this work may have closely resembled the now extant Code of Manu. However, the latter work has not more than 2684 slokas, instead of the 4000 attributed to the version of Sumati.

4. As for the successive lessening of life, and general deterioration of the world, in the four ages, *Kṛīa*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, and *Kali*, see Manu I, 81-86.

5. A. observes expressly that the term 'there' refers to the original Code in 100,000 slokas. The sloka here quoted is nearly identical with Manu I, 5 a, 6 a.

6. The *Mātrikā* or 'Introduction' (compare *divyamātrikā*, a 'general introduction to the law regarding ordeals,' in the *Mitāksharā*, p. 139) which is here attributed to Nārada, appears to have formed part of the abridgment in 12,000 slokas, which was originally composed by him. It was composed in the *Sūtra* style, i.e. it was made up of aphorisms. The slokas are frequently designed as *Sūtras* by the commentators of law-books. Supposing this work to have consisted of twelve chapters, like the present Code

continuously. There the ninth chapter is headed, 'Judicial Procedure.' There Nârada, the divine sage, composed an Introduction in the Sûtra style, as follows. It begins with the following sloka.

of Manu, each chapter would have contained about 1000 slokas. The Nârada-smṛiti actually has about 1000 slokas. In the Code of Manu, forensic law is treated in the eighth and ninth chapters. The compiler of the present work declares his composition to be the ninth chapter of Nârada's abridged version of the Code of Manu. In the above enumeration of twenty-four subjects treated in the original Code of Manu, judicial procedure is introduced as the seventh and eighth subject. This coincidence indeed might be accidental.

INTRODUCTION.

I. LEGAL PROCEDURE.

* 1. When mortals were bent on doing their duty alone and habitually veracious, there existed neither lawsuits, nor hatred, nor selfishness.

* 2. The practice of duty having died out among mankind, lawsuits have been introduced; and the king has been appointed to decide lawsuits, because he has authority to punish.

3. Documents and (the testimony of) witnesses are declared to be the two methods for clearing up doubtful matters, where two parties are quarrelling with one another.

* 4. Proceedings at law are of two kinds; attended by a wager, or not attended by a wager. A lawsuit

I, 1. Where the sun shines, there is no shade. Where there is shade, there the sun does not shine. Similarly, where virtue reigns, there are neither lawsuits, nor hatred, nor selfishness. On the other hand, where these three are, there virtue is not to be found. A. The object of this introductory portion is to show how far judicial procedure is connected with Dharma 'Virtue,' or 'Duty,' the principal subject of an Indian law-book. The *Vîramitrodaya* and other compilations attribute a further hemistich to Nârada, in which the happy age here alluded to is referred to the period 'when Manu, the father of mankind, was reigning on earth.'

3. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 22; *Vasishtha* XVI, 10; *Vishnu* VI, 23.

4. 'A lawsuit attended by a wager' is where one of the parties promises in writing to pay a certain sum to the king, over and above the amount in dispute. 'A lawsuit not attended by a wager' is one devoid of a stipulation of this sort. *Vîramitrodaya*. This is apparently the correct explanation. *Asahâya* observes that the amount staked may be much smaller than the amount in dispute.

attended by a wager is where (either of the two parties) stakes in writing a certain sum which has to be paid besides the sum in dispute (in case of defeat).

5. In a lawsuit attended by a wager, he of the two who is cast must pay his stake and a fine when his defeat has been decided.

* 6. The plaint is declared to be the essential part of a proceeding-at-law. If he succumbs with it, the defendant loses the whole suit. If he can prove the charge, he gains the suit.

* 7. Gatherings (*kula*), corporations (*sreni*), assemblies (*gana*), one appointed (by the king), and the king (himself), are invested with the power to decide

Thus, although the sum in dispute be very considerable, one may stake two hundred *Paṇas*, or a hundred *Paṇas*, or fifty *Paṇas* only.

5. According to *Asahāya*, the wager must not be laid till the two first stages of the trial, the charge and the answer, are over. The wager may be laid either by the plaintiff or by the defendant. The plaintiff, whose declaration has been refuted by the defendant, stakes a certain sum on the issue of the case. Or the defendant, after having denied the correctness of the charge, stakes a certain sum on the correctness of his own statements, to be proved by the issue of the case. *Asahāya* does not say to whom the sum staked has to be paid in his opinion. It may be observed that, according to Burmese law, which is an offshoot of the early law of India, ten per cent. of the sum staked should be given to the judge and to the pleaders, and the remainder to the victorious party; see Richardson's *Dhammathat*, p. 73. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 18 (see *Mitâksharâ*).

6. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 8.

7. *Kula* means an assemblage consisting of a few persons. *Sreni* denotes an assemblage of eminent merchants, &c. *Gana* denotes a fellowship, such as e.g. the Brahman caste. A. Other commentators take *kula* to mean a family meeting; *sreni*, a company of artisans; *gana*, an assembly of cohabitants. These three stages of private arbitration may be compared to the modern Panchayats of India.

lawsuits; and of these, each succeeding one is superior to the one preceding him in order.

* 8. Judicial procedure has four feet, four bases, four means, it benefits four, reaches four, and produces four results. This has been declared.

* 9. It has eight members, eighteen topics, a hundred branches, three efficient causes, two modes of plaint, two openings, and two issues.

* 10. Virtue, a judicial proceeding, documentary evidence, and an edict from the king are the four feet of a lawsuit. Each following one is superior to the one previously named.

* 11. There virtue is based on truth ; a judicial proceeding (rests) on the statements of the witnesses ; documentary evidence (rests) on declarations reduced

11. Where both parties adhere strictly to truth in their statements, there is virtue or justice clearly enough, judicial procedure, written proof, and a royal edict being quite unnecessary in that case. Where either of the two parties is suspected to have made a false statement, judicial procedure has to be resorted to, which depends on the evidence given by witnesses. Documentary evidence (*karitra*) is where the statements of witnesses are consulted, written in their own hand, on a leaf, or on birch-bark, or on a strip of rind, or some other writing material. That suit, however, which has been decided by an edict from the king himself, is superior to all the rest, according to the saying, 'What has been decided in a village, goes into the town. What has been decided in the town, goes before the king. What has been decided by the king, though wrongly decided, cannot be tried anew.' A. The term *karitra* has been rendered in conformity with this interpretation, which is confirmed by the remarks of *Kandervara* on this sloka. Other commentators and several MSS. of the *Nārada-smṛiti* read *svīkarāṇe* or *prāśnakarāṇe* for *pustakarāṇe*. These commentators explain the term *karitra* in conformity with a text of *Bṛihaspati*, 'Whatever is practised by a man, proper or improper, in accordance with local usage, is termed *karitra* (custom).'

to writing ; an edict (depends) on the pleasure of the king.

* 12. Because the four means, of conciliation and the rest, are adopted, it is said to have four means. Because it protects the four orders, therefore it is said to benefit four.

* 13. Because it affects criminals, witnesses, the assessors of the court, and the king, to the amount of one quarter each, therefore it is said to reach four.

* 14. Because it produces these four, justice, gain, renown, and esteem among men, therefore it is declared to produce four results.

* 15. Because it consists of these eight, the king,

12. Because a lawsuit is decided by resorting, as the case may be, to any one of the four means of success, viz. conciliation, division, bribery, and force, therefore it is said to have four means. Because it protects or guards the four castes and the four orders, therefore it is said to benefit four. A. The four orders are the four stages in the life of a twice-born man : student, householder, hermit, and ascetic.

13. If unjustly decided, it brings evil on the four persons mentioned in this sloka. If justly decided, it confers good on them. A.

15. The several functions of the eight (or ten) 'members' of a judicial proceeding are thus described in a sloka attributed to *Brîhaspati*. 'The chief judge publishes the sentence. The king passes it. The assessors investigate the facts of the case. The law-book dictates the judgment, i.e. the victory of the one party, and the fine imposed on the other party. Gold and silver serve the purpose of administering ordeals. Water is used for relieving thirst or appeasing hunger. The accountant has to compute the sums. The scribe has to record the proceedings. The attendant must compel the defendant and the witnesses to appear in court, and detain both plaintiff and defendant, if they have given no sureties.' According to *Asahâya*, the term 'the king's righteous officer' has to be referred to the king's chief judge, and by 'law-

his dutiful officer, the assessors of the court, the law-book, the accountant and scribe, gold, fire, and water ; therefore it is said to have eight members.

*16. Recovery of a debt, deposits, partnership, resumption of gift, breach of a contract of service,

*17. Non-payment of wages, sales effected by another than the rightful owner, non-delivery of a sold chattel, rescission of purchase,

*18. Transgression of a compact, boundary disputes, the mutual duties of husband and wife, law of inheritance, heinous offences,

*19. Abuse, assault, games, and miscellaneous, these are (the eighteen titles of law) on account of which (judicial procedure) is said to have eighteen topics.

*20. Their branches amount to one hundred and

books' are meant the compositions of Manu, Nārada, Visvarūpa, and others.

16-19. Manu VIII, 4-8.

20-25. The 132 divisions of the eighteen titles of law are stated as follows by Asahāya :—

1. Recovery of a debt.

1. Which debts have to be paid, and which not, &c.; 2. debts (in general); 3. property; 4. means of livelihood of a Brahman in times of distress; 5. modes of proof; 6. lending money at interest; 7. usurers; 8. sureties; 9. pledges; 10. documents; 11. incompetent witnesses; 12. witnesses for the plaintiff; 13. witnesses for the defendant; 14. six cases where witnesses are unnecessary; 15. validity of testimony, how long retained; 16. false witnesses; 17. exhorting the witnesses; 18. valid evidence; 19. invalid evidence; 20. what has to be done, where both witnesses and documents are wanting; 21. ordeal by balance; 22. ordeal by fire; 23. ordeal by water; 24. ordeal by poison; 25. ordeal by sacred libation.

2. Deposits.

1. Nyāsa (common deposits); 2. aupanidhika (sealed deposits);

thirty-two. On account of the multifariousness of human concerns, (a judicial proceeding) is said to have a hundred branches.

21. 'Recovery of a debt' has twenty-five divisions; 'deposits' has six; 'partnership' has three; 'resumption of gift' has four;

3. *yâhitaka* (loans for use); 4. *anvâhitaka* (deposits for delivery); 5. *silpihastagata* (bailments with an artizan); 6. *pogandadhana* (property of a minor).

3. Partnership.

1. The common undertakings of partners in business; 2. sacrifices offered by officiating priests; 3. tolls.

4. Resumption of gift.

1. What may be given; 2. what may not be given; 3. valid gifts; 4. invalid gifts.

5. Breach of a contract of service.

1. Service; 2. impure work; 3. conduct of a student; 4. rules of conduct for an apprentice; 5. rules of conduct for a manager; 6. fifteen sorts of slaves; 7. emancipation from slavery; 8. legal position of a slave; 9. release of a slave by the favour of his master.

6. Non-payment of wages.

1. The wages of servants; 2. cowherds and the rest; 3. fee of a public woman; 4. questions arising in regard to the payment of rent.

7. Sales effected by another than the rightful owner.

1. Sale without ownership; 2. treasure-trove.

8. Non-delivery of a sold chattel.

9. Rescission of purchase.

1. Time; 2. worn clothes; 3. loss on metals (caused by working them); 4. preparing cloth.

10. Transgression of a compact.

11. Boundary disputes.

1. Quarrels regarding a field; 2. quarrels regarding a house; 3. quarrels regarding a garden; 4. quarrels regarding a well; 5.

22. 'Breach of service' consists of nine divisions; 'wages' has four divisions; there are two divisions of 'sales effected by another than the rightful owner;' 'non-delivery of a sold chattel' has a single division only;

23. 'Rescission of purchase' has four divisions; 'transgression of compact' is onefold; 'boundary disputes' is twelvefold; there are twenty divisions in 'mutual duties of husband and wife;'

quarrels regarding a sanctuary; 6. quarrels regarding (the boundary of) a village; 7. prohibition to decorate (to cause nuisance in?) a cross-road, &c.; 8. making a dike; 9. waste land; 10. protection of grain; 11. compensation for grain (destroyed by cattle); 12. the foundation (of a householder's existence).

12. Mutual duties of husband and wife.

1. Examination of a man's virile potency; 2. gift of a maiden in marriage; 3. the offence of insulting an officiating priest; 4. the right time for giving a maiden in marriage; 5. the offence of casting a blemish on an unblemished maiden, or suitor; 6. marriage forms; 7. rule regarding incontinent females and other (unchaste women); 8. what constitutes legitimate issue; 9. illicit intercourse; 10. punishment of adultery; 11. incest; 12. intercourse with cattle, and other crimes of this sort; 13. raising issue where there is no husband; 14. the offspring of adulterous intercourse; 15, 16. authorised and unauthorised intercourse of a woman with one not her husband; 17, 18. rule regarding bad wives and husbands; 19. conduct prescribed for a woman whose husband is absent; 20. definition of a rendezvous.

13. Law of inheritance.

1. Definition of heritage; 2. its distribution; 3. indivisible property; 4. what constitutes strīdhana; 5. descent of strīdhana after the death of the proprietress; 6. rules regarding the property of brothers; 7. division of the property between parents and sons; 8. case of a daughter whose father is unknown, &c.; 9. case of a father unauthorised (to raise issue); 10. share of a son suffering from a chronic or agonising disease, or otherwise (incapable of inheriting); 11. division among the sons of a reunited coparcener;

24. 'Law of inheritance' consists of nineteen divisions; 'heinous offences' of twelve; of both 'abuse' and 'assault' there are three divisions;

25. 'Gambling with dice and betting on animals' has a single division; 'miscellaneous' has six divisions. Thus, adding up all these branches (of the principal titles of law), there are one hundred and thirty-two of them.

12. management of the property of a deceased or absent brother; 13. work done by one to whom the management of the family property has been entrusted, &c.; 14. decision in the case of a contested partition; 15. enumeration of the divers kinds of sons. [There ought to be nineteen subdivisions of the law of inheritance, instead of fifteen. That number might be obtained by counting each reason of exclusion from inheritance as a separate division.]

14. Heinous offences.

1. What constitutes a heinous offence; 2. punishments ordained for heinous offences; 3. robbery; 4. distinction between articles of inferior, middling, and superior value; 5, 6. the two kinds of robbers; 7. seizure of robbers; 8. granting food or shelter (to thieves), &c.; 9. thieves; 10. punishment of heinous offences and larceny; 11. tracing a thief by the foot-marks; 12. confiscation of the property of thieves or others, when the stolen goods have not been recovered.

15, 16. Abuse and assault.

1. Abuse; 2. assault; 3. punishments ordained for both offences.

17. Gambling with dice, and betting on animals.

18. Miscellaneous.

1. Protection of the (four) castes and (four) orders by the king in person; 2. dignity of a king; 3. maintenance of Brahmans by the king; 4. authorisation from the king to bestow one's property (on Brahmans); 5. description of the various modes of subsistence permitted to a Brahman; 6. eight things worthy of reverence.

It should be noted that Asahâya himself, in the sequel of his commentary, does not adhere strictly to this division, and gives

* 26. Because it proceeds from one of these three motives, carnal desire, wrath, and greed; therefore it is said to have three efficient causes. These are the three sources of lawsuits.

* 27. It is said to have two modes of plaint, because a plaint may be either founded on suspicion or on fact. It is founded on suspicion, when the defendant has been seen to move in bad company. It is founded on fact, when the stolen chattels or the like have come to light.

* 28. Because it is based on the statements of the two litigants, therefore it is said to have two openings. There the accusation is called the plaint; the answer is called the declaration of the defendant.

* 29. Because it may be founded either on truth or on error, therefore it is said to have two issues. Truth is what rests on true facts. Error is what rests on mistake of facts.

30. Ordeals even are rendered nugatory by artful men. Therefore let no mistake be committed in regard to place, time, quantity, and so on.

a number of different headings, which will be quoted in the notes to this translation.

27. Supposing that the owner of a lost chattel casts his suspicion on a man who is constantly seen in the company of well-known thieves and other bad characters, or who lives with prostitutes, or is addicted to gambling, if he impeaches that man, it is called a charge founded on suspicion. If a man is impeached, after having been taken with the maner, the stolen goods having been found among his property, it is called a charge founded on fact. In a charge founded on suspicion, the decision must be referred to the gods (i.e. to an ordeal). In a charge founded on fact, the decision rests with the king's judge. A.

29. The issue of a lawsuit, like its beginning, may be twofold. Either a just decision is given, in accordance with fact, or the decision is erroneous. A.

31. There a king who acts justly must neglect error when it is brought forward, and seek truth alone, because prosperity depends on (the practice of) duty.

32. As seven flames rise from fire, even so will seven good things become manifest in a self-restrained king who passes just sentences at trials.

33. Religious merit, gain, fame, esteem among men, reverence on the part of his subjects, conquests, and an everlasting residence in paradise.

34. Therefore let a king, after having seated himself on the judgment seat, be equitable towards all beings, discarding selfish interests and acting the part of (Yama) Vaivasvata, (the judge of the dead).

* 35. Attending to (the dictates of) the law-book and adhering to the opinion of his chief judge, let him try causes in due order, adhibiting great care.

36. The connection (âgama) must be examined

31. 'Brought forward,' i.e. stated by the plaintiff. The king shall neglect it, i.e. not accept it as correct. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 19.

32. The idea that fire is composed of seven rays or flames is derived, no doubt, from the seven rays of the sun-god *Sûrya*, who is represented down to the present day as riding in a chariot drawn by seven horses.

34. 'Discarding selfish motives,' i.e. free from love or wrath (*sine ira et studio*). 'The part of Yama,' the king of righteousness, i.e. the distribution of the rewards and punishments due to good and bad actions. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 1; *Vishnu* III, 92, &c.

35. While consulting the law-book, he should take heed at the same time of whatever is brought forward by the assessors of the court conjointly with the chief judge. He should abide by the opinion delivered by the latter. He should try causes in due order, i.e. so that the four feet of a judicial proceeding follow one another in due succession. A. *Manu* VIII, 1, 8, 9; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 1, &c.

36. *Âgama*, 'the connection,' i.e. the relation of the case in hand to the entire system of law; 'the title of law,' its appertaining to a subdivision of this or that title of law; its 'cure,' i.e. it must

first of all ; then the title of law must be ascertained ; thereupon follows the cure ; and the decision comes at the end. These are the four parts of a trial.

37. Avoiding carefully the violation of either the sacred law or the dictates of prudence, he should conduct the trial attentively and skilfully.

38. As a huntsman traces the vestiges of wounded deer in a thicket by the drops of blood, even so let him trace justice.

* 39. Where the rules of sacred law and the dictates of prudence are at variance, he must discard the dictates of prudence and follow the rules of sacred law.

40. When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of sacred law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning, because custom decides everything and overrules the sacred law.

41. Divine law has a subtile nature, and is occult

be cured like an illness, by carrying it through the four parts of a judicial proceeding. A.

38. As deer in a thick forest is difficult to catch, even so justice is difficult of attainment. A huntsman traces the game by following up the drops of blood to the spot, though the soil may be covered by thick grass, where the wounded deer is seen by him. Similarly a king, following the course of the lawsuit, traces law to the point where justice shines forth clearly. A. Manu VIII, 44.

39. Yâgñavalkya II, 21.

40. According to A., this verse inculcates the superiority of custom to written law. Thus both the practice of raising offspring to a deceased or disabled brother, and the remarriage of widows (see twelfth title of law) are specially sanctioned in the sacred law-books. Yet these two customs are opposed to established practice. Therefore subtile ratiocination is required. A. quotes a verse to the effect that the immemorial usages of every province, which have been handed down from generation to generation, can never be overruled by a rule of the sacred law. Vasishtha XVI, 4; Gautama XI, 23.

41. 'The visible path' means either ratiocination founded on

and difficult to understand. Therefore (the king) must try causes according to the visible path.

* 42. One who has never committed robbery may be charged with robbery. An actual robber, on the other hand, may be acquitted of the charge of robbery. *Mândavya* was tried and declared to be a robber.

* 43. In the case of a woman, at night, outside of

internal or circumstantial evidence, or it may mean a sound decision. A. Gautama XI, 24.

42. 'Justice has been stated (in 41) to be difficult to attain, because a man may be suspected to be a thief merely on account of stolen chattels being found amongst his property. Thus the great sage *Mândavya* even was reproached with theft by an injudicious king, because, faithful to his vow of silence, he did not make a reply when he was charged with theft. Therefore it is necessary to exhibit great care in discerning righteous men from evil-doers.' A. The history of *Mândavya* is related in the *Mahâ-bhârata* I, 4306 foll. A gang of robbers (*Dasyus*) being pursued by a guard, dropped their booty in the habitation of *Mândavya* the ascetic, and hid themselves in his hermitage. Soon after, their pursuers arrived, and asked *Mândavya* in which direction the robbers had proceeded. The saint made no reply, whereupon the guard took to searching the hermitage, in which they discovered both the robbers and the stolen chattels. The thing looking suspicious, they conducted both the saint and the robbers before the tribunal of the king, who ordered the saint to be tied to a stake. However, though tied to the stake and left without food, the saint remained alive. After some time, the king ordered him to be released, and asked his forgiveness for the ill-usage offered to him.

43. 'In the case of a woman,' i. e. if the lawsuit has been instituted by a wife or daughter; or if it has been decided by a woman. 'At night,' as the night is the proper time for sleeping, and not the proper time for attending to judicial business; for it is obviously impossible to try a cause at night. 'Outside of the village,' means 'in the wood.' A lawsuit, when decided in one of these places (or special circumstances), is not finally decided and settled; the cause has therefore to be tried anew. Such is the meaning of this rule. A.

the village, in the interior of a house, and by enemies ; a sentence passed under any one of these various circumstances may be reversed.

* 44. Owing to the recondite nature of lawsuits, and the weakness of memory, the answer may be delayed at pleasure in lawsuits relating to a debt or other subject, with a view to ascertain the true facts.

* 45. Let him answer at once in charges concerning a cow, landed property, gold, a woman, robbery, abuse, an urgent affair, a heinous offence, or a calumny.

* 46. One who tries to right himself in a quarrel, without having given notice to the king, shall be severely punished and his cause must not be heard.

* 47. A defendant who absconds when the cause is about to be tried, and he who does not take heed of what (the claimant) says, shall be arrested by the plaintiff until the legal summons has been declared.

* 48. Local arrest, temporary arrest, inhibition

44. Owing to the recondite nature of lawsuits, and on account of the weakness of men's memory, which renders them unable to remember distinctly any event that has occurred long ago, the defendant in a lawsuit must be allowed sufficient time to prepare his answer. A. Read *rinâdishu* in the text.

45, 46. The first rule constitutes an exception to the preceding one. In the cases here mentioned the answer should be tendered at once. A. Gautama XIII, 40, 41; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 12, 16.

48. Local arrest is in this form : 'If you move from this place, the king will arrest you.' Temporary arrest is in this form : 'You must not leave this house for a certain period.' Inhibition from travelling consists of a prohibition not to undertake a journey on which one has determined. Arrest relating to *karman* is in this form : 'You must not persevere in performing this or that *karman* (religious ceremony).' Thus according to A. and *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 55. When placed under arrest of any one out of these four kinds, the person arrested must not break the arrest. Otherwise he will become guilty of an offence against the king. A.

from travelling, and arrest relating to karman ; these are the four sorts of arrest. One arrested must not break his arrest.

* 49. One arrested while crossing a river, or in a forest (kântâra), or in a bad country, or during a great calamity, or in another such predicament, commits no fault by breaking his arrest.

[50. Those causes which have been tried in the king's court, (or) by friends, connections, or relations, shall be tried anew, after a fine of twice the original amount (of the sum in dispute) has been imposed.]

* 51. If one arrested at a proper time breaks his arrest, he shall be punished. One who arrests improperly is (equally) liable to punishment.

* 52. One about to marry ; one tormented by an illness ; one about to offer a sacrifice ; one afflicted by a calamity ; one accused by another ; one employed in the king's service ;

49. Kântâra, 'a fearful forest,' 'a bad country,' a dangerous place, 'a great calamity,' a public disaster or a heavy affliction and the like. One who breaks an arrest which has been put on him in one of the places or on one of the occasions hitherto mentioned, does not commit a criminal offence by doing so. A.

50. A. observes that this verse, though it ought not to come in here, has been inserted from the original work (of Nârada?). It means, according to him, that both those lawsuits which have been decided by the king in person, and those which have been decided by friends, connections, or relatives, shall be tried anew, in case the double amount of the fine ordained has been paid. Yâgñavalkya II, 305. Perhaps the word '(or)' had better be omitted.

51. 'A proper time' means 'a suitable time,' i.e. any other time besides the various occasions mentioned in paragraph 45. 'One who arrests improperly,' is either one who arrests on one of the prohibited occasions, or one who arrests without sufficient reason. A.

52. Artizans, i.e. manual labourers, while engaged in their work. A.

* 53. Cowherds engaged in tending cattle ; cultivators in the act of cultivation ; artisans, while engaged in their own occupations ; soldiers, during warfare ;

* 54. One who has not yet arrived at years of discretion ; a messenger ; one about to give alms ; one fulfilling a vow ; one harassed by difficulties : a person belonging to any of these categories must not be arrested, nor shall the king summon him (before a court of justice).

* 55. One accused of an offence must not lodge a plaint himself, unless he have refuted the charge raised by the other party. Neither (is he allowed to accuse) one who has already been accused by a different party. It is wrong to strike one again who has already been struck (by another).

56. When he has proffered a charge, he must not

53, 54. 'One who has not yet arrived at years of discretion,' i.e. a boy. 'A messenger,' whether employed in the affairs of the king, or by a private person. 'One about to give alms,' at one of the 'Parvan' days (the days of the four changes of the moon). 'One fulfilling a vow,' performing a special religious observance. 'One harassed by difficulties,' i.e. one who has been befallen, at the time being, by a calamity from the king or from fate. All persons in any such situation must not be arrested. A.

55. The defendant, after having been accused by the plaintiff, must not proffer a counter plaint against the plaintiff, without having previously cleared himself of the charge raised against himself, because two different causes cannot be tried at one and the same time. Neither must a new plaint be lodged against one who has already been impeached by another, because one already hit must not be hit again. If a deer has been first hit by one huntsman, and is again hit by another hunter, the effort of the latter is to no purpose. The first huntsman may justly claim the deer, and not the second. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 9.

56. 'He must not alter the charge,' as e.g. by claiming a larger or a smaller sum afterwards than he had done before. If e.g. after

again alter it. He must not recede from his previous claim. By doing so he will lose his suit.

57. He must not lodge a false plaint. He is a sinner who proffers a false charge (against any one). Whatever fine is declared in a suit of this sort has to be paid by the claimant.

58. If a man delays his answer under false pretences, or if he stands mute at the trial, or if he revokes his own former statements : these are the signs by which a loser of his cause may be known.

59. One who absconds after having received the summons, or who does not make any defence after having arrived in court, shall be punished by the king, because his cause is lost.

60. If a man being questioned does not uphold

having first claimed, as being his due, a sum amounting to 20 Gadyâ-nakas of gold, he says afterwards : This man has to give 50 drammas (drachmas) to my son, it is called 'receding from one's first claim and proffering another claim.' A. Yâgñavalkya II, 9.

58. Delaying one's answer under false pretences is e.g. if a man says, 'I am unwell just now,' or 'I am unclean just now. I make no answer.' Likewise, if a man, after having been asked by the judges, does not speak, or if having made a statement previously he revokes it ; by such signs as these a man may be known to have lost his cause. A.

59. He who, after having been summoned by the king, makes off ; or who, having decamped and having been seized with difficulty by the king's officers, does not make any reply to the questions put to him, shall be fined by the king, because he loses his suit. A. Manu VIII, 55, 56 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 16.

60. If, being questioned by the judges, he does not uphold, i.e. maintain, a statement previously made by himself. A. The commentators of Manu, in commenting on an analogous passage of the Code of Manu (VIII, 54), give the following example. A man has made a certain statement regarding the money in dispute. The judge asks him afterwards, 'Why did you tender or accept the money at night?' The man thereupon does not abide by his own former statement. (See Jolly, translation of the eighth chapter of

a statement duly made by himself (at a former stage of the trial) ; or if he ends by admitting what had been previously negated by himself ;

61. Or if he is unable to produce any witnesses, after having declared that they are in existence and having been asked to produce them : by all such signs as these persons devoid of virtue may be known.

* 62. When a lawsuit has been decided evidence becomes useless, unless a document or witnesses can be produced who or which had not been announced at a former stage of the trial.

* 63. As the (fertilizing) power of rain is thrown away on ripe grain, even so evidence becomes useless when the suit has been decided.

the Code of Manu.) 'He who, after having answered a question in the negative previously, makes an opposite statement afterwards.' The meaning is as follows : He is cast, if, having been interrogated by the judges, 'Can you adduce any witnesses or documents ?' he replies at first by saying 'I have none,' and goes on to say 'I have witnesses and documents.' A. The reading seems faulty. See Manu.

61. If a man says he has documents or witnesses, and the judges, having heard this, say to him, 'If you have witnesses, show them,' i. e. exhibit them ; if thereupon he does not adduce them, he loses his suit. A. Manu VIII, 57.

62. 'This wicked debtor owes me money. He declines to restore it, though I can prove his obligation to pay me by witnesses and documentary evidence. Therefore I must cite him before the tribunal of the king.' If the claimant says so and does not produce evidence at the time when he proffers his claim, but produces it afterwards, it does not make evidence. If, however, a statement of this kind had been previously made, and the claimant, owing to some unfortunate accident, or to forgetfulness, &c., has merely failed to repeat it at the third stage of the trial (i. e. during the judicial inquiry), it may be renewed, and shall be examined by the judges, although the case had already been decided, and sureties been given and taken. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 20.

64. False statements even have to be examined if they have been made in due season. That, on the other hand, which has been passed over in silence through inadvertency, fails to produce any result, even though it be true.

* 65. If a man is of opinion that the suit has been decided and punishment declared in a way contrary to justice, he may have the cause tried once more, provided he should pay twice the amount of the fine inflicted.

* 66. If a verdict contrary to justice has been passed, the assessors of the court must pay that fine; because nobody certainly can act as a judge without incurring the risk of being punished (eventually).

67. When a member of a court of justice, actuated by wrath, ignorance, or covetousness, has passed an

64. *Yâgñavalkya II, 19.*

65. A lawsuit is 'decided' at the time when the judges, after having come to a unanimous agreement about the verdict to be passed on the plaintiff and defendant, give them a written record of their respective victory and defeat. The 'punishment has been declared' when the judges, after passing the verdict, dictate a certain punishment, in accordance with the comparative heaviness or lightness of the offence committed. In both cases, if a man considers himself to have lost his cause through an unjust sentence, he may have the cause tried anew, if he pledges himself to pay twice the amount of the fine to the king's judge. A. *Yâgñavalkya II, 305.*

66. 'Where an unjust sentence has been passed, the blame attaches to the assessors of the court. Therefore they have to pay that fine.' A. *Yâgñavalkya II, 4.*

67. 'Wrath' is when he bears him an old grudge. 'Ignorance' means folly. That is done 'through covetousness' which is done in consideration of a bribe. 'He who passes an unjust sentence,' i.e. who says what is opposed to justice. Such an assessor has to be considered as 'no assessor of the court,' i.e. he is unworthy to sit in the court. A.

unjust sentence, he shall be declared unworthy to be a member of the court, and the king shall punish him for his offence.

* 68. That king, however, who is intent on doing his duty, must be particularly anxious to discover what is right and what is wrong, because there is a variety of dispositions among mankind.

69. There are some who give false evidence from covetousness. There are other villainous wretches who resort to forging documentary evidence.

70. Therefore both (sorts of evidence) must be tested by the king with great care: documents, according to the rules regarding writings; witnesses, according to the law of witnesses.

* 71. Liars may have the appearance of veracious men, and veracious men may resemble liars. There are many different characters. Therefore it is necessary to examine (everything).

* 72. The firmament has the appearance of a flat surface, and the fire-fly looks like fire. Yet there is no surface to the sky, nor fire in the fire-fly.

* 73. Therefore it is proper to investigate a matter, even though it should have happened before one's own eyes. One who does not deliver his opinion till he has investigated the matter will not violate justice.

68. The two following paragraphs show what is meant by 'the diversity of men's minds.' A.

72. As the sky has the appearance of a level plain like the earth, yet there is nothing like earth about it; and as there is no fire in the fire-fly, although it sparks like fire; even so the utterances of men are often untrue, though they may have the appearance of true statements. Therefore it is necessary to examine strictly even what a man professes to have seen with his own eyes. A.

* 74. Thus a king, constantly trying lawsuits with attention, will acquire widespread and brilliant renown in this life and the abode of Indra after his death.

II. THE PLAINT.

1. The claimant, after having produced a pledge the value of which has been well ascertained, shall cause the plaint to be written. (He must have been impelled) to proffer his claim, by the nature of the claim, and must be intent on promoting the victory of his cause.

* 2. The defendant (creditor), immediately after having become acquainted with the tenour of the plaint, shall write down his answer, which must correspond to the tenour of the plaint.

* 3. Or let him (the defendant) deliver his answer on the next day, or three days, or seven days later.

II, 1. The term *sunisṭitabalâdhânas*, which has been taken to mean 'after having produced a pledge the value (or competence) of which has been well ascertained,' is by no means clear, and admits of several different interpretations. Thus it might be rendered, 'after having carefully explored the nature of the wrong offered to him.' A. does not explain this obscure term 'Impelled by the nature of his claim,' not by the king, or by an enemy, but merely by his own cause. 'Intent on promoting the victory of his cause,' i.e. absolutely determined not to embark in any other undertaking, previous to having gained his cause. A.

2. The creditor is called plaintiff. The debtor is called defendant. The defendant, after having heard the tenour of the plaint which has been tendered in writing by the plaintiff, shall write an answer, i.e. make a reply, which corresponds to the tenour of the plaint. A. Read *pratyarthî* in the text.

3. The defendant may tender his written answer on the next day, or three days, or seven days after he has heard the accusation. The plaintiff, on the other hand, is not allowed any time to reply to the statements of the defendant. His victory (or defeat) is

The plaintiff no doubt duly obtains his victory at once, when the trial has reached the third stage (the examination of the evidence).

* 4. An answer is fourfold ; a denial, a confession, a special plea, and that which is based on a plea of former judgment.

* 5. A denial is fourfold (being couched in any one out of the four forms hereafter mentioned). 'This is false,' or 'I do not know anything about it,' or 'I was not present at the transaction,' or 'I was not in existence at the time when this event took place.'

6. A contradiction, the reverse, a retort, and a friendly counsel ; in one out of these four forms should the answer be given, and it should be in conformity with the tenour of the plaint.

* 7. Before the answer to the plaint has been tendered by the defendant, the plaintiff may amend his own statements as much as he desires.

decided at once, by examining the proofs that have been adduced. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 7.

4. A special plea is when the defendant admits a fact, but qualifies or explains it so as not to allow it to be matter of accusation. A plea of former judgment is when the defendant pleads that the very same cause has been previously tried at the tribunal of this or that judge, and that his adversary has been cast. A.

6. This paragraph, says A., occurs in the original work, and has therefore been inserted in this place, though it is difficult of explanation and a mere paraphrase of the preceding paragraph. It has been rendered in accordance with his interpretation. 'The reverse' means confession. 'A retort' means a special plea. 'A friendly counsel' means plea of former judgment. A.

7. The plaintiff may go on altering and improving his written declaration, till the defendant gives in his answer. When, however, the plaint has been answered, he is no longer at liberty to make any further amendments. A.

* 8. These are called the defects of a plaint: (1) if it relates to a different subject; (2) if it is unmeaning; (3) if the amount (of the sum claimed) has not been properly stated; (4) if it is wanting in propriety; (5) if the writing is deficient; (6) or redundant; (7) if it has been damaged.

9. By whomsoever a claim is raised, whatever and from whomsoever it may have been claimed: from that very person must the claimant receive that very thing, and it must not be (claimed) mutually, or (claimed) from a stranger. Thus 'a claim relating to a different subject' may be of three kinds.

10. Thy friend here has thought in his mind, that I am his enemy. On account of this great intolerance I have impeached thee here.

11. If he omits to state the amount of the thing (claimed), and forgets to aim at brevity(?): this fault of a plaint is called omission of the amount (claimed), and it should be avoided.

12. Let him avoid improper statements in the plaint (e.g. an accusation which is raised) by a plurality of persons against one single-handed; or

8. A. does not explain the rather obscure terms occurring in several of the following paragraphs. He confines himself to stating that they contain an accurate definition of the 'seven defects of a plaint,' as enumerated in paragraph 8, to which the defect described in paragraphs 15, 16 has to be added as an eighth.

9. The three kinds of 'a claim relating to a different subject' appear, therefore, to be these: where it proceeds from a different person than the creditor; where the amount of the sum claimed has not been stated correctly; and where the plaint has been addressed to a wrong person.

10. This is an instance of an unmeaning or frivolous accusation. A.

11. The reading of this paragraph is uncertain.

(a cause which) is opposed to (the interests of) the city or kingdom (in which he lives).

13. A plaint in which a mere dot is omitted, or where a word or a syllable has been obliterated, or where too little or too much has been written, or which is absurd; such a plaint should be carefully avoided.

14. He should (equally) avoid a plaint which has been destroyed or damaged (by an accident), or which has been soiled by water, oil, or other (liquids), even though the purport and meaning of the plaint be quite plain.

* 15. A plaint, though otherwise established, is not correct, if it is contrary to established law and usage.

16. A claim which is proffered in this form—'I gave this to him while he was in a state of intoxication with fragrance (through a smell of perfume)'—cannot succeed, because it is contrary to established usage.

* 17. Where different words are (subsequently) inserted (in the plaint), and where the sense becomes different (in consequence), there the judicial investigation becomes confused, and the evidence itself is thrown into confusion.

* 18. When the claimant, in a passion, and actuated

17. A. illustrates this rule by the following example. The claimant has claimed a certain sum. At the time of the trial he names a larger sum than he did before. Thus the judicial investigation becomes confused.

18. If a man actuated by one of the three passions, sexual desire, wrath, and covetousness, mentions some special (important) circumstance at the trial, the scribe shall enter it at once in writing on a board, or leaf, or Bhûrga-bark, or box, or wall. A. This rule seems to relate to incidental statements, which escape one of the parties through inadvertency. Thus in the well-known drama *Mrikkhakaśikā*, the wicked prince *Samsthânaka*, when informing the

by one of the immoral motives, such as partiality, makes some special statement, it shall at once be completely reduced to writing on a board or other (writing material).

19. Other statements than those (taken down at first) regarding the plaintiff on a board or other (writing material) shall be removed, after careful consideration, by persons versed in law, (when reporting on the trial) for the information of the king's judge.

20. Let such persons reduce to writing the statements of each party, and whatever else has been written on the board, together with the names of the

judge that Vasantasenâ has been murdered, adds, 'not by myself.' The judge pounces upon the latter statement, suspicious as it looks, and causes the scribe to put it down in writing on the floor. The prince, perceiving that he has committed himself, effaces the writing with his foot. The custom of writing the statements of the parties on the floor is repeatedly referred to in the Indian dramas. From what Brîhaspati says, it would seem that in the time of this law-writer the statements of the parties had first to be written on a board, and then on a leaf, after all the required corrections had been entered. Nârada seems to refer to the same custom in paragraphs 19 and 20.

According to Dr. Burnell, the boards referred to in the law-books must have been a sort of black wooden boards. See Burnell, *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., p. 87.

20. In translating this paragraph, the obscurity of which is only surpassed by the preceding paragraph, I have deviated from the interpretation proposed by the commentator.

A. takes this paragraph as containing four independent clauses: 1. what has been stated or admitted by both parties; 2. whatever else has been written on the board; 3. the depositions of the witnesses; 4. what each party has conceded to the other. These four things should be reduced to writing by the persons entrusted with the judicial investigation. 'Whatever else has been written on the board,' i. e. whatever the plaintiff amends or adds, while the plaint is being reduced to writing. Such statements, as shown in the next paragraph, are called *Pratyâkalita*.

witnesses, as well as those statements in which both parties concur.

21. Additional statements of the plaintiff (or defendant), which are not contained in the writings of both parties, shall be (subsequently) entered into his (their) declaration. They are called Pratyâkalita ('what is interposed').

* 22. If one deputed by the claimant, or chosen as his representative by the defendant, speaks for his client in court, the victory or defeat concerns the party (himself and not the representative).

* 23. He deserves punishment who speaks in behalf of another, without being either the brother, the father, the son, or the appointed agent; and so does he who contradicts himself at the trial.

* 24. He who forsakes his original claim and produces a new one, loses his suit, because he confounds two complaints with one another.

* 25. A verbal error does not annul the claim in

21. A. infers from the use of the term 'both parties' that a Pratyâkalita statement may proceed from the defendant as well as from the plaintiff, though the plaintiff alone is specially mentioned. A. adds that this rule applies equally to all those kinds of statements, which are mentioned in paragraph 20.

22. This rule applies equally where a party is prevented from appearing before the court by illness, and where the party is not a good speaker, and has appointed an agent or attorney for that reason. A.

23. This prohibition relates to those who, from love, anger, or avarice, meddle with the affairs of strangers, and pretend to act in their behalf at court. A.

24. If a claimant, on finding himself unable to prove his claim at the trial, proffers a different claim, he must be pronounced the losing party, on account of the confusion caused by him. A.

25. An erroneous statement does not necessarily cause the defeat

actions of any kind. So if the case relates to cattle, or to a woman, or to land, or to a debt, he is liable to punishment, but his claim is not annulled.

26. Where the defendant denies the charge, the claimant has to prove his accusation, unless the denial should have been in the form called *Pratyavaskandana*.

* 27. What the claimant has fully declared word for word in the plaint that he must substantiate by adducing evidence at the third stage of the trial.

* 28. Proof is said to be of two kinds, human and divine. Human proof consists of documentary and oral evidence. By divine proof is meant the ordeal by balance and the other (modes of divine test).

29. Where a transaction has taken place by day,

of the plaintiff. This is particularly the case in one of the following important actions: a case relating to a cow, female buffalo, or other cattle; a case relating to a woman; a case relating to landed property, i.e. a house, field, &c.; and a case relating to one of the twenty-five subdivisions of the law of debt. In any case he is not defeated, merely on account of an erroneous statement contained in the suit. He does not lose the suit instituted by him, though he is liable to punishment. A. The *Mitâksharâ* (p. 23) has a long gloss on this rule of Nârada, from which it appears that the 'erroneous statements' here referred to are statements made through inadvertency, and that this rule applies to civil, as opposed to criminal actions. Read *vâkkhale* in the Sanskrit text.

26. An answer in the form called *Pratyavaskandana* is where the defendant admits the facts adduced by the plaintiff, but explains them so as not to be matter of accusation.

27. The claimant must prove, at the judicial investigation, whatever he has committed to writing in the plaint. A.

29. The divers kinds of divine test will be declared below. In the case of all those transactions which take place during day-time eye- and ear-witnesses are present. Documentary evidence, likewise, is generally available in such cases. Therefore, divine proof should not be resorted to. Where a transaction is known to have

in a village or town, or in the presence of witnesses, divine test is not applicable.

* 30. Divine test is applicable (where the transaction has taken place) in a solitary forest, at night, or in the interior of a house, and in cases of violence, or of denial of a deposit.

31. Where the defendant has evaded the plaint by means of a special plea, it becomes incumbent on him to prove his assertion, and he is placed in the position of a claimant.

* 32. One who takes to flight after having received the summons; one who remains silent; one who is convicted (of untruth) by (the deposition of) the witnesses; and one who makes a confession himself: these are the four kinds of Avasannas (losers of their suit).

* 33. One who alters his former statements; one

taken place in the presence of witnesses, divine proof is also not applicable. A.

30. In all the places and occasions mentioned in this paragraph human proof is not applicable, wherefore divine test has to be resorted to. A.

31. Where the defendant has recourse to the mode of defence called Pratyavaskandana, i.e. where he admits the charge, but adduces a special circumstance to exonerate himself, the plaint becomes purposeless. To the defendant, however, belongs the onus probandi in regard to the special circumstance mentioned by him. He is, therefore, reduced to the position of a claimant, in that it is incumbent on him to prove his assertion at the time of the judicial investigation (kriyā). A.

32. One who, though summoned by the king's officers, absconds through fear of the accusation brought against him; one who stands mute in the assembly when he is asked to make his declaration; one who is cast by the depositions of the witnesses; and one who confesses to be in the wrong himself: these four persons are non-suited. A. Yāgñavalkya II, 16; Manu VIII, 55-58.

33. Two out of the four 'losers of their suit,' who are referred

who shuns the judicial investigation ; one who does not make his appearance (before the tribunal); one who makes no reply ; and one who absconds after receiving the summons : these five kinds of persons are called Hîna (cast in their present suit).

34. Precious stones, such as rubies, golden ornaments, such as Dînâras, pearls, coral, shells, and other (jewels and precious metals) shall be returned

to in the preceding paragraph, may be said to have lost their cause for once and all, viz. one who is convicted of untruth by the deposition of the witnesses, and one who confesses his wrong himself. The two others, viz. one who remains silent and one who absconds, are liable to punishment, but they do not entirely lose their suit, as their cause may be tried anew. Similarly, the five persons mentioned in par. 33, though non-suited in the case in hand, may have their cause tried anew. 'One who alters his statements,' i.e. one who, from forgetfulness, says something different from what he had stated before. 'One who shuns the judicial investigation,' i.e. one who, from repugnance against judicial investigation, throws the proceedings into confusion. 'One who does not make his appearance before the tribunal,' i.e. on account of a calamity which has befallen him through the king or through fate, &c. 'One who makes no reply,' i.e. one who does not give in his answer at once, and asks for delay to prepare it. 'One who absconds' from fear of an enemy. A. This interpretation has evidently been called forth by a desire to reconcile par. 33 with the preceding paragraph, as the persons called Hîna are partly identical with those designed as Avasannas. It may be doubted, however, whether par. 32 belongs to the original work of Nârada, as the identical rule is elsewhere attributed to Brîhaspati (see Viram., p. 102), and as it is certainly difficult to reconcile the two paragraphs with one another.

34. If the owner of the articles mentioned in this rule sells them for genuine, and the purchaser, putting belief in his statements, accepts them as such, and pays for them, but finds out afterwards that they are not genuine, the seller must take them back, and must give other articles in exchange for them which are really valuable, or he must make good their value to the purchaser. A. As for the meaning of the term Dînâra, which corresponds to the Latin denarius, see the Introduction.

to their owner, in case they turn out to be imitations only.

35. If a man seizes perfumes, or garlands—other than those which have been given to him—or ornaments, or clothes, or shoes, which belong to the king, he deserves to be corporally punished.

* 36. The price or value of a commodity, wages, a deposit, a fine, what has been abandoned (by one and found by another), what has been idly promised, and what has been won at play; none of these articles yields interest, except under a special agreement to the purpose.

37. Men of the *Sûdra* caste, who proffer a false accusation against a member of a twice-born (*Aryan*) caste, shall have their tongue slit by (the officers of) the king, and he shall cause them to be put on stakes.

38. A royal edict, a (private) document, a written

35. One who, from pride, seizes (or uses) one of the above articles, shall be corporally punished, if they belong to the king. A. The reading of this paragraph is quite uncertain.

36. 'The price of a commodity,' the price paid for a saleable commodity which has been sold. 'A deposit,' a trust. 'A fine,' an amercement which has been inflicted by the king's judges. 'What has been abandoned,' what has been seized after its dereliction (by the original owner). 'What has been idly promised' to bards or other worthless persons.

37. If the *Sûdras*, by whom this crime has been committed, are punished by the king, he becomes free from blame. Otherwise, the blame falls on him, as it is his duty to reward the honest, and to punish evil-doers. A.

38. The divers forms in which a plaint is instituted in each of these several cases (excepting a single case, a transaction of sale) are stated as follows by A. : '1. This man has not taken notice of a certain royal edict. 2. This man has (unduly) availed himself of a certain document relating to its owner. 3. This man, by virtue of a certain written title, has appropriated a slave girl belonging to

title, a grant, a pledge, a (promise reduced to) writing, a sale, or purchase : one who brings a claim in regard to any one of these before the king is known as defendant among those conversant with the rules (of legal pleading).

* 39. Where the deposition of the witnesses has been objected to, it becomes necessary first of all to clear the witnesses from suspicion. When the witnesses themselves have been cleared from suspicion, he may undertake to remove the doubts which have been raised against their deposition.

* 40. When a man has lost his cause through the dishonesty of witnesses or judges, the cause may be tried anew. When, however, a man has been cast through his own conduct, the trial cannot be renewed.

41. One convicted by his own confession, one

myself. 4. This man raises the revenue of a certain village which has been granted to myself. The grant relates to myself only. 5. This property has first been pledged to me by the debtor. How can any one else enjoy it? 6. Why does not this man deliver this chattel to me, which has been promised to me in writing? 7. I have purchased this commodity from him, and paid for it. He does not make the commodity over to me.'—Read *âgñâ*.

39. Where the defendant raises groundless objections against the trustworthiness of the depositions of witnesses, he is liable to punishment, like one who shuns the judicial investigation, and loses his suit in consequence. After the witnesses have been cleared from suspicion, their statements have to be examined in order to remove what looks suspicious in them. A.

40. Those who have lost their cause, either through the statements of their own witnesses, or through the decision of the judges, may have their cause tried anew, according to a rule previously laid down. If, however, a man has been convicted by his own conduct, or if the witnesses adduced by him should turn out to have been corrupted by him, the case cannot again be opened. A.

41. 1. One who pleads guilty; 2. one convicted by his own

cast through his own conduct, and one whom the judicial investigation has proved to be in the wrong : (these three) deserve to have their final defeat declared at the hand of the judges.

42. Whenever the (false) assertions have been removed, the judges shall pass a decree. If they pass a judgment, before the false statements have been removed, they will cause evil in the next world and in this.

43. One condemned by the judges shall be punished by the king according to law. The victorious party shall receive a document recording his victory, and couched in appropriate language.

44. This has been formerly declared by the self-existent Being to be the mouth of a lawsuit. If the mouth of a lawsuit is in order, the whole suit is in order, but not otherwise.

conduct, as e.g. by adducing false witnesses or forged documents ;
3. one convicted by the witnesses : those three shall not be punished till they have been condemned by the judges. A.

42. When the time for passing a decree has arrived, the judges shall carefully remove all mere assertions of either party. Should they omit to do so, they would be in danger of condemning an innocent man, and might produce evil in this world by causing loss of money, and in the next world by barring the way to paradise to themselves, as it is the duty of kings to restrain evil-doers and to protect the righteous. A.

43. According to *Bṛihaspati*, the document of victory which has to be given to the victorious party shall contain an accurate record of the plaint, of the answer, and of the judicial investigation.

44. The general rules regarding judicial proceedings, which have been laid down in the preceding section, are declared to be the mouth of a lawsuit, because they are applicable to the trial of every suit. 'The self-existent Being,' i.e. Brahman. A.

III. COURTS OF JUSTICE.

* 1. One who has not been authorized must not speak on any account at the trial. But authorized persons must deliver their opinion in an unbiassed spirit.

* 2. Whether unauthorized or authorized, one acquainted with the law shall give his opinion. He passes a divine sentence who acts up to the dictates of law.

3. If he delivers a fair opinion, a member of the court will incur neither hatred nor sin. But if he speaks otherwise he at once incurs both.

* 4. Let the king appoint, as members of a court

III, 1. Courts of justice are generally thronged by a large attendance. Some of the persons present are intelligent, others are not, and others are wise in their own estimation only. Such persons, if unrestrained, would disturb the judges by interpreting idle speeches between the legal proceedings, and by quarrelling amongst themselves. Therefore, the first half of this paragraph relates to the punishment ordained for those who speak without authorization. Authorized persons, i.e. the judges who sit on the seat of judgment, shall strive to be just, i.e. they shall deliver a judgment in accordance with justice, and shall not show partiality for either of the parties. A.

2. Where all the assessors of the court pass an unjust sentence, from ignorance of the law, or from interested motives, there a Brahman versed in the sacred law and acquainted with legal proceedings, who happens to be present, shall point out the law to them, and restrain the judges from their sinful course. He shall speak, though he has not been appointed to deliver judgment. Law is called the voice of the deity. A.

3. That is called 'a fair opinion' which is not contrary to written law and to custom. A judge who delivers a sentence of this kind incurs neither enmity nor sin, i.e. he does not become unhappy either in this world or in the next. A.

4. As young bulls are able to carry a heavy burden, even so

of justice, honourable men, of tried integrity, who are able to bear, like good bulls, the burden of the administration of justice.

* 5. The members of a royal court of justice must be acquainted with the sacred law and with rules of prudence, noble, veracious, and impartial towards friend and foe.

6. Justice is said to depend on them, and the king is the fountain head of justice. Therefore the king should try causes properly, attended by good assessors.

7. When lawsuits are decided properly, the members of the court are cleared from guilt. Their purity depends on the justice (of the sentences passed by them). Therefore one must deliver a fair judgment.

8. Where justice is slain by injustice, and truth by falsehood, the members of the court, who look on with indifference, are doomed to destruction themselves.

competent judges are able to discharge the onerous duties of their responsible office. They must be men of ripe wisdom, acquainted with sacred law and with the ways of the world, and the king must have tested their qualifications. A. Vishnu III, 74, &c.

5. The law-books contain many utterances of the sages, which are obscure and difficult to make out. Therefore slow-minded persons, who are unable to understand them, and to refer their contents to each case in hand, must not be appointed. Well-descended persons shall be appointed, because they will avoid partiality from family pride. 'Veracious' persons have a natural abhorrence against untruthfulness. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 2.

6. 'On them,' i.e. on the judges, whose qualities have been previously described. A. Vishnu III, 72; Manu VIII, 1; Yâgñavalkya II, 1, &c.

7. If the king decides lawsuits justly, the assessors obtain their own absolution through the just decision. A.

8. Identical with Manu VIII, 14.

9. Where justice, having been hit by injustice, enters a court of justice, and the members of the court do not extract the dart from the wound, they are hit by it themselves.

10. Either the judicial assembly must not be entered at all, or a fair opinion delivered. That man who either stands mute or delivers an opinion contrary to justice is a sinner.

11. Those members of a court who, after having entered it, sit mute and meditative, and do not speak when the occasion arises, are liars all of them.

* 12. One quarter of the iniquity goes to the offender; one quarter goes to the witness; one quarter goes to all the members of the court; one quarter goes to the king.

13. The king is freed from responsibility, the

9. Virtue is here compared to one wounded with a weapon, who goes to a physician in order to be cured by him. The judges are compared to physicians who, by means of a careful judicial investigation, deliver justice from the attacks of iniquity. If they do not extract the dart of iniquity, they are killed themselves by the dart of iniquity, which has been spared by them. A. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 12.

10. Either the judicial assembly must not be entered at all, not even a single time, or an opinion conformable to justice must be delivered. A judge who remains silent, or who, when asked to pass a sentence, says what is contrary to justice, is criminal, i. e. a great sinner. A. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 13.

11. Those judges who sit mute in the judicial assembly, being apparently engaged in meditating over an altogether different affair than that for which the parties have appeared before the tribunal, and who fail to declare at the proper time the victory of the one party and the defeat of the other, all such persons shall be looked upon by the king as equally criminal with those who pass a false sentence. A.

12, 13. These two paragraphs belong together. If the judges

members of the court obtain their absolution, and the guilt goes to the offender, when the guilty person is punished.

14. He who, having entered the court, delivers a strange opinion, ignoring the true state of the case, resembles a blind man who regardless swallows fish together with the bones.

15. Therefore let every assessor of the court deliver a fair opinion after having entered the court, discarding love and hatred, in order that he may not go to hell.

* 16. As an experienced surgeon extracts a dart by means of surgical instruments, even so the chief

were to acquit the criminal, and unjustly to condemn the innocent party, the iniquity or sinful action committed by the unjust decree would go into four parts, i. e. a quarter of it would go respectively to the shares of the perpetrator of the deed, of the witnesses, of all the assessors of the court, and of the king. If, however, the guilty person alone is condemned, i. e. if the criminal party loses his cause, the king becomes free from guilt, the judges are free from responsibility, and the whole guilt falls on the perpetrator of the iniquitous deed. A. Medhâtithi, in commenting on the identical rule of Manu (VIII, 18), observes that the guilt goes to the king, in case the sentence had been passed by him in person. Otherwise it goes to his chief judge. Identical with Manu VIII, 18, 19, &c.

14. One whose eyesight is unimpaired, does not eat fish without having previously removed the bones, which would injure his mouth, his tongue, and his palate. A blind man, on the contrary, eats fish together with the bones, because he is unable to remove them. The case is similar with the eye of knowledge. A.

15. Considering all this, let a judge, after having entered the court of judicature, reject every kind of bias, and deliver a fair, i. e. an impartial opinion, in order that he may not go to hell burdened with the crime of a guilty person (acquitted by him). A.

16. As a skilful surgeon conversant with the art of extracting a dart, extracts it, though it may be difficult to get at and invisible, by the application of surgical instruments, of spells, and other manifold artful practices, even so a judge shall extract the dart of

judge must extract the dart (of iniquity) from the lawsuit.

* 17. When the whole aggregate of the members of a judicial assembly declare, 'This is right,' the lawsuit loses the dart, otherwise the dart remains in it.

18. That is not a judicial assembly where there are no elders. They are not elders who do not pass a just sentence. That is not a just sentence in which there is no truth. That is not truth which is vitiated by error.

iniquity which has entered a lawsuit, by employing the artful expedients of judicial investigation. A.

17. 'The members of a judicial assembly' are those who have come together for the trial of a cause. A.

18. This paragraph, in the original, is a verse composed in the Trishūbh metre, and has the look of an old versus memorialis. Though the author of the Nârada-smṛiti has incorporated it in his work, its contents do not quite fit in with his own ideas regarding the constitution of a judicial assembly, and the prominent place which he assigns to the chief judge of the king.

FIRST TITLE OF LAW.

THE LAW OF DEBT.

1. Payment of a Debt.

* 1. Which debts must be paid, which other debts must not be paid ; by whom, and in what form (they must be paid) ; and the rules of gift and receipt, (all that) is comprised under the title of 'Recovery of a Debt.'

* 2. The father being dead, it is incumbent on the sons to pay his debt, each according to his share (of the inheritance), in case they are divided in interests. Or, if they are not divided in interests, the debt must

The twenty-five sections into which the law of debt has been divided in this translation correspond in the main, though not throughout, to the headings proposed by Asahâya in different portions of his work. Asahâya, as pointed out before, is not consistent with himself in this respect. It is curious to note that the whole law of evidence, excepting the general rules laid down in the preceding chapters, has been inserted by Nârada between the divers rules of the law of debt. He seems to have followed in this respect, as in other particulars, the example set to him by the earlier legislators, such as Manu and Yâgñavalkya.

I, 1, 2. If a debt contracted by the father has not been repaid during his lifetime, by himself, it must be restored, after his death, by his sons. Should they separate, they shall repay it according to their respective shares. If they remain united, they shall pay it in common, or the manager shall pay it for the rest, no matter whether he may be the senior of the family or a younger member, who, during the absence of the oldest, or on account of his incapacity, has undertaken the management of the family estate. A.

be discharged by that son who becomes manager of the family estate.

* 3. That debt which has been contracted by an undivided paternal uncle, brother, or mother, for the benefit of the household, must be discharged wholly by the heirs.

* 4. If a debt has been legitimately inherited by the sons, and left unpaid by them, such debt of the grandfather must be discharged by his grandsons. The liability for it does not include the fourth in descent.

* 5. Fathers wish to have sons on their own account, thinking in their minds, 'He will release me from all obligations towards superior and inferior beings.'

3. A debt contracted for the household, by an unseparated paternal uncle or brother, or by the mother, must be paid by all the heirs. If they are separate in affairs they must pay for it according to their shares. If they live in union of interests, they must repay it in common. A.

2, 3. Manu VIII, 166; Vishnu VI, 27, 35, 36; Yâgñavalkya II, 45, 50.

4. A. proposes an explanation of this paragraph which is not in accordance with its literal meaning, and decidedly opposed to the principles of a sound method of interpretation. He says that the term 'grandsons' must be taken to relate to the grandsons of the debtor's sons, i.e. to the great-grandsons of the debtor, and that the term 'the fourth descendant' signifies the fourth in descent from the debtor's sons, i.e. the fifth in descent from the debtor himself. This assumption, he says, is necessary in order to reconcile the present rule with the statements of all other legislators, and with Nârada's own rule (par. 6). Vishnu VI, 27, 28; Yâgñavalkya II, 50.

5. A. uses this paragraph in support of his theory that the obligation to pay the debts of an ancestor extends to the fourth in descent. As the great-grandson has to discharge 'the debt to superior beings,' i.e. as he has to offer the customary *Srâddhas* to his great-grandfather, so he is liable for debts contracted by him, which have not been repaid.

6. Three deceased (ancestors) must be worshipped, three must be revered before the rest. These

6. Three deceased ancestors, i.e. the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, may claim the discharge of their terrestrial and celestial liabilities from the fourth in descent. This rule is illustrated by the history of an action which was brought before a court in Patna. A merchant of the Brahman caste, by the name of Śrīdhara, had lent the whole of his wealth, consisting of 10,000 drammās (drachmas), which he had gained through great labour, to a trader, by the name of Devadhara, on condition that interest amounting to two per cent. per mensem of the principal stock should be paid to him. The interest was duly paid to Śrīdhara at the end of the first month. In the second month, however, Devadhara met his death through an accident. His son died of an attack of cholera. Devadhara's great-grandson alone was left. His name was Mahīdhara. As he was addicted to licentious courses, the management of the estate was undertaken by his sons and maternal uncles. They got into the hands of a cunning Brahman called Smārtadurdhara, who advised them not to pay a single rupee to Śrīdhara, as he was able to prove from the law-books that he had no claim to the money. The uncles of Mahīdhara, much pleased with this piece of advice, promised to give 1,000 drammās to the Brahman if they need not pay the money to Śrīdhara. Thus, when at the close of the second month, the uncles and guardians of Devadhara's great-grandson, Mahīdhara, were asked by Śrīdhara to pay 200 drammās, being the amount of interest due on the sum lent to Devadhara, they refused payment. They said: 'We do not owe you the principal, much less any amount of interest. The Brahman Smārtadurdhara has pointed out to us that the obligation to pay stops with the fourth in descent.' Śrīdhara was struck dumb with grief and terror on hearing this announcement made to him. When he had regained his senses, he repaired to the court of justice, attended by his family, friends, and servants, and impeached Mahīdhara, together with his uncles, for their dishonesty. Both parties took sureties. The uncles of Mahīdhara engaged Smārtadurdhara to plead for them. After pretending his clients to be connected with his family by a friendship of long standing, he went on to refer to a text of Nārada (above, par. 4), as proving that the obligation to pay the debts of ancestors stops with the fourth in descent. All his arguments, however, were refuted, and held out to derision by a learned

three ancestors of a man may claim the discharge of their twofold debt from the fourth in descent.

* 7. If a man fails to pay on demand what had been borrowed or promised by him, that sum (together with the interest) goes on growing till it amounts to a hundred krores (= one milliard).

* 8. A hundred krores having been completed, he is born again, in every successive existence, in his (creditor's) house as his slave, in order to repay the debt (by his labour).

* 9. If an ascetic or an Agnihotrî dies without

Brahman, by the name of Smârtasekhara, who, at the end of his address, charged him openly with having taken a bribe from his clients. The consequence was that Mahîdhara and his uncles lost their cause. A. I have quoted this story in full, because it presents a vivid picture of the way in which judicial proceedings used to be transacted in ancient India. The doctrine which the story is intended to illustrate, viz. that the liability to pay debts contracted by an ancestor extends to the great-grandson, is opposed to the teaching of such an eminent authority as Vignânesvara, who maintains in the Mitâksharâ that the great-grandson is not liable for debts contracted by his great-grandfather, and, conversely, that he does not inherit his property. See the author's Tagore Law Lectures (Calcutta, 1885). The same opinion was apparently held by the author of the Nârada-smṛiti, as may be gathered from par. 4, and by other Smṛiti writers. It appears quite probable that the present paragraph, which is not quoted in any of the standard compilations on civil law, may have been inserted by the author of the commentary, who wanted to make the contents of the Nârada-smṛiti agree with his personal views. The shorter recension and the quotations, instead of the present paragraph, exhibit another paragraph, in which the obligation of the son only to release his father from debt is inculcated.

7. This paragraph has been translated according to the explanation given in Vîramitrodaya, p. 358.

9. The ample heavenly reward due to an Agnihotrî, i.e. one who has kept the three sacred fires from the date of his birth, or who has practised austerities without interruption, shall belong to the creditor, and not to the debtor. A.

having discharged his debt, the whole merit collected by his austerities and by his Agnihotra belongs to his creditors.

* 10. A father must not pay the debt of his son, but a son must pay a debt contracted by his father, excepting those debts which have been contracted from love, anger, for spirituous liquor, games, or bailments.

* 11. Such debts of a son as have been contracted by him by his father's order, or for the maintenance of the family, or in a precarious situation, must be paid by the father.

* 12. What has been spent for the household by a pupil, apprentice, slave, woman, menial, or agent, must be paid by the head of the household.

13. When the debtor is dead, and the expense has been incurred for the benefit of the family, the debt must be repaid by his relations, even though they be separated from him in interests.

10, 11. A debt contracted by one blinded by love, or incensed by wrath against his own son, or in an outrageous state of intoxication, or mad with gambling, or who has become surety for another, must not be paid by the son. If, however, a debt has been contracted, even by the son, for the benefit of the household, or in a dangerous situation, it is binding on the father. A. According to Kātyāyana, a debt contracted from love is a promise made to a dissolute woman, and a debt contracted from anger is a reward promised by an angry man to a ruffian for injuring the person or estate of his enemy. 'A debt contracted in a precarious situation,' i. e. a debt contracted in danger of life. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 45, 46, 47; Vishnu VI, 33, 39.

12. 'A pupil,' one engaged in studying science. 'An apprentice,' a pupil who resides with his preceptor for a certain fixed period. 'A slave,' whether born in the house or purchased. A. Vishnu VI, 39.

13. Where the debtor has gone abroad and met his death through illness, or accident, the debtor may claim his due from his relatives, should they even be separated in interests. A.

* 14. The father, uncle, or eldest brother having gone abroad, the son, (or nephew, or younger brother) is not bound to pay his debt before the lapse of twenty years.

* 15. Every single coparcener is liable for debts contracted by another coparcener, if they were contracted while the coparceners were alive and unseparated. But after their death the son of one is not bound to pay the debt of another.

* 16. The wife must not pay a debt contracted by her husband, nor one contracted by her son, except if it had been promised by her, or contracted in common with her husband.

* 17. A sonless widow, and one who has been enjoined by her dying husband (to pay his debt), must pay it. Or (it must be paid) by him who inherits the

14. Necessary debts, such as those enumerated in paragraph 11, must be paid at once by the other family members. Where, however, the father, uncle, or eldest brother resides abroad, and is known to be alive, the son, &c. need not pay his debt till after the lapse of twenty years. A. Vishnu VI, 27; Yâgñavalkya II, 50.

15. After the death of those who have contracted the debt jointly, the son of one is not bound to pay the debt of another than his father. His liability does not extend beyond his father's share of the debt. A. Vishnu VI, 34; Yâgñavalkya II, 45.

16. A woman need not pay a debt contracted by her son, unless she has promised herself to repay it. Similarly, she is not bound to pay a debt contracted by her husband, unless she should have contracted it jointly with him, or if he should have enjoined her on his deathbed to pay his debts, or if she has inherited his property. A. Vishnu VI, 31, 38; Yâgñavalkya II, 46, 49.

17. A widowed woman who has no son is bound to pay the debt of her husband, if he has commissioned her to do so on his deathbed, or if his property has escheated to her. If she is unfit to take the estate, her husband's debt must be repaid by those who have inherited the estate. The property and the liabilities go together. A. Vishnu VI, 29; Yâgñavalkya II, 51, &c.

estate. (For) the liability for the debts goes together with the right of succession.

* 18. A debt contracted by the wife shall never bind the husband, unless it had been contracted at a time when the husband was in distress. Household expenses are indispensably necessary.

* 19. The wives of washermen, huntsmen, cowherds, and distillers of spirituous liquor are exempt from this rule. The income of these men depends on their wives, and the household expenses have also to be defrayed by the wives.

* 20. If a woman who has a son forsakes her son and goes to live with another man, that man shall take her (separate) property. If she has no property of her own, her son (shall take the property of her husband).

* 21. If, however, a woman repairs to another

18. A debt contracted by the wife, for the purpose of saving from distress her husband, son, daughter, or other family members, must be discharged by the family head. A. Vishnu VI, 32, &c.

19. Yâgñavalkya II, 48; Vishnu VI, 37.

20. If a widow who has a son, blinded by love forsakes her son and betakes herself to another husband, taking her Strîdhana (separate property) with her, the Strîdhana shall belong to her second husband, and not to her sons. If, however, a woman who has no separate property goes to live with another man and takes her first husband's property with her, it shall not belong to the second husband. It shall escheat to her son by the first husband.

A. This interpretation has been followed in the text. It is hardly reasonable, however, to explain the term *dravya*, in the first instance, as denoting Strîdhana, and then again, as denoting property inherited from the husband. It would seem that the reading adopted by Asahâya is erroneous. The Viramitrodaya and other compilations read *rinam* for *dravyam*, '(the son) must pay the whole debt, if she has no property of her own.' Vishnu VI, 30; Yâgñavalkya II, 51.

21. If a widow who has a young son takes her deceased hus-

man, carrying her riches and offspring with her, that man must pay the debt contracted by her husband, or he must abandon her.

* 22. He who has intercourse with the wife of a dead man who has neither wealth nor a son, shall have to pay the debt of her husband, because she is considered as his property.

* 23. Among these three, the heir of the wealth, the protector of the widow, and the son, he is liable for the debts who takes the wealth. The son is liable, on failure of a (protector of the) widow and of an heir; the protector of the widow, on failure of an heir and of a son.

* 24. Debts contracted by the husbands of the last

band's property and goes to live with another man, the latter is bound to pay the debts contracted by her first husband. His conduct is unimpeachable, likewise, if he lets her go, she taking the whole of her property with her. A.

23. This rule contains the answer to the question : Who is liable for the debts of a deceased person, whose property has been taken by his heirs, whilst his wife through poverty has acceded to another man, and whilst his son remains both penniless and deprived of the protection of his mother? The decision is as follows. Between those three, the heir of the wealth and no other is liable for the debt. Where, however, there is no heir, owing to the want of assets, there the son is liable, if there is no widow; and the widow's husband, if there is no son. The respective liability of the son and of the taker of the widow depends on the circumstances of the case. If the widow is a young and handsome woman of high origin, her second husband has to discharge the debt of her first husband, according to the maxim that she is considered as his property (see above, paragraph 22). If, however, she is kept like a handmaid and receives a mere livelihood from the man who has taken her, the son is bound to pay the debt. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 51.

24. The term *uttamâ* 'the first,' besides its ordinary meaning, conveys a secondary meaning. It implies that when any of the seven *Svairiṇīs* and *Punarbhūts* happens to be specially handsome or

Svairiṇī and of the first Punarbhū, must be paid by him who lives with them.

25. A wife, a daughter-in-law, a woman entitled to maintenance, and the attendants of the wife: by these have debts to be paid, as also by one who lives on the produce of land (inherited from the debtor).

[If among such brothers as have come to a division and are separate in wives, affairs, and wealth, one should die without leaving issue, his wife inherits his wealth.]

2. Valid and Invalid Transactions.

26. The sages declare that the transactions of a woman have no validity, especially the gift, hypothecation, or sale of a house or field.

27. Such transactions are valid when they are sanctioned by the husband; or, on failure of the husband, by the son; or, on failure of husband and son, by the king.

* 28. What has been given to a wife by her loving

gifted, her second husband is bound to pay the debts contracted by the first. A. This, no doubt, is a highly artificial interpretation. A definition of the seven Punarbhūs and Svairiṇīs is given further on, XII, 46-53. A. refers to XII, 48 and 52. However, the meaning of the term 'the first Punarbhū' is defined in XII, 46. The Mitāksharā (p. 77) and Vīramitrodaya (p. 347) explain the term 'the last of the Svairiṇīs' as referring to one who, overwhelmed with distress, delivers herself to another man. See XII, 51, and note.

25 b. This paragraph, which contains a rule relative to the law of inheritance, seems to be a marginal gloss, which has somehow crept into the text by mistake.

28. 'Immovables,' such as houses, fields, and the like. A. This rule is frequently quoted in the mediaeval and modern compilations on the law of inheritance, as indicating the extent of a woman's power over her property.

husband, that she may spend or give away as she likes after his death even, excepting immovables.

* 29. In the same way the transactions of a slave are declared invalid, unless they have been sanctioned by his master. A slave is not his own master.

* 30. If a son has transacted any business without authorization from his father, it is also declared an invalid transaction. A slave and a son are equal in that respect.

* 31. A youth who, though independent, has not yet arrived at years of discretion, is not capable of contracting valid debts. (Real) independence belongs to the eldest son (only); (the right of) seniority is based on both capacity and age.

* 32. Three persons are independent in this world: a king, a spiritual teacher, and in all castes successively a householder in his own household.

* 33. All subjects are dependent; the ruler of the country is independent; a student is pronounced to be dependent; independence belongs to the teacher.

30. A son who has not come to a partition of the family estate with his father, continues dependent on him till the father dies. A.

31. This rule constitutes an exception to the general independence of the son after the death of his father. During the period of his minority, he is unable to contract a valid debt. A. The rule that seniority is based both on capacity and age, is certainly remarkable. It is, however, in accordance with the view enounced further on (XIII, 5) by Nârada, that the management of the family property may be undertaken by the youngest brother even, if capable, because the prosperity of a family depends on ability.

32. The king is independent of his subjects. A teacher is independent of his pupils. The head of a household is independent of his family and attendants. A.

33, 34. These two paragraphs are intended to show the respective dependence and independence of wives, sons, householders, &c. A.

* 34. Wives, sons, slaves and other attendants are dependent. The head of the family, to whom the property has descended by right of inheritance, is independent with regard to it.

* 35. A child is comparable to an embryo up to his eighth year. A youth, who has not yet reached the age of sixteen, is called *Poganda*.

* 36. Afterwards he is no longer a minor and independent, in case his parents are dead. While they are alive he can never acquire independence, even though he may have reached a mature age.

* 37. Of the two (parents), the father has the greater authority, because the seed is superior (to the womb); on failure of the begetter, the mother; on failure of the mother, the eldest son.

* 38. All these persons are independent at all times of those who depend on others. They have

34. Colebrooke (Dig. II, 4, 15) has translated a different reading of paragraph 34, thus, 'A householder is not uncontrolled in regard to what has descended from an ancestor.' See, as to the distinction between inherited and self-acquired wealth, *Yâgñavalkya II*, 121.

35. 'Comparable to an embryo' is one who is not yet allowed to perform purificatory and other rites. From his eighth year onwards a boy may perform purificatory ceremonies and commence sacred study. He is called *Poganda* (a young man), because he is not yet capable of transacting legal business. A. This rule of *Nârada* has become the foundation of the modern law regarding the duration of minority. A controversy has recently arisen as to whether minority terminates at the end or at the beginning of the sixteenth year. Most, if not all, Indian writers seem to agree in taking the latter view. A. seems to be of the same opinion, though he does not express himself very clearly.

36. He remains dependent during the lifetime of his parents, i.e. if he continues to live in union of interests with them. A.

38. 'Coercion,' i.e. punishment or beating; 'relinquishment,' i.e. renouncing. A.

authority in regard to coercion, the relinquishment and the sale (of property).

* 39. If a boy or one who possesses no independence transacts anything, it is declared an invalid transaction by persons acquainted with the law.

* 40. That also which an independent person does, who has lost the control over his actions, is declared an invalid transaction, on account of his want of (real) independence.

* 41. Those are declared to have lost the control over their actions who are actuated by love or anger, or tormented (by an illness), or oppressed by fear or misfortune, or biassed by friendship or hatred.

42. That is declared a valid transaction which is done by the senior or head of a family and by one who has not lost the control over his actions. That is not valid which has been transacted by one who does not enjoy independence.

3. Property.

43. All transactions depend on wealth. In order to acquire it, exertion is necessary. To preserve it,

39. Both what a minor does, and the transactions of one grown up but dependent on others, as e.g. of a slave, are declared invalid by those conversant with law. A.

40. 'One who has lost the control over his actions,' i.e. one whose natural disposition has been perverted, owing to possession by a demon, or to his addiction to gambling or other vicious propensities. A.

42. Here ends the second section of the law of debt, which treats of valid and invalid transactions. A.

43. 'All transactions,' whether originating in virtue, interest, or love. The rule regarding the acquisition (and enjoyment) of wealth is said to be threefold: protection against bipeds, quadrupeds,

to increase it, and to enjoy it : these are, successively, the three sorts of activity in regard to wealth.

44. Again, wealth is of three kinds : white, spotted, and black. Each of these (three) kinds has seven subdivisions.

* 45. White wealth is (of the following seven sorts) : what is acquired by sacred knowledge, valour in arms, the practice of austerities, with a maiden, through (instructing) a pupil, by sacrificing, and by inheritance. The gain to be derived from exerting oneself to acquire it is of the same description.

* 46. Spotted wealth is (of the following seven sorts) : what is acquired by lending money at interest, tillage, commerce, in the shape of Sulka, by artistic performances, by servile attendance, or as a return for a benefit conferred on some one.

* 47. Black wealth is (of the following seven

&c.; increase, through agriculture, lending at interest, trading, and other modes of acquisition ; enjoyment of terrestrial and celestial pleasures. A.

44-54. Vishṇu, chapter LVIII.

45. 'What is acquired by sacred knowledge,' i.e. the gains of sacred study. What is gained by 'the practice of austerities,' i.e. by one who duly performs greater and minor observances, optional and regular rites, and on whom worthy people bestow alms for that reason. What is received 'with a maiden,' i.e. as her marriage portion. The fruit derived from relinquishing white property is of the same kind, i.e. it is pure likewise. Thus A.

46. 'Commerce,' the sale of merchandise. 'Sulka,' the price obtained for giving a damsel in marriage, whether the transaction be lawful or otherwise. 'Artistic performances,' the art of painting or another art. 'Servile attendance,' waiting upon, and paying homage to, another man. Wealth obtained by one of these seven modes is called spotted, i.e. of a middling kind. A. Others explain the ambiguous term Sulka differently, as denoting tolls, or a fare for crossing a river, &c.

47. 'Gambling,' with dice or otherwise. 'One afflicted with

sorts): what is acquired as a bribe, by gambling, by bearing a message, through one afflicted with pain, by forgery, by robbery, or by fraud.

48. It is in wealth that purchase, sale, gift, receipt, transactions of every kind, and enjoyment, have their source.

49. Of whatever description the property may be, with which a man performs any transaction, of the same description will the fruit be which he derives from it in the next world and in this.

50. Wealth is again declared to be of twelve sorts, according to the caste of the acquirer. Those modes of acquisition, which are common to all castes, are threefold. The others are said to be ninefold.

51. Property obtained by inheritance, gifts made from love, and what has been obtained with a wife (as her dowry), these are the three sorts of pure wealth, for all (castes) without distinction.

52. The pure wealth peculiar to a Brahman is

pain,' one pained by an attack of disease. 'Forging,' falsification, of gold, silver, or other metals. 'Robbery,' such as theft. 'Fraud,' deception. What has been acquired by one of these seven kinds is called 'black wealth,' i.e. wealth of the lowest kind. A.

48. From these three kinds of wealth, with their twenty-one subdivisions, spring all the various kinds of transactions, and all kinds of enjoyment. A.

49. The difference between this and the previous classification of the divers modes of acquisition seems to lie in this, that the one system of classification is solely based on the respective legitimacy or illegitimacy of each mode of acquisition, whereas the diversity of caste represents the principle of classification in the other system. It should be borne in mind that an occupation, according to Indian notions, may be perfectly lawful for one caste, though it is unlawful for all others.

52-54. Manu I, 88-91, X, 74-80; Yâgñavalkya II, 118-120; Vishnu II, 4-14; Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 5-6; Gautama X, 2, 7, 49, 56; Vasishtha II, 13-20; Baudhâyana I, 18, 1-5.

declared to be threefold : what has been obtained as alms, by sacrificing, and through (instructing) a pupil.

53. The pure wealth peculiar to a Kshatriya is of three sorts likewise : what has been obtained in the shape of taxes, by fighting, and by means of the fines declared in lawsuits.

54. The pure wealth peculiar to a Vaisya is also declared to be threefold: (what has been acquired) by tillage, by tending cows, and by commerce. For a Sûdra it consists of what is given to him by the members of the three higher castes.

55. These are the legitimate modes of acquisition of wealth for all the (four) castes severally. If one caste should take to the occupations of another caste, it is a criminal proceeding, except in extreme cases of distress.

4. Means of Livelihood for a Brahman in Times of Distress.

56. In times of distress, a Brahman is allowed to gain his substance in the mode prescribed for the caste next to him in rank ; or he may gain his substance like a Vaisya. But he must never resort to

55. Here ends the section of the divers kinds of wealth in the law of debt. A.

56. 'The class next to him in rank,' i.e. the Kshatriya or warrior caste. If he should find himself unable to support his family by the mode of livelihood of his own caste, he may gain his substance like a Kshatriya. At the time of a drought or famine, he may gain his substance like a Vaisya even. 'The lowest caste,' i.e. the Sûdra caste. A. Manu X, 81, 82 ; Vishnu II, 15 ; Yâgñavalkya III, 35 ; Gautama VII, 6, 7 ; Baudhâyana II, 4, 16, &c.

the mode of livelihood prescribed for a member of the lowest caste.

57. At no time must a Brahman follow the occupations of a man of vile caste, or a vile man the occupations of a Brahman. In either case, expulsion from caste would be the immediate consequence.

* 58. For neither of them are such occupations permitted as are either far above or far below their own rank. Those two occupations are lawful for them which lie between these two extremes; for they are common to all (castes).

59. When a Brahman has lived through the times of distress, with the wealth acquired by following the occupations of a Kshatriya, he must perform a penance and relinquish the occupations of a Kshatriya.

60. When, however, a Brahman takes delight in those occupations and persists in them, he is declared a *Kândaprishta* (professional soldier) and must be expelled from society, because he has swerved from the path of duty.

57. By the term 'a vile man,' a member of the *Sûdra* caste is referred to. The occupations of such a man, i.e. the acceptance of food from everybody and the sale of all sorts of commodities, must never be resorted to by a Brahman, even in times of distress. And so must a *Sûdra* avoid the occupation of a Brahman, such as wearing the sacred thread, study of the Vedas, pronouncing sacred benedictions, offering burnt-oblations, and the rest. A.

58. 'Such occupations as are either far above or far below their own rank,' i.e. the occupations of a Brahman and of a *Sûdra* respectively. 'Those two occupations,' i.e. those peculiar to the Kshatriya and Vaisya. A. *hitvâ* seems a faulty reading (for *hite*).

59. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 35.

60. 'Ejected from society,' i.e. he must not be admitted to obsequial repasts and other religious ceremonies. A.

61. When a Brahman is living by the occupations of a Vaisya, he must never sell milk, sour milk, clarified butter, honey, beeswax, lac, pungent condiments, liquids used for flavouring, spirituous liquor,

62. Meat, boiled rice, sesamum, linen, the juice of the Soma plant, flowers, fruit, precious stones, men, poison, weapons, water, salt, cakes, plants,

63. Garments, silk, skins, bone, blankets made of the hair of the mountain-goat, animals whose foot is not cloven, earthen pots, buttermilk, hair, dregs, vegetables, fresh ginger, and herbs.

64. A Brahman may sell dry wood and (dry) grass, excepting fragrant substances, Erakâ grass, ratan, mulberry, roots, and Kusa grass.

65. (He may sell) twigs of bamboo that have fallen spontaneously, of fruits, the fruits of the jujube tree,

61-66. Manu X, 85-90; Yâgñavalkya III, 36-39; Gautama VII, 8-22; Vasishṭha II, 24-31; Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 11 foll.

61. 'Pungent condiments,' such as sugar. 'Liquids,' such as clarified butter and oil. A.

62. A. explains the term Soma, 'the juice of the Soma plant,' which is offered to the gods at a sacrifice, as denoting sacrificial implements generally; 'men,' i.e. servants; 'plants,' i.e. shrubs, creeping plants, and others. A.

63. 'Blankets,' i.e. what is made of wool. 'Animals whose foot is not cloven,' i.e. whole-hoofed animals, such as horses. 'Dregs,' i.e. the deposit of oil. 'Vegetables,' i.e. fresh pot-herbs. A.

64. 'Fragrant substances,' such as the fragrant root of the plant *Andropogon Muricatus*, Bâlaka, the root of the *Musta* grass, and others. A. If the reading of a single MS. be followed, the sale of the articles enumerated in pars. 64 and 65 is also prohibited for a Brahman. Several of these articles are included among those substances the sale of which is prohibited by other legislators. See Manu X, 86-89; Yâgñavalkya III, 36-39. However, the reading translated above is distinctly supported by the Commentary of Asahâya, and by the analogous rules of Vasishṭha.

and of the Îṅguda plant, ropes, and thread of cotton, if its shape has not been altered (by working it up).

66. If it is for a medicament used to cure a disease, or for an offering, or if necessity can be shown, he may sell sesamum for a corresponding quantity of grain.

67. A Brahman who swerves from the path of duty by selling prohibited articles, must be reminded of his duty by the king by inflicting a severe chastisement on him.

5. Modes of Proof.

* 68. Those invested with legal authority must pay strict attention to the (various) modes of proof. That even which is provable fails to be proved, if the (prescribed) modes of proof are not attended to.

69. Documents, witnesses, and possession are the traditional three means of proof, by which a creditor endeavouring to recover his loan may obtain what he has lent.

70. If the Creator had not created writing as an

69. The term *pramāṇa*, which has been translated 'means of proof,' is both a philosophical and a law term. A. explains it etymologically, as denoting anything which may be known or discerned accurately. Thus, what is counted or reckoned, may be known by figures. What is capable of measurement, may be known by its measure. Similarly, where a lawsuit is pending, the truth may be known by having recourse to one of the ordinary modes of proof, viz. documents, witnesses, possession, and ordeals. Therefore, these means of proof should be duly applied by holy men, kings, and assessors of the court, and others endowed with legal authority, because that which is doubtful cannot be proved otherwise.

70. The term 'documents' in this section seems to relate principally to the well-known land grants which have been found in many

excellent eye (as it were), the affairs of this whole world would not take their proper course.

71. Writing is an excellent eye (as it were), because it solves all doubts which may have arisen in regard to place, time, profit, matter, quantity, or stipulated period.

72. He who, having received a chattel in a certain place, tries to deny the fact, is liable to be confronted with witnesses and convicted, difficult as it may be to prove his guilt.

73. A document is subject to many blemishes ; witnesses are neither exempt from old age nor from death ; possession, which has been continually held, is the only sure mode of proof, as it is not connected with any material object (liable to decay).

74. Thus have these three modes of proof been declared, by means of which a creditor may recover an outstanding debt, which has not been paid to him and called into doubt (by the debtor).

75. A document is valid at all times ; witnesses (may give valid evidence) as long as they live ; possession acquires legal validity through the lapse of a certain period. This is a legal maxim.

parts of India. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 22 ; *Vishnu* VI, 23 ; *Vasishtha* XVI, 10.

75. Witnesses can give evidence while they live only, whereas a document which has been carefully preserved, remains evidence even after the death of the creditor, debtor, and witnesses, and is capable of substantiating a claim raised by the son, grandson, great-grandson, or more remote descendant of the original owner. On the other hand, even after a lapse of time, i.e. when four or five generations have passed away, and an immeasurable period has elapsed, a creditor may recover his loan by dint of uninterrupted possession. 'This is a legal maxim,' i.e. this is the relative value of the divers kinds of proof. A.

76. Of the three modes of proof here enumerated in order, each previous one is superior to the one named after it; but possession is the most decisive of all.

* 77. Though a document be in existence and witnesses living, that is no (true) property of which possession is not actually held. This is specially true as regards immovables.

* 78. If a man is foolish enough to allow his goods to be enjoyed by strangers in his own eyesight, they shall belong to the possessor, even in the presence and during the lifetime of the rightful owner.

* 79. Whatever the owner looking on quietly suffers to be enjoyed by strangers for ten years,

76. The apparent contradiction between the first and second parts of this paragraph is thus removed by A. : 'Possession of immovables without a title does not create proprietary right, as stated in par. 84. Therefore, the possessor of landed property becomes its lawful owner, if his right or title is established by witnesses, but not otherwise. Thus far possession is more important than witnesses. In the same way documents with a title are superior to witnesses, and possession with a title is superior to witnesses, documents, and ordeals.'

77. This paragraph is intended to show the weakness of proof by witnesses or documents, where it is not accompanied by possession. Generally speaking, any of the three kinds of proof is invalid, where it is not accompanied by one of the other kinds. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 27; *Manu* VIII, 200.

78. If a man suffers his movable or immovable property to be enjoyed by another, the latter will become its lawful owner after the lapse of a long period, no matter whether it has been bestowed on him through affection, or forcibly seized by him, or abandoned by its previous owner. A.

79. Where, however, the owner, though unable to recover his property, owing to special reasons, proffers his claim to it every day, or every month, or every year, it is not lost to him, even after the lapse of a longer period than ten years. A. Identical with *Manu* VIII, 147.

though he is present, that cannot be recovered by him.

* 80. If he is neither an idiot nor a minor, and the enjoyment takes place before his eyes, his right to it is extinct by law, and the possessor is allowed to keep it.

* 81. A pledge; a boundary; the property of a child; an open deposit, an Upanidhi deposit; women; and what belongs to the king or to a learned Brahman, none (of these descriptions of property) is lost (to the owner) by adverse possession.

82. Pledges and the rest, excepting the property of a woman and of the king, are however lost to the owner if they have been enjoyed in his presence for twenty years.

80. 'If he is not an idiot,' nor afflicted by a chronic or agonising disease, nor dumb, blind, or deaf. A. Identical with Manu VIII, 148.

81. 'The property of children' is not lost, though it has been enjoyed for a long time by their guardian. 'An Upanidhi deposit,' i.e. a valuable article which has been delivered under cover to another person. 'A woman,' one who has been delivered to a stranger as a deposit, and enjoyed by him. 'The property of a king,' i.e. land. 'The property of a learned Brahman,' i.e. cows. A. Kullûka, in commenting on the identical verse of Manu, refers the term 'woman' to 'female slaves,' &c. The rules laid down in pars. 79-81, which recur literally in the code of Manu, seem to belong to an older order of ideas than those contained in pars. 84 foll. It may be presumed that the harsh law under which adverse possession of ten years' standing was constituted a source of proprietary right, was mitigated at a subsequent period, and has been inserted here as a sort of historical reminiscence only. According to Brîhaspati, thirty years is the ordinary period of prescription. Identical with Manu VIII, 149; Vasishtha XVI, 18.

82. In this paragraph, as in the preceding one, the term 'a king's property' is referred to landed property by A. The correctness of this interpretation seems questionable.

* 83. The property of a woman and of a king is never lost (to the owner), should it even have been enjoyed for hundreds of years without a title (by strangers).

84. Where there is enjoyment, but no title of any sort, there a title is required in order to produce proprietary right. Possession is not sufficient to create proprietary right in that case.

* 85. A clear title having been produced, possession acquires validity. Possession without a clear title does not make evidence (of ownership).

* 86. He who can only plead possession, without being able to adduce any title, has to be considered as a thief, in consequence of his pleading such illegitimate possession.

* 87. He who enjoys without a title for ever so many hundred years, the ruler of the land should inflict on that sinful man the punishment ordained for a thief.

* 88. If a man holds the property of a stranger without a title, it is not legitimate enjoyment. However, after the death of the occupant, it may be enjoyed legitimately by his descendants.

* 89. In cases falling within the memory of man,

88. While the possessor is alive, the property which he is enjoying without a title cannot become his. The owner may claim it at any time. When, however, the possessor dies, unmolested by the owner, the property continues to be enjoyed by his heirs. Therefore, the owner should not fail to assert his own right. A.

89. The *Mitâksharâ* explains the term 'what falls within the memory of man' as denoting a period of 100 years, in accordance with a text from the Veda, 'The life of men extends over a hundred years.' If this explanation be correct, the present rule agrees in substance with the rule laid down in 89 b and 91, a period of a hundred years being about equal in duration to three lives. It is

possession with a title creates ownership. In cases extending beyond the memory of man, and on failure of documents, the hereditary succession of three ancestors (has the same effect).

* 90. If the occupant is impeached (by the legitimate owner), he cannot escape defeat (without refuting the charge). That possession only can create proprietary right, which has been legitimately inherited from the father.

* 91. When possession has been successively held, even unlawfully, by the three ancestors of the father (of the present possessor), the property cannot be taken away from him, because it has gone through three lives in order.

* 92. What has been deposited with a third person to be delivered ultimately to the owner (Anvâhita), stolen goods, ordinary deposits, what is held by force, loans for use, and what is being enjoyed during the absence of the owner, these are six (things possessed) without a title.

true that another legislator, Vyâsa, mentions sixty years as the duration of continued possession extending over three generations.

90. If the owner claims his own property from the possessor, the former has to make good his claim. That enjoyment, however, which has passed from the father to the sons by right of inheritance, constitutes a legal title for them. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 28.

91. If the great-great-grandfather has held possession, be it even without a title, of a certain thing, and if it has been enjoyed, after his death, by the great-grandfather and by the grandfather, it cannot be claimed from the father by any one. Vishnu V, 187.

92. The term Anvâhita is usually explained, like Anvâdhi, as denoting what has been deposited with a third person to be delivered ultimately to the owner. A., however, explains Anvâhita as denoting a valuable object received from another in exchange for a worthless article.

* 93. If a litigant dies before a lawsuit (regarding property enjoyed by him) has been decided, the son is required to prove his title. The enjoyment is not legitimate (otherwise).

* 94. After the death of a creditor, witnesses, though available, cannot give valid evidence, except if a statement made by the creditor himself on his deathbed (has been preserved).

95. After the death of the defendant, the deposition of witnesses ceases to make evidence. An attested document retains its validity during his life-time only.

* 96. Where a pious act is announced by a diseased

93. Supposing a man were to have obtained possession of the property of a stranger by one of the previously mentioned illegitimate modes of acquisition, if the rightful owner were to impeach him for it, and if the possessor were to die before the case has been decided, in that case the son would have to substantiate his claim, and would not be allowed to continue his enjoyment of the property without doing so. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 29.

94. A man says after the death of his creditor, 'I have restored this or that cow, female buffalo, bull, or field to my creditor; certain honest men have witnessed the transaction.' Another man says, 'Your father owes me one hundred drachmas; certain persons have witnessed the transaction.' He dies, however, before his claim has been examined. In either of these two cases trustworthy witnesses even are of no avail. If, however, the creditor has stated his claim before witnesses on his deathbed; or if a man has given evidence as witness on his deathbed regarding a certain loan, about which the creditor has asked him; the testimony of the witnesses has to be considered as valid even after his death. A.

95. 'The defendant,' i.e. the debtor. An attested document is valid while he lives only. It loses its validity after his death. A.

96. When a diseased father has stated his intentions regarding a religious endowment or other matters of this kind during the absence of his sons, but in the presence of witnesses, the deposition of the latter will be valid even after his death. Similarly, when a man

man, the testimony of the witnesses retains its validity even after his death. The case is the same with the six (things possessed without a title), viz. an Anvâhita deposit and the rest.

97. In all transactions relative to a debt or to any other (among the eighteen titles of law), the last act is the decisive one. In the case of a gift, a pledge, or a purchase, the prior act settles the matter.

6. Lending Money at Interest.

* 98. A contract of delivery and receipt may be made with a view to the profit arising from Sthâna. It is called Kusîda (lending money at interest), and money-lenders make a living by it.

during an attack of illness, repents of his former act, and declares before witnesses that he has deposited with a friend a worthless object in exchange for a valuable one, and wishes to restore the former; or that he has stolen something and wishes to restore it to the owner; or that he wishes to restore a deposit, which had been delivered to him by the owner; or that he intends to make restoration of what he had obtained by forcible means; or of a loan for use; or of what he had been enjoying in secret: in any one out of these six cases the deposition of the witnesses is valid even after his death. A. See par. 92 and note.

97. In all the eighteen titles of law, beginning with the law of debt, the latest act is considered decisive. The law is different in cases of acceptance, where e.g. a village belongs to him who has been the first to receive it; in the case of a pledge or mortgage, and in the case of a purchase, where the pledge or mortgage, and the article sold belong likewise to the first taker. A. Nearly identical with Yâgñavalkya II, 23.

98. According to A., Sthâna, 'continued abode,' may be three-fold: relating to the matter, as when profit arises from (the continuance of) victuals remaining well kept in a certain place; or relating to one's own abode, as when a dealer derives profit from business transactions in his own country; or relating to a different place, as when a dealer earns money through foreign trade.

* 99. Let a money-lender take, in addition to the principal, the interest fixed by Vasishtha, viz. an eightieth part of a hundred in every month.

* 100. Two, three, four, or five (in the hundred) is the legitimate (rate of interest). Let him take as much in the shape of interest, every month, in the direct order of the (four) castes.

* 101. Or let him take two in the hundred, remembering the practice of the virtuous. By taking two in the hundred, he does not commit the crime of covetousness.

* 102. Interest is declared fourfold in this law-book : periodical interest ; stipulated interest ; kâyikâ interest ; and compound interest.

* 103. That which runs by the month is termed

99. Identical with Manu VIII, 140. This rule, which fixes the rate of interest at $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. by the month, or 15 per cent. per annum, is actually found in the Dharmasûtra of Vasishtha II, 51.

100. Identical with Manu VIII, 142. The meaning is that he shall take 2 per cent. from a Brahman, 3 per cent. from a Kshatriya, 4 per cent. from a Vaisya, and 5 per cent. from a Sûdra. A. It appears, from the commentaries on the code of Manu, that the present rule is applicable in those cases where no security has been given, whereas the preceding paragraph refers to loans secured by a pledge.

101. Identical with Manu VIII, 141. The meaning is that he shall take 2 per cent. only from honest men, to whatever caste they may belong. A. In the code of Manu, the present rule precedes par. 100, instead of following it. The author of the Nârada-smṛiti would seem to have erroneously inverted the original position of the two verses.

102. Manu VIII, 153 ; Gautama XII, 34, 35. See, too, Colebrooke's Digest I, XXXV-XLV.

103, 104. 'Periodical interest' means monthly interest, at the rate of from 2 to 5 per cent., according to the caste of the debtor. 'Stipulated interest' is interest at the rate of more than 10 per cent., which has been promised by the debtor himself in times of great distress. Kâya means principal. If a *Pana*, or quarter of a *Pana*, has to be

periodical interest. That interest is termed stipulated interest which has been promised by the debtor himself.

*104. Interest at the rate of one *Pana* or quarter of a *Pana*, paid regularly without diminishing the principal, is denoted *kâyikâ* interest. Interest upon interest is called compound interest.

*105. This is the general rule for interest to be paid on loans. There are special rules according to the local usages of the country where the loan has been made.

*106. In some countries the loan may grow till twice the amount of the principal has been reached. In other countries it may grow till it becomes three, or four, or eight times as large as the principal.

107. The interest on gold, grain, and clothes may rise till it amounts to two, three, or four times the principal. On liquids, the interest may become octuple; of women and cattle, their offspring (is considered as the interest).

paid every day, without diminishing the principal, i.e. if the whole principal has to be restored, though ever so much interest may have been paid on it, it is called *kâyikâ* interest. Where interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per mensem has been paid for twenty months, it will reach the same amount as the sum originally due, so that the principal is doubled. After twenty months more it becomes quadruple; twenty months later it becomes octuple, and so on. This is called compound interest. A. *Bṛhaspati* and *Vyâsa* derive the term *kâyikâ* from *kâya* 'a body,' and explain that it denotes bodily labour, or the use of a pledged slave.

105. Where local customs obtain, differing from the rules previously given, they have to be followed. A.

106, 107. *Manu* VIII, 151; *Vishnu* VI, 11-17; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 39; *Gautama* XII, 36.

107. Gold borrowed at whatsoever rate of interest shall grow till it becomes double; grain, till it becomes treble; cloth, till it becomes

*108. No interest must ever be raised on loans made from friendship, unless there be an agreement to the purpose. Without an agreement even, interest accrues on such loans after the lapse of half a year.

*109. A loan made from friendship can never yield any interest, without being reclaimed by the creditor. If the debtor refuses to restore it on demand, it shall yield interest at the rate of five per cent.

7. Usurers.

*110. Thus has the rule been declared for the interest to be paid on loans offered through friendship. If, however, interest be demanded on grain, at the rate which has been mentioned, it is termed usury.

*111. A Vaisya is at liberty to get over a period of distress by practising usury. A Brahman must never resort to usury, not even in the extremity of distress.

quadruple; liquids (and condiments), till they become octuple. The offspring of pledged females and cattle shall belong to the creditor. A.

108. The chattels, which have been mentioned in the preceding paragraph, if lent in amicable intercourse, shall not yield any interest before the expiration of six months, without a special stipulation to that effect. Even without a stipulation to that effect, however, they shall yield interest after the lapse of six months. A.

109. A loan which is not restored, on demand even, shall yield interest at the rate of 5 per cent. from that day forward, even though six months are not yet over. A.

110. The term *karman* is sometimes used as an equivalent for gold. A. This interpretation has not been followed.

111. Agriculture, the tending of cattle, &c., are lawful occupations for a Vaisya. Lending money at interest is also permitted to him. Therefore it is said here that a Vaisya may practise usury in times of distress, whereas a Brahman must not resort to usury even in times of overwhelming distress. A.

*112. If a debt is due to a (dead) Brahman creditor, whose issue is living, (it must be paid to them.) If there be no issue, the king must cause the debt to be paid to his kinsmen; on failure of kinsmen (it must be paid) to his relatives.

*113. Where there are neither kinsmen, nor relatives, nor distant connexions, it shall be paid to (other) Brahmans. On failure of such, he must cast it into the waters.

*114. When a creditor receives payment, he must give a receipt for it to the debtor. If he does not give a receipt, although he has been asked for it, he shall lose the remainder of the sum due to him.

*115. If, though pressed by the debtor, he does not give an acquittance for the sum paid to him by the debtor, that sum shall yield interest to the debtor (henceforth), as (it had done) to the creditor (previously).

112. Sakulya, 'kinsman,' is derived from kulya, 'a bone,' and denotes those who have their bones in common (sic), i.e. a father, a paternal uncle, their sons, and other (agnates). Bandhu, 'a relative,' denotes a mother, a sister, a sister's son, and other (agnates). A.

113. This paragraph is intended to show the pre-eminence of the Brahman caste. A.

114. In Colebrooke's Digest (I, 6, 287) the second half of this paragraph is referred to a refusal on the part of the creditor to restore the money, which the debtor had asked him for, on his refusing to give a receipt. This construction is based on the comment of Gagannâtha, but it is not countenanced by the remarks of Asahâya, and is thoroughly artificial. Yâgyñavalkya II, 93; Vishnu VI, 26.

115. If the creditor fails to receipt the sum which has been restored to him, on the back of the document, it shall yield interest to the debtor, in the same way as it had yielded interest to the creditor previously. A.

*116. On payment of the debt, he must restore the bond. On failure of a bond, he must give a written receipt. Thus the creditor and debtor will be quits.

8. Sureties.

*117. The guarantee to be offered to a creditor may be twofold : a surety and a pledge. A document and (the deposition of) witnesses are the two modes of proof on which evidence is founded.

*118. For appearance, for payment, and for honesty, these are the three different purposes for which the three sorts of sureties have been mentioned by the sages.

*119. If the debtors fail to discharge the debt, or

116. Where the bond is no longer in existence, because it has been stolen or destroyed, or met with some calamity, the creditor, instead of it, shall give a written receipt to the debtor. Here ends the sixth section of the law of debt, which treats of lending money at interest and of usurers. A.

117. A surety and a pledge are the two sorts of guarantee for a loan on interest. Documents and witnesses are the two kinds of evidence for each of the four elements, which have to be distinguished in the law of debt, viz. the principal, the interest, the surety, and the pledge. A.

118. A surety for appearance is where the debtor denies the debt, and is asked to prove his denial in a court. In that case, he must produce a man, who becomes surety for the debtor's appearance at the time of the trial. A surety for payment is where the creditor, anxious to obtain a loan, produces one or several sureties, who are either jointly or severally bound. A surety for honesty is where the debtor denies having received a certain sum, or declares that he has restored it to the creditor, and is required thereupon to produce a surety for his veracity. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 53; Vishnu VI, 41.

119. This paragraph is intended to show that the surety for appearance and the surety for honesty are equally responsible as the

if they prove dishonest, the surety (for payment and for honesty) must pay the debt; and (so must the surety for appearance), if he fails to produce the debtor.

120. When there is a plurality of sureties, they shall pay each (proportionately), according to agreement. If they were bound severally, the payment shall be made (by any of them), as the creditor pleases.

*121. Twice as much as the surety, harassed by the creditor, has given (to the creditor), shall the debtor pay back to the surety.

122. By the mode consonant with religion, by legal

surety for payment. A. Manu VIII, 158-160; Yâgñavalkya II, 53; Vishnu VI, 41.

120. Where a number of sureties have promised each to pay a certain stipulated share of the debt, in case of the debtor's inability to discharge it himself, the liability of each surety does not extend beyond what has been promised by him. Where, however, all the sureties have declared their joint liability for the whole debt, the creditor may enforce payment from any one among them whom he thinks able to satisfy his demand. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 55; Vishnu VI, 42.

121. When, however, the surety, anxious to obtain twice the amount of the sum for which he has given security, should pay the sum to the creditor of his own accord, without being pressed to do so by the creditor, the debtor shall pay that sum only to him, and not the double sum. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 56; Vishnu VI, 43.

122. Identical with Manu VIII, 49. According to Asahâya, four out of the five modes of recovery of a debt are equivalent to the traditional four means of obtaining success, viz. conciliation, division (bheda), presents, and violence. Thus, 'the mode consonant with religion' means conciliation, i.e. gentle remonstrances. If these should prove of no avail, 'legal proceedings,' or 'division' (bheda), shall be resorted to, i.e. the debtor shall be threatened with a plaint in a court of justice. After that, 'presents' or 'fraud' should be adhibited, i.e. a false hope of fictitious gain shall be held out to the debtor. If this mode also should prove unsuccessful, 'force' or 'violence'

proceedings, by fraud, by the customary mode, and, fifthly, by force, a creditor may recover what he has lent.

*123. A creditor who tries to recover his loan from the debtor must not be checked by the king, both for secular and religious reasons.

9. Pledges.

*124. That to which a title is given (*adhikriyate*) is called a pledge. There are two kinds of it : a

may be used, by fettering the debtor, or confining him, &c. The fifth mode, called the customary mode (*âkṛita*), consists of fasting. If the creditor himself, or his son, or his servant, takes to fasting it is no offence; or he may confine his own son or threaten to kill him, or seize the property of a stranger, as a compensation. The commentators of the Code of Manu explain the five modes of recovery of a debt much in the same way as Asahâya. 'Fraud,' according to them, is when the creditor borrows money from the debtor under false pretences, or retains a deposit belonging to him. *Vyavahâra*, generally interpreted by 'legal proceedings,' means, according to *Medhâtithi*, 'engaging the debtor in agriculture, trade, or other work, and taking the proceeds of his labour.' The 'customary mode' (*âkṛita*) is variously explained as denoting 'fasting,' or 'killing' or 'taking (one's own or the debtor's) family and cattle.' Under the former interpretation, it is identical with the well-known 'sitting in Dharna.' See the translations of Manu, and Jolly, *Ind. Schuldrecht*, § 7. For an interesting parallel to the custom of Dharna from the Brehon Laws of Ancient Ireland, see Sir H. Maine's *Early History of Institutions*, p. 297 foll.

123. A dishonest debtor who applies to the king for protection against a creditor enforcing his demand shall not be abetted by the king. 'For secular reasons,' i.e. in order not to disturb the established order of society. 'For religious reasons,' i.e. in order not to offend against religious law. A. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 50. *Vishnu* VI, 19; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 40.

124. According to Asahâya, the pledge to be released within a specified time is again twofold. It may be either deposited with a 'keeper of the pledge' (*âdhipâla*), who is to return it on the pledge

pledge which must be redeemed within a certain time, and a pledge which must be retained till the debt has been discharged.

*125. A pledge is again twofold: one to be kept only, and a pledge for enjoyment. It must be preserved precisely in the same condition (as at the time of its delivery); otherwise the pledgee loses interest.

*126. The same thing happens when the pledge has been injured owing to the negligence of the pledgee. If it has been lost, the principal is forfeited, provided that the loss was not caused by fate or the king.

*127. A pledge (for custody) must not be used

being restored at the time agreed on. Or it may be delivered to the creditor on condition of its being returned after the lapse of a certain period, say five or ten years. The usufruct of a 'pledge to be retained till the debt has been liquidated' shall belong to the creditor for ever, till the debt has been discharged.

125. Asahâya gives a house and a field as instances of a pledge for use. By spoiling a pledge of this kind, the pledgee forfeits interest, i.e. he loses the produce of a field, the use of a dwelling-place, &c.

126. 'Negligence,' with regard to a bull or other pledge for use, means that it is used at an unseasonable time, or too much, for drawing a cart or carrying a burden. With regard to a pledge for custody, it means that it is abandoned. 'When it has been injured,' as e.g. when an animal given as a pledge has lost one eye. 'The king' may cause the loss of the pledge, if he confiscates the whole property of a man and the pledge together with it, on account of a slight offence. The loss is caused 'by fate,' if e.g. a pledge is stolen by a thief. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 59; *Vishnu* VI, 6.

127. Identical with *Manu* VIII, 144. According to *Medhâtithi* and *Kullûka*, the provision that the pledgee must make good the value of the pledge to the owner refers to those cases where the pledge has been injured or spoiled. According to *Nârâyana*, whose opinion is apparently shared by *Asahâya*, it means that the pledgee

forcibly. The pledgee who uses it forfeits the interest due to him. Moreover he must make good the value (of the pledge) to the owner. Otherwise he is (considered as) a thief of the pledge.

128. That foolish person who uses a pledge without authorization from the owner, shall lose one half of his interest, as a compensation for such use.

129. If a pledge for enjoyment has been given, (the creditor) must not take interest on the loan. Neither must he give or sell a pledge (of any sort) before the (stipulated) period has elapsed.

* 130. When a pledge, though carefully kept, loses its value after a certain time, (the debtor) must either give another pledge, or discharge the debt to the debtor.

* 131. When a debtor has been disabled by a reverse of fortune (from paying the debt), he shall be made to discharge the debt gradually, according to his means, as he happens to gain property.

* 132. If a wealthy debtor from malice refuses to

must satisfy the owner of the pledge out of the profit derived from the use of the pledge.

128. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 150. See Professor Bühler's note.

129. 'A pledge for enjoyment' means one where the profit derived from the pledge takes the place of interest. Such a pledge must not be given or sold before the term fixed for its delivery. A.

130. Yâgñavalkya II, 60.

131. Where the debtor is unable to give another pledge or to restore the loan, he must be made to restore it successively, as best he can, according to his receipts. A. Manu VIII, 177; IX, 229; Yâgñavalkya II, 43.

132. The king shall take 5 per cent. as a compensation for the assistance rendered by him. A. Manu VIII, 139; Yâgñavalkya II, 42; Vishnu VI, 21.

pay his debt, the king shall compel him to pay it by forcible means, and shall take five in the hundred for himself.

133. If the debtor acknowledges the debt with his own mouth, the king shall take from him ten per cent. (of the debt) as a fine; and twice as much (i. e. twenty per cent.) if he has been convicted (after denial of the debt).

134. If the debtor, owing to a calamity, has not means sufficient to discharge the whole debt, (the claim of the creditor) shall be entered in a legal document, specifying the caste (of the creditor and debtor), their names, and the names of their neighbours.

10. Documents.

*135. Documents should be known to be of two sorts : (the first), in the handwriting of the party him-

133. If the debtor, when impeached by the creditor, acknowledges the debt himself, the king shall take 10 per cent. only. If, however, the debtor had undergone the trouble of proving the correctness of his demand against the creditor, the king shall take from him twice as much, i. e. 20 per cent. A. Manu VIII, 139; Yâgñavalkya II, 42; Vishnu VI, 20, 21.

134. If a debtor, who has been cast in a suit, has not means sufficient to discharge the whole debt, he shall give a written bond. A. The meaning of the obscure terms *gâti*, *samgñâ*, *adhivâsa* may be gathered from a text of *Bṛhaspati*, which is quoted in *Nandapandita's Vaigayantī* (MS.) III, 74. There these three terms occur in an enumeration of ten points which have to be noticed in a written deed concerning landed property. According to *Nandapandita*, *gâti* denotes the caste, Brahmanical or other, of the plaintiff and defendant; *samgñâ* denotes their names, as e.g. *Devadatta*; *adhivâsa* refers to the names of their neighbours.

135. A document in the handwriting of the party himself has the advantage of being valid without subscribing witnesses. The cus-

self; (the second), in that of another person, (the former being valid) without subscribing witnesses, the latter requiring to be attested. The validity of both depends on local usage.

* 136. That document is said to be valid which is not adverse to the custom of the country, the contents of which answer to the rules regarding pledges (and other kinds of security), and which is consistent in import and language.

* 137. That document is invalid which has been executed by a person intoxicated, by one charged (with a crime), by a woman, or by a child, and that which has been caused to be written by forcible means, by intimidation, or by deception.

138. A bond ceases to be valid in that case also, if the witnesses, creditor, debtor, and scribe be dead,

tom of the country, i.e. the usages prevailing in each country with regard to the validity of documents, is supreme. A. Vishnu VII, 1-5; Yâgñavalkya II, 84-88.

136. I have translated the reading *vyaktâddividhilakshanam*. That writing is not adverse to the custom of the country which does not record an invalid gift, or a disposition in regard to a minor, &c. If the contents of a document are in accordance with the rules regarding pledges, sureties, &c., and if its import and language is free from obscurity and breaks, it is valid. A. Vishnu VII, 11.

137. What has been written by one intoxicated, or charged with the murder of a Brahman or other heavy crime, or by a woman or child; what has been caused to be written by forcible means, the writer not being concerned in the subject matter; and what has been written by one intimidated, or under a delusion; all such documents are invalid. A. Vishnu VII, 6-10; Yâgñavalkya II, 89.

138. The invalidity of those documents, where the creditor, debtor, witnesses, and writer are all dead, is declared for that reason, because such documents may be suspected of forgery. Even after the actual death of all those persons, however, a document retains its validity, where a pledge is in existence and in the possession of the creditor. A.

unless its validity can be established by the existence of a pledge.

* 139. Pledges are declared to be of two kinds, movable and immovable pledges ; both are valid when there is (actual) enjoyment, and not otherwise.

* 140. If a document has been produced in due time, if (the demand recorded in it) has been (repeatedly) urged, and (publicly) proclaimed, it remains valid for ever, even after the death of the witnesses.

141. A document which is unknown and has never been heard of before does not obtain validity when it is brought forward, even though the witnesses be living.

* 142. When a document has been transferred

139. A pledge which is only mentioned in a document, without being actually enjoyed, has no legal validity. A.

140. A document or bond which the descendants of the creditor have repeatedly shown to the descendants of the debtor whenever interest was due (*prārthitam*), or which they have again and again read out, retains its validity for the respective descendants of the creditor and debtor, even after the death of the witnesses and all other persons concerned. A. I have translated the term *prārthitam* as an independant clause.

141. A document or bond, the contents of which are unknown to the descendants of the debtor, about which they have never heard from their ancestors, and which has been suddenly presented to them only in a business transaction, is not considered valid, even though the witnesses be living. A.

142. This rule is equally applicable to a plaintiff and to a defendant in a lawsuit. 1. If a creditor suing a debtor is unable to produce the bond on demand, the judge shall give him time to search for it. If the bond has been destroyed by fire or by some other accident, the fact of its former existence may be established by the testimony of honest persons, who have acted as scribe or as subscribing witnesses, or who happened to be present while the bond was being executed. The statements of such persons are equally decisive where the marks or part of the writing in a document has been obliterated. 2. A debtor having been asked in

into another country, or burnt, or badly written, or stolen, a delay must be granted, in case it should exist still; if it be no longer in existence, the evidence of those who have seen it decides the matter.

143. If a doubt should subsist, as to whether a certain document be authentic or fabricated, its authenticity has to be established by examining the handwriting (of the party), the tenour of the document, peculiar marks, circumstantial evidence, and the probabilities of the case.

* 144. If a document is signed by a stranger and

court to discharge a certain debt, on the strength of a bond signed by himself, says: 'It is true. I had written that document. However, the money was not handed over to me, and I omitted to cause the document to be torn, because it did not happen to be at hand. A few days later the father of my would-be creditor informed me that he had lost the bond and could not find it anywhere; that, however, he was going to give me a written deed recording its loss. So he actually did, and I have deposited that written deed in a certain box while living in that house.' If the debtor pleads an excuse of this sort, he must be allowed some delay to search for the document in question. If it is no longer in existence, the statements of those who saw it shall decide the matter. A.

143. 'The handwriting,' another specimen of the handwriting of the party. 'The tenour of the document,' the names of the subscribing witnesses. 'Peculiar marks,' flourishes in the handwriting of the scribe. 'Circumstantial evidence,' 'these two facts go together,' or 'they do not go together.' 'The probabilities of the case,' 'how has he got hold of this document?' or 'is he nervous or is his manner of speaking composed and quiet?' By such expedients as these shall doubts regarding the genuineness of a document be removed. A. Vishnu VII, 12; Yâgñavalkya II, 92.

144. If a document has passed by purchase or acceptance from the original owner, who signed it, into the possession of a stranger, who claims the loan recorded in it from the debtor, the judge must examine the document. Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa has composed three verses in explanation of the technical terms āgama, sambandha, and hetu. Sambandha, 'connexion,' according to him, may be founded on descent, caste, marriage, friendship, and social intercourse.

meant for a different purpose, it has to be examined, in case its genuineness should be suspected, by inquiring into the connexion (previously existing between the two parties) and into the (probability of) title, and by resorting to reasonable inference.

145. An (obligation which has been stated in) writing can only be annulled by (another) writing, and an attested bond by witnesses. A writing is superior to witnesses; witnesses are not superior to a writing.

* 146. If a document is split, or torn, or stolen, or effaced, or lost, or badly written, another document has to be executed. This is the rule regarding documents.

11. Witnesses.

* 147. In doubtful cases, when two parties are quarrelling with one another, the truth has to be

Âgama, 'a title,' may be founded on inheritance, purchase, mortgaging, seizure, friendship, and acquisition. Hetu, 'reasonable inference,' may be founded on reasoning and an efficient cause. A. For other explanations of the terms âgama and hetu in an analogous passage of Yâgñavalkya (II, 92), see the Mitâksharâ. The Mayûkha agrees with Kalyânabhaṭṭa.

145. If the debtor states that he has paid the debt, he must be able to produce an acquittance in the creditor's handwriting. In the same way, if the creditor pleads that the bond has been stolen, or lost, or burnt, &c., he must produce a certificate from the debtor stating its loss. Where, however, the bond was attested by subscribing witnesses, the debt has to be discharged in the presence of the same witnesses. A.

146. Where a document has met with any one out of the divers accidents mentioned in this paragraph, the party by whom it was executed may be compelled to give another document instead of it. Yâgñavalkya II, 91. Here ends the chapter on documents, the eighth section of the law of debt. A.

147. When the plaintiff and defendant in a lawsuit quarrel

gathered from (the deposition of) witnesses, whose knowledge is based on what has been seen, heard, or understood by them.

148. He should be considered as a witness who has witnessed a deed with his own ears or eyes; with his ears, if he has heard another man speaking; with his eyes, if he has seen something himself.

*149. Eleven descriptions of witnesses are distinguished in law by the learned. Five of them are termed appointed, and the other six not appointed.

*150. A subscribing witness, one who has been reminded, a casual witness, a secret witness, and an indirect witness, these are the five sorts of appointed witnesses.

about a doubtful affair of any sort, the truth has to be ascertained by examining the statements of the witnesses, who have seen, or heard, or been present at, the transaction. A.

148. *Manu VIII, 74; Vishnu VIII, 13.*

149. Definitions of the eleven witnesses are given in the following paragraphs. A.

150. 'A subscribing witness,' i.e. one by whom a document is attested. 'A secret witness,' one who concealed in a house or room listens to the discourse of the parties. A. Kâtâyana defines the technical terms in this paragraph as follows: 'One adduced by the claimant himself, whose name is inserted in the deed, is a subscribing witness. A reminded witness is not entered in a deed. He is called a reminded witness who in order to insure the publicity of a transaction is reminded of it again and again by the claimant. One purposely brought near, and one who happened to be on the spot accidentally, are two witnesses not entered in a deed, by whom a claim may be corroborated. One who standing concealed is caused, for the purpose of establishing the claim, to hear distinctly the statements of the defendant, is termed a secret witness. One who subsequently corroborates the statements of other witnesses, whether from his own knowledge, or from hearsay, is called an indirect witness.'

* 151. The witnesses not appointed by (the party) himself have been declared sixfold : viz. the village, a judge, a king,

* 152. One acquainted with the affairs of the two parties, and one deputed by the claimant. In family quarrels, members of that family shall be witnesses.

153. They shall be of honourable family, straightforward, and unexceptionable as to their descent, their actions, and their fortune. The witnesses shall not be less than three in number, unimpeachable, honest, and pure-minded.

154. They shall be Brahmans, Vaisyas, or Kshatriyas, or irreproachable Sûdras. Each of these shall be (witness) for persons of his own order, or all of them may be (witnesses) for all (orders).

* 155. Among companies (of artizans, or guilds of

151, 152. The village or the co-villagers shall be witnesses in a transaction which has taken place within the village. The testimony of the judge shall be heard in regard to a cause tried in a court of justice. The king shall be witness concerning a transaction which has taken place in his presence. These, and one acquainted with the circumstances of both parties, the agent of the claimant, and members of a family in a lawsuit concerning that family, are the six kinds of witnesses not appointed. A.

153. 'Of honourable family,' belonging to a noble race. 'Straightforward,' habitually veracious. 'Less than three,' viz. one or two persons may be witnesses if both parties consent to it. In a dispute regarding landed property, more than three witnesses are required. 'Honest,' free from avaricé. 'Pure-minded,' imbued with the precepts of religion. A. Manu VIII, 62, 63; Vishnu VIII, 8; Âpastamba II, 11, 29, 7; Gautama XIII, 2; Yâgñavalkya II, 68, 69; Vasishtha XVI, 28.

154. Members of these four castes shall be witnesses for members of their own caste only. Or let members of any caste be witnesses for members of any other caste. A. Manu VIII, 62; Gautama XIII, 3; Yâgñavalkya II, 69; Vasishtha XVI, 29; Baudhâyana I, 19, 13.

155. Companies or guilds are of eighteen kinds. Labourers

merchants, other) artizans or merchants shall be witnesses; and members of an association among other members of the same association; persons living outside among those living outside; and women among women.

* 156. And if in a company (of artizans or guild of merchants) or in any other association any one falls out (with his associates), they must not bear witness against him; for they all are his enemies.

12. Incompetent Witnesses.

* 157. The incompetent witnesses, too, have in this law-book been declared by the learned to be of five sorts: under a text of law, and on account of depravity, of contradiction, of uncalled-for deposition, and of intervening decease.

* 158. Learned Brahmins, devotees, aged persons, and ascetics, are those incapacitated under a text of law; there is no (special) reason given for it.

* 159. Thieves, robbers, dangerous characters,

for hire shall be witnesses for other members of the same association. Outcasts shall be witnesses for other low-caste persons. Women shall be witnesses where two women quarrel with one another. In all these cases, the qualities of the witnesses need not be tested. A. Manu VIII, 68; Vasishṭha XVI, 30.

156. If in a company of traders any one member should contract an enmity towards the other members of it, they are unworthy to bear testimony against or about him, on account of their enmity towards him. Here ends the chapter on witnesses, the tenth section of the law of debt. A.

158. The reason why the persons referred to in this paragraph are excluded seems to lie in their entire renunciation of earthly interests, which renders them unfit to appear in a court of justice. See Manu VIII, 65, where 'one dead to the world' is mentioned among the incompetent witnesses, and other parallel passages.

gamblers, assassins, are incompetent on account of their depravity; there is no truth to be found in them.

160. If the statements of witnesses, who have all been summoned by the king for the decision of the same cause, do not agree, they are rendered incompetent by contradiction.

* 161. He who, without having been appointed to be a witness, comes of his own accord to make a deposition, is termed a spy in the law-books; he is unworthy to bear testimony.

* 162. Where can (any person) bear testimony if the claimant is no longer in existence, whose claim should have been heard? Such a person is an incompetent witness by reason of intervening decease.

* 163. If two persons quarrel with one another,

162. Supposing a man were to claim a certain sum from another and to name a witness, whom he states to have witnessed the transaction. If the *soi-disant* creditor should die, it would be impossible to ascertain whether the statement of the witness is true or false. Therefore such a witness must not be admitted by reason of intervening decease. A.

163. A claimant declares, 'This bull, which you have got, is mine. He was stolen by thieves, who took seven cows along with him. If they are found among your property, they may be known by a red mark on the forehead, or by their white feet, or by other signs. . . . I am able to adduce four witnesses who will declare them to be mine.' The opponent replies, 'Pragâpati (the Creator) has created many two-legged and four-legged beings closely resembling one another. If a superficial likeness is to be considered as evidence, I might take another man's wife into my house, because she has eyebrows, ears, a nose, eyes, a tongue, hand, and feet like my wife. This bull is born and bred in my own house. I am able to adduce four witnesses from the village in which he is being kept; their statements will establish the fact that he belongs to me.' In a dispute of this sort the witnesses of him who was the first to bring the suit into court will decide the suit. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 17; *Vishnu* VIII, 10.

and if both have witnesses, the witnesses of that party shall be heard which was the first to go to law.

* 164. If the claimant should be cast at the trial, his cause proving as the weaker one of the two, it is fit that the witnesses of the defendant should be heard.

* 165. No one should converse in secret with a witness summoned by his adversary, neither should he try to estrange him from the cause of his opponent by other means. A party resorting to such practices as these is cast.

166. If a witness dies or goes abroad after having been appointed, those who have heard his deposition may give evidence; for indirect proof (through a second-hand statement) makes evidence (as well as direct proof).

* 167. Even after a great lapse of time (the deposition of) a subscribing witness retains its validity;

164. Where the plaint is rejected and the defence acknowledged as correct, the witnesses of the defendant have to be examined. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 17; *Vishnu* VIII, 11.

165. That man who holds secret conversations with a witness produced by his opponent, or who tries to intimidate him by threats, abuse, and the like, or to bribe him, loses his suit. A.

166. If a witness dies or goes abroad, indirect witnesses, i.e. those who have heard him speak of the matter, on his deathbed, or when he was about to start, either in answer to questions of the plaintiff, or of his own accord, shall be examined. A. *Vishnu* VIII, 12.

167. What follows here is intended to show how long the statements of each of the five appointed witnesses mentioned in par. 150 retain their validity. A subscribing witness may give valid evidence after the lapse of a very long period even. Such a witness should subscribe his name with his own hand, at the time when the document is being executed, as e.g. 'I, Devadatta, have witnessed this transaction.' If he is unable to write, he should cause another person to write in his own name. The document will make evidence, whenever the occasion arises. A.

if a man can write, he should write (his name) himself; if he cannot (write himself), he should cause it to be written by another man.

*168. (The deposition of) a witness who has been reminded (of the transaction) remains valid in this world up to the eighth year, that of a casual witness remains valid up to the fifth year.

*169. (The deposition of) a secret witness remains valid up to the third year; (the deposition of) an indirect witness is declared to remain valid for one year only.

*170. Or no definite period is fixed for judging a witness; for those acquainted with law have declared that testimony depends upon memory.

*171. A witness whose understanding, memory, and hearing have never been deranged, may give evidence even after a very considerable lapse of time.

13. Six Cases where Witnesses are unnecessary.

*172. However, six different kinds of proceedings have been indicated in which witnesses are not required. (Other) indications of the crime committed are substituted for the evidence of witnesses in these cases by the learned.

*173. It should be known that one carrying a fire-brand in his hand is an incendiary; that one taken with a weapon in his hand is a murderer; and that, where a man and the wife of another man seize one another by the hair, the man must be an adulterer.

*174. One who goes about with a hatchet in his

170, 171. Under this rule, the validity of any testimony is declared independent of length of time, and to depend on the competence of the witness alone. A.

hand and makes his approach may be recognised as a destroyer of bridges (and embankments); one carrying an axe is declared a destroyer of trees.

*175. One whose looks are suspicious is likely to have committed an assault. In all these cases witnesses may be dispensed with; only in the (last-mentioned) case of assault careful investigation is required.

176. Some one might make marks upon his person through hatred, to injure an enemy. In such cases it is necessary to resort to inductive reasoning, (ascertaining) the fact of the matter, and strata gems, in order to get a (reliable) test.

14. False Witnesses.

177. Those must not be examined as witnesses who are interested in the suit, nor friends, nor associates, nor enemies, nor notorious offenders, nor persons tainted (with a heavy sin).

*178. Nor a slave, nor an impostor, nor one not admitted to *Srâddhas*, nor a superannuated man, nor a woman, nor a child, nor an oil-maker, nor one

175. 'Suspicious looks,' as e.g. a sword smeared with blood. *Viramitrodaya*. In an analogous text of *Saṅkha*, as quoted in the *Viramitrodaya*, &c., the possession of stolen goods is mentioned as a further manifest proof of crime.

177-187, 190. *Manu* VIII, 64-67, 71; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 70, 71; *Vishṇu* VIII, 1-5; *Gautama* XIII, 5. *Asahâya* observes that the rules regarding incompetent witnesses do not relate to cases of assault only, but to judicial proceedings of every sort.

177. 'Associates,' i.e. partners in business. 'Notorious offenders,' persons formerly convicted of perjury or other crimes. A. For different interpretations of some of the terms occurring in this section, see the notes to Professor Bühler's *Manu*, and to Burnell-Hopkins's *Manu*, VIII, 64, foll.

178. 'A slave,' one born in the house. 'An impostor,' a

intoxicated, nor a madman, nor a careless man, nor one distressed, nor a gamester, nor one who sacrifices for a whole village.

*179. Nor one engaged in a long journey, nor a merchant who travels into transmarine countries, nor a religious ascetic, nor one sick, nor one deformed, nor one man alone, nor a learned Brahman, nor one who neglects religious customs, nor a eunuch, nor an actor.

*180. Nor an atheist, nor a Vrâtya, nor one who has forsaken his wife or his fire, nor one who makes illicit offerings, nor an associate who eats from the same dish (as oneself), nor an adversary, nor a spy, nor a relation, nor one connected by the same womb.

*181. Nor one who has formerly proved an evil-doer, nor a public dancer, nor one who lives by

fallacious person. 'One not admitted to Srâddhas,' one who is not allowed to partake of obsequial feasts. 'A superannuated man,' weak or decrepit persons. 'One distressed,' by a calamity. A.

179. 'One who neglects religious customs,' one who fails to perform his religious duties. 'A eunuch,' one incapable of begetting offspring. A.

180. 'An atheist,' a heretic. 'A Vrâtya,' one for whom the ceremony of initiation has not been performed. 'His wife,' his legitimate spouse. 'His fire,' the sacred Vaitâna fire. 'One who makes illicit offerings,' one who performs sacrifices for persons of bad fame. 'An associate who eats from the same dish,' one with whom one keeps up commensality. 'A spy,' employed in the service of the king. 'One connected by the same womb,' a uterine brother.

181. 'One who has formerly proved an evil-doer,' one afflicted with an ugly disease, the consequence of wicked acts committed in a previous existence; or one guilty of robbery or other crimes. 'One who lives by poison,' one who buys or sells poison. 'A snake-catcher,' one who catches venomous reptiles. 'A poisoner,' one who, actuated by hatred, gives poison to other people. 'An incendiary,' one who sets fire to houses, &c. Kinâra (a ploughman), 'a Sûdra,' or 'a miser.' A.

poison, nor a snake-catcher, nor a poisoner, nor an incendiary, nor a ploughman, nor the son of a Śūdra woman, nor one who has committed a minor offence.

*182. Nor one oppressed by fatigue, nor a ferocious man, nor one who has relinquished worldly appetites, nor one penniless, nor a member of the lowest castes, nor one leading a bad life, nor a student before his course of study is completed, nor an oilman, nor a seller of roots.

*183. Nor one possessed by a demon, nor an enemy of the king, nor a weather-prophet, nor an astrologer, nor a malicious person, nor one self-sold, nor one who has a limb too little, nor a Bhagavṛitti.

*184. Nor one who has bad nails or black teeth, nor one who betrays his friends, nor a rogue, nor a seller of spirituous liquor, nor a juggler, nor an

182. 'A ferocious man,' one who perpetrates illicit acts of violence. 'One who has relinquished worldly appetites,' an ascetic. 'One penniless,' one who has lost his whole wealth through gambling or other extravagance. 'A member of the lowest castes,' a Kāṇḍāla. 'One leading a bad life,' an infidel. A. The term mūlika denotes 'a seller of roots,' according to A. The Vīramitrodaya interprets it by 'one who practises incantations with roots.'

183. A. explains varshanakshatrastūṭaka as a single term, denoting 'an astrologer.' The Vīramitrodaya, more appropriately, divides it into two terms: 'one who prophesies rain,' i.e. a weather-prophet, and 'an astronomer,' i.e. an astrologer. The term aghasamsin, 'a malicious person,' is in the Vīramitrodaya interpreted by 'one who makes public the failings of other people.' 'One self-sold,' one who has entered the state of slavery for money. 'One who has a limb too little,' i.e. an arm or a foot. 'A Bhagavṛitti,' one who lives by the prostitution of his wife, or one who suffers his mouth to be used like a female part (bhaga). A.

184. 'A cruel man,' a hard-hearted man; or Ugra is used as a proper noun denoting the offspring of a Kshatriya with a Śūdra wife. A.

avaricious or cruel man, nor an enemy of a company (of traders) or of an association (of clansmen).

*185. Nor one who takes animal life, nor a leather manufacturer, nor a cripple, nor an outcast, nor a forger, nor a quack, nor an apostate, nor a robber, nor one of the king's attendants.

*186. Nor a Brahman who sells human beings, cattle, meat, bones, honey, milk, water, or butter, nor a member of a twice-born caste guilty of usury.

*187. Nor one who neglects his duties, nor a Kulika, nor a bard, nor one who serves low people, nor one who quarrels with his father, nor one who causes dissension. These are the incompetent witnesses.

*188. The slaves, impostors, and other incompetent witnesses who have been enumerated above, shall be witnesses nevertheless in suits of a specially grave character.

*189. Whenever a heinous crime, or a robbery, or adultery, or one of the two kinds of insult has been committed, he must not inquire (too strictly) into the (character of the) witnesses.

*190. A child also cannot be (made a witness), nor a woman, nor one man alone, nor a cheat, nor a relative, nor an enemy. These persons might give false evidence.

185. 'One who takes animal life,' a butcher. 'A forger,' one who falsifies documents or coined money. 'A quack,' one who practises incantations and the like with mysterious formulas, medicines, &c. 'An apostate,' one who has left the order of religious mendicants. 'An attendant of the king,' a menial. A.

187. 'A Kulika,' a judge; or the head of a caste or guild. 'One who causes dissension,' one who causes friends or others to fall out with one another. *Vīramitrodaya*.

189. *Manu* VIII, 72; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 72; *Gautama* XIII, 9; *Vishnu* VIII, 6.

* 191. A child would speak falsely from ignorance, a woman from want of veracity, an impostor from habitual depravity, a relative from affection, an enemy from desire of revenge.

* 192. By consent of both parties, one man alone even may become a witness in a suit. He must be examined in public as a witness, though (he has been mentioned as) an incompetent witness.

* 193. One who, weighed down by the consciousness of his guilt looks as if he was ill, is constantly shifting his position, and runs after everybody ;

* 194. Who walks irresolutely and without reason, and draws repeated sighs ; who scratches the ground with his feet, and who shakes his arm and clothes ;

* 195. Whose countenance changes colour, whose forehead sweats, whose lips become dry, and who looks above and about him ;

* 196. Who makes long speeches which are not to the purpose as if he were in a hurry, and without being asked : such a person may be recognised as a false witness, and the king should punish that sinful man.

* 197. He who conceals his knowledge (at the time

192. One agreeable to both parties shall be examined in an assembly of honourable men. A. Manu VIII, 77 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 72 ; Vishnu VIII, 9.

193-196. These rules relate to the trial of a cause by the judge. The time for examining the witnesses having arrived, he should examine their miens and gestures. Incompetent witnesses are not only those previously mentioned, but those here described are equally incompetent. A. Manu VIII, 25, 26 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 13-15 ; Vishnu VIII, 18.

197. One who has made a certain statement in the hearing of others, and makes a different statement at the time of the trial, shall receive specially heavy punishment ; for he is a greater criminal than a false witness. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 82.

of trial), although he has previously related (what he knows) to others, deserves specially heavy punishment, for he is more criminal than a false witness even.

15. Exhorting the Witnesses.

*198. (The judge), after having summoned all the witnesses, and bound them down firmly by an oath, shall examine them separately. (They should be men) of tried integrity and conversant with the circumstances of the case.

199. Let him cause a priest to swear by Truth, a Kshatriya by his riding animal and weapons, a Vaisya by his cows, grain, or gold, a Sûdra by all sorts of crimes.

*200. By ancient sacred texts, extolling the excellence of Truth, and denouncing the sinfulness of Falsehood, let him inspire them with deep awe.

201. He who gives false testimony as a witness will enter his enemy's house, naked, with his head shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, to beg food with a potsherd.

202. Naked, with his head shorn, with a potsherd (for a begging-bowl), standing hungry before the door

198-228. *Manu* VIII, 79-101; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 73-75; *Vishnu* VIII, 19-37; *Gautama* XIII, 12-23; *Âpastamba* II, 11, 29, 7-10; *Baudhâyana* I, 19, 10-12; *Vasishtha* XVI, 32-34. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*.

199. Identical with *Manu* VIII, 113. See, too, *Manu* VIII, 88. The commentators of the Code of *Manu* give various explanations of the latter verse. It may mean that a false witness is threatened with the guilt of all offences committed against riding animals, cows, grain, &c.; or with the guilt of stealing riding animals, &c.; or with their loss; or that the judge shall exhort witnesses to touch a cow, &c.

201, 202. *Manu* VIII, 93; *Vasishtha* XVI, 33.

of his adversary, shall he constantly meet his enemies who give false testimony.

203. A perjured witness shall spend his nights in the same manner as a wife who has been superseded (by another), or as a man who has been worsted in playing at dice, or as one whose body is weighed down by a heavy burden.

204. A witness who wavers in giving evidence is sure to be fettered with a thousand bonds from the chain of Varuṇa.

205. After the lapse of a hundred years, the cord is taken off him. When he is free from the cord, the man becomes a woman.

206. Thus is a man liberated from this fixed bondage. *Now I will state, in order, how many kinsmen a false witness kills,

*207. If his evidence concerns, respectively, (small) cattle, cows, horses, human beings, gold, and land. Listen to me, my friend.

203. This sentiment shows that the condition of a superseded wife under Hindu law must have been far from enviable. This is equally shown by the custom of presenting a certain sum to her on her supersession by another wife. See Vishṇu XVII, 18; Yâgñīvalkyā II, 143.

204. The snaky 'bonds of Varuṇa' seem to be an equivalent for dropsy, a disease attributed to the influence of the ancient divinity Varuṇa. See Professor Bühler's note on Manu VIII, 82.

207. 'Kills,' i.e. sends to hell. This interpretation is given by the majority of Manu's commentators. According to others, it means 'causes to fall from heaven and to be reborn in the wombs of animals,' or 'incurs a guilt as great as if he had killed.' See Professor Bühler's note on Manu VIII, 97. The idea that a man, by telling a falsehood, ruins his kinsmen as well as himself, belongs to the remotest antiquity, and recurs in the Zendavesta. See Vendîdâd IV, 24 seq.; Jolly, translation of Book VIII of the Code of Manu, note.

207-209. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 97-99, &c.

*208. He kills five by false testimony concerning (small) cattle ; he kills ten by false testimony concerning kine ; he kills a hundred by false testimony concerning horses ; (and he kills) a thousand by false evidence concerning a human being.

*209. He kills the born and the unborn by giving false evidence (in a cause) concerning gold ; he kills everything by giving false evidence concerning land ; beware, then, of giving false evidence with regard to land.

210. Truth is said to be the one unequalled means of purification of the soul. Truth is the ladder by which man ascends to heaven, as a ferry (plies) from one bank of a river to the other.

211. If truth and a thousand horse-sacrifices are balanced against one another (it will be found that) truth weighs more heavily than a thousand horse-sacrifices.

212. A tank is better than a hundred wells, an offering better than a hundred tanks, a son better than a hundred offerings, and truth better than a hundred sons.

213. It is truth which makes the earth bear all beings, truth which makes the sun rise. It is through truth that winds blow, and that the waters flow.

214. Truth is the greatest gift, truth is the most efficacious kind of austerity, truth is the highest duty in the world, thus it has been revealed to us.

215. The gods are truth simply, the human race is falsehood. He whose mind is persistent in truth, obtains a divine state in this world even.

216. Speak truth and discard falsehood. It is through truth that thou shalt attain heaven. By

uttering a falsehood thou wilt precipitate thyself into a most dreadful hellish abode.

*217. And in the hells the merciless attendants of Yama, endowed with great strength, will cut off thy tongue and strike thee with swords, constantly,

*218. And attack and pierce thee with spears, while thou art wailing helpless. When thou art standing, they will fell thee to the ground and fling thee into the flames.

*219. After having sustained thus for a long while the acute tortures of hell, thou shalt enter in this world the horrid bodies of vultures, crows, and other (despicable creatures).

*220. Having discovered these evils with which falsehood is attended, and knowing, on the other hand, the advantages resulting from veracity, thou must speak truth and (thereby) save thyself. Do not ruin thyself wantonly.

221. Neither relatives, nor friends, nor treasures, be they ever so great, are able to protect those who are about to be plunged into the tremendous darkness (of hell).

222. Thy ancestors are in suspense, when thou hast been appointed to give evidence (reflecting in their minds): 'Will he conduct us (into heaven) or will he precipitate us (into hell)?'

223. Truth is the self of man. Everything depends on truth. Therefore thou must be intent on acquiring bliss by thy own effort, by speaking truth.

224. Whatever lies between that night in which thou wast born, and that night in which thou art to die (thy whole life in fact) has been spent in vain by thee, if thou givest false evidence.

225. Those places of abode which are destined

for the murderer of a Brahman, and those which await the murderer of a woman or child, and the regions awaiting an ungrateful man, are reserved for a false witness.

226. There is no higher virtue than veracity, nor heavier crime than falsehood. A man must speak truth therefore, particularly when he has been appointed to give evidence.

* 227. There are two ancient verses (which run as follows): 'If a man is base enough to speak falsely in regard to the affairs of a stranger, what may not such a wretch be expected to do, fearless of hell, where his own welfare is concerned ?

* 228. All affairs are connected with speech, have speech for their root, and depend on speech. He who steals a good speech (by violating truth) is capable of committing any theft (or other crime).'

16. Valid Evidence.

229. Where there is conflicting evidence, the plurality of witnesses decides the matter. If the number of witnesses is equal (on both sides), the testimony of those must be accepted as correct,

228. 'Theft' is a very wide term under the Hindu law. The Code of Manu includes in the denomination of theft, forgery of documents and of coins, unlawful sales, and dishonesty generally. For *hitām* one might read *hi tām*, 'For he who steals speech.' Manu IV, 256.

229. Manu VIII, 73 ; Yāgñavalkya II, 78 ; Vishnu VIII, 39.

229, 230. Where witnesses endowed with a good memory are found on both sides in equal numbers, evidence based on recollection is incapable of influencing the decision of the suit. The witnesses must not be examined, and the above rule comes into force, that the witnesses become incompetent, because they do not agree with one another. A. See par. 161.

whose veracity is not liable to suspicion. If the number of such witnesses is equal (on both sides) (the testimony of these must be accepted), who are possessed of a superior memory.

17. Invalid Evidence.

230. Where, however, an equal number of witnesses possessed of a good memory is found on both sides, the evidence of the witnesses is entirely valueless, on account of the subtle nature of the law of evidence.

231. But wherever a litigant has been abandoned by his own witnesses through the act of fate, the sages have declared that he cannot be absolved by (the performance of) an ordeal even.

* 232. Where, the time for giving testimony having arrived, a witness does not make a consistent statement with reference to the questions under notice, his testimony is as good as ungiven.

* 233. If the witnesses were to disagree with one another as to place, time, age, matter, quantity, shape, and species, such testimony is worthless likewise.

* 234. If the witnesses wrongly name too low or too high a sum, this too must be known to make no evidence. This is the rule of witnesses.

18. What has to be done in default of both Witnesses and Documents.

* 235. When, owing to the negligence of the creditor, both a written contract and witnesses are missing, and the opponent denies his obligation, three different methods may be adopted.

* 236. A timely reminder, argument, and, thirdly, an oath, these are the measures which a plaintiff should adopt against his adversary.

* 237. He who does not refute his (adversary's) statements, though he has been reminded again and again, three, or four, or five times, may be compelled to pay the debt in consequence.

* 238. If the defendant has rejected a demand (to pay), he shall aggress him with arguments relative to place, time, matter, the connexions (existing between the two parties), the amount (of the debt), the contents (of the written contract), and so forth.

* 239. If arguments also are of no avail, let him cause the defendant to undergo one of the ordeals, by fire, water, proof of virtue, and so forth, (which may seem) appropriate to the place, to the season, and to the strength (of the defendant).

236. 'A timely reminder,' timely appeals to the debtor and to the witnesses who have attested the loan. 'Argument,' arguing that the sum in dispute has been previously repaid, or the obligation acknowledged by the debtor. Thirdly, he may attack the defendant with an oath or ordeal, such as e.g. by causing him to swear by his own good actions, or to undergo the ordeal of sacred libation, &c. A. The term 'a reminder' is not correctly explained by Asahâya, as the rule under notice refers to those cases where witnesses are missing.

237. If a debtor has again and again been addressed by his creditor, saying, 'Thou owest me money,' and the debtor does not deny the correctness of the assertion, he shall be bound to pay the debt. Raghunandana's Vyavahâratattva.

238. Asahâya says that the various arguments mentioned in this verse shall be resorted to successively, arguments relative to time having to be proffered when arguments relative to place have failed, and so on.

239. The term *sapatha* denotes both an ordeal and an oath in this place, though some of the commentators deny that *sapatha* may have the former meaning.

240. He whom the waters keep below the surface, and whom blazing fire does not burn, is considered to refute the charge. In the opposite case he is deemed guilty.

* 241. Proof by ordeal takes place (if an offence has been committed) in a solitary forest, at night, in the interior of a house, and in the case of a heinous offence, or denial of a deposit.

* 242. (Ordeals) are equally (applicable) in the case of those women, whose morality has been impeached, in cases of theft and robbery, and in all cases of denial of an obligation.

* 243. Of the gods and *Rishis* even, the taking of oaths is recorded. *Vasishtha* took an oath when he was accused of having assumed the shape of an evil spirit.

240. If a man who is performing the ordeal by water does not rise from water, and if blazing fire, which he is holding in his hand, does not burn him, he is freed from the charge, otherwise he is deemed guilty, i.e. criminal. A. Manu VIII, 115. It does not become quite clear whether the divine tests referred to in this paragraph are identical with the ordeals by water and fire as described further on. See the translations of Manu, and Professor Stenzler's and Dr. E. Schlagintweit's papers on Ordeals in Ancient India.

242. Where the conduct of a woman, i.e. her morals, is called into doubt; where theft or robbery is alleged to have been committed; and where anything has been declared false, for all heavy charges in short, this rule regarding the performance of ordeals has been laid down. A.

243, 244. Manu VIII, 110.

243. The great sage *Vasishtha*, being suspected of being an evil spirit, took an oath, and was cleared of suspicion thus. A. The story, to which allusion is made in this place, is told by the commentators of the code of Manu. *Visvâmitra* accused his rival *Vasishtha* before King *Sudâs* as having eaten up his hundred sons, in the shape of a *Râkshasa* (malignant spirit). *Vasishtha* thereupon exclaimed, 'I will fall dead on the spot if I am a *Râkshasa*.'

*244. The seven *Rishis* resolutely took an oath together with Indra in order to clear themselves mutually of suspicion, when each was suspected (by the rest) of having taken lotus fibres.

245. The perpetrator of a wrong action, or of a crime, shall be let off with one half of the punishment due to his offence, if he admits the charge or if he makes his guilt known of his own accord.

246. If, on the other hand, a criminal has cunningly concealed his crime, and is convicted of it, the members of the court of justice will not be satisfied with his conduct, and the punishment inflicted on him shall be specially heavy.

244. The story here referred to occurs in the *Purāṇas*. The meaning is this: If the great sages even have taken oaths in order to clear themselves from suspicion, how much less should ordinary mortals refrain from taking an oath. A. According to Medhātithi and Govindarāga, the two earliest commentators of Manu, the seven *Rishis* had mutually accused one another of the theft of lotus fibres. Indra took an oath when he was suspected with Ahalyā.

245. One who has committed any wrong or sinful act to the detriment of any one whomsoever, or who has become guilty of robbery or other crimes, shall have to suffer one half only of the punishment ordained for his misconduct, if he acknowledges in a court of law the truth of the charge brought against himself by the injured party. The same rule obtains, if he has denounced himself guilty, though no plaint has been lodged against him. A.

246. If the perpetrator of a wrong act, or of robbery, &c., denies his guilt, on being examined in a court of justice, and is convicted afterwards by means of an ordeal or of another mode of proof, the assessors of the court will be incensed against and a heavy punishment inflicted on him, as e.g. he will have to pay twice as much as in ordinary cases. Here ends that section of the law of debt which consists of 'Rules for those cases where both documents and witnesses are wanting.' A.

19. Proof by Ordeal.

* 247. If no witness is forthcoming for either of the two litigant parties, he must test them through ordeals and oaths of every sort.

* 248. (Let him cause a Brahman to swear by) truth, (a Kshatriya) by his (horse or other) vehicle, and by his weapons, (a Vaisya) by his cows, seeds or gold and so on, (or all) by venerable deities or deified ancestors, by their pious gifts or meritorious deeds.

249. Where a heavy crime has been committed, the ruler shall administer one of the ordeals. In light cases, on the other hand, a virtuous king shall swear a man with (various) oaths.

* 250. Thus have these oaths been proclaimed by Manu for trifling cases. In a suit concerning a heavy crime, divine test should be resorted to.

251. Holy Manu has ordained that five kinds of ordeals should be administered to those involved in a doubtful case (which has become the object of a lawsuit), especially if the matter under dispute is of a recondite nature.

* 252. The balance, fire, water, poison, and, fifthly, consecrated water, are the ordeals ordained for the purgation of high-minded persons.

248. In this rule are indicated the various oaths to be administered according to the caste and individual character of the offender. A. Manu VIII, 114.

249, 250. These two verses are intended to indicate the difference in point of applicability between an ordeal and an oath. A.

251. Holy Manu has said that those against whom a charge of an aggravated nature has been brought, shall have to undergo one out of the five ordeals, in order to clear themselves from suspicion, especially when a secret transgression is concerned. A.

252. In this paragraph the author proceeds to enumerate the five ordeals singly. A. Yâgyavalkya II, 95; Vishnu IX, 11.

* 253. (Those ordeals) have been ordained here by Nārada for the purpose of proving the innocence of criminals who are defendants in a lawsuit, (and) in order that right may be discerned from wrong.

* 254. During the rains let the (ordeal by) fire be administered. In the autumn season the balance is declared to be (the proper kind of ordeal). The (ordeal by) water should be applied in summer, and the (ordeal by) poison in the cold weather.

* 255. The distressed shall not be caused to undergo the (ordeal by) water, nor shall poison be given to the bilious, nor shall the ordeal by fire be administered to persons afflicted with white leprosy, or with blindness, or with bad nails.

* 256. An ordeal should never be administered to persons engaged in performing a vow, to those afflicted with a heavy calamity, to the diseased, to ascetics, or to women, if the dictates of justice are listened to.

257. Where no one declares himself ready to

253. The five ordeals have been proclaimed by the great sage Nārada, for the justification of those impeached on account of their suspicious conduct, by showing where the wrong lies and where not. A.

254. The five ordeals should be administered, each of them, at those very seasons, and not at any other season. A. Vishṇu IX, 25, 28, 30.

255, 256. Vishṇu IX, 23, 25, 27, 29.

255. In the case of the persons here mentioned, the ordeals referred to should be avoided, on grounds of disease and of incapacity to undergo them. A.

256. 'Persons engaged in performing a vow,' those who have performed the ceremony initiatory to a Soma sacrifice. A.

257. An ordeal should not take place, unless there should be a special reason for it, such as an accusation. Therefore an ordeal must not be administered, unless there be a plaintiff who declares himself ready to take the punishment on himself in case of defeat.

undergo punishment, an ordeal cannot take place. An ordeal shall be administered to litigants where there is reason for it, but not otherwise.

258. Therefore an intelligent, virtuous, righteous, and wise (king or chief judge) should abstain carefully from administering any one out of the (five) ordeals, unless both parties consent to it.

* 259. The ordeal by water must not take place in the cold weather, nor the ordeal by fire in the hot season, nor must the (ordeal by) poison be administered to any one during the rains, nor the (ordeal by) balance in stormy weather.

20. The Ordeal by Balance.

* 260. Wise legislators conversant with every law have proclaimed, after mature consideration, the following rules regarding the mode of performing the ordeal by balance, which may be administered in every season.

* 261. The two posts should be dug in every

A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 96; *Vishnu* IV, 20, 21. The reading *na divyam* (for *na vinâ*?) seems wrong. Or translate, 'but there is no ordeal for plaintiffs.'

258. A king or chief-judge, who is endowed with the qualities here mentioned, should administer an ordeal with the full approval of both parties in a cause, but not otherwise. A.

259. The times or seasons here referred to should be avoided in the case of the ordeal by water and of the other ordeals, because they are illegal. A. *Vishnu* IX, 24, 26, 28, 30.

260-284. *Vishnu* X; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 100-102.

260. 'After mature consideration,' after having duly considered that the ordeals by fire, water, and poison are subject to many interruptions or obstacles arising from time, locality, &c., wise men have devised this ordeal by balance, which may be performed during any season. That is the meaning. A.

261. The apparatus for performing the ordeal by balance, which is described in this and the following paragraphs, consists of the

case to the depth of two Hastas below ground. (The whole of) their length is ordained to amount to six Hastas in extent.

* 262. The beam of the balance should be four Hastas in length, and the height of the two posts (above ground) should be the same. The intermediate space between the two posts should measure one and a half Hastas.

* 263. The beam of the balance should be made straight, of Khadira or of Tinduka wood, quadrangular and (provided) with three Sthânas and with hooks (by which the strings supporting the scale are suspended) and with other (contrivances).

* 264. He should cause it to be made of Khadira wood or Simsapa wood, or in default of such, of

following elements: 1. Two wooden posts, supporting a transverse beam. The two posts should be fastened in the ground at a distance of one-and-a-half Hastas (1 Hasta = about 18 inches), facing the west and east. The part above ground should be four Hastas long, and the part below ground two Hastas, the whole length of each post amounting to six Hastas. 2. The beam of the balance, by which the scales have to be suspended. The beam itself, which should measure four Hastas, and should be made of Khadira or other strong wood, should be suspended by means of an iron hook and chain in the middle of the transverse beam. 3. The beam of the balance should be surrounded in the middle and at the two extremities, by three Sthânas (belts?) by which two iron hooks should be fastened. 4. The two scales should be suspended at the two ends of the beam, by the iron hooks, and by four strings each. 5. Each of the two scales should move in a wooden arch (*torana*), which serves the purpose of marking the position of the scales. See Mitâksharâ and Stenzler's paper on Ordeals (vol. ix of the Journal of the German Oriental Society), to which a drawing has been added for the purpose of illustrating the statements of the Smṛiti writers regarding this kind of ordeal.

263. Read *rigvî* in the text.

264. Wood of the Khadira tree is the most eligible sort of wood. Then comes Tinduka wood, and lastly Simsapa wood. A.

Sâla wood, (which must be) without notches and withered portions, and devoid of rents.

* 265. These kinds of timber should be used for preparing the beam of the balance, (which should be erected) either in the midst of a public assembly, or before the gates of the royal palace, or in sight of a temple, or in a cross-road.

266. (The balance) must be dug firmly into the earth, after having been covered with perfumes, garlands, and unguents, and after the performance of purificatory and auspicious ceremonies with sour milk, whole grain, clarified butter, and perfumes.

267. This ordeal should always be administered in the presence of the guardians of the world, who must be invoked to be present for the protection (of virtue and justice), and in sight of everybody (who cares to look on).

* 268. It is ordained that all ordeals should be

265. The various places here mentioned are the favourite abodes of Dharmarâga (the king of justice), when he appears on earth. A. The *Vîramitrodaya* and other compositions quote two verses of Kâtyâyana, to the effect that ordeals should be administered to felons in sight of a temple; to those who have offended against the king, before the gates of his palace; to low-caste persons, in a cross-road; and to other offenders, in the midst of a public assembly, or court of justice.

266. It appears from the statements of other legislators, that the ceremonies to be performed on this occasion are perfectly analogous to those which have to take place on the occasion of preparing a sacrificial stake (*yûpa*).

267. 'In sight of everybody,' not in a solitary spot. A.

268-270. This is a digression relative to certain exceptions to the rule in pars. 257, 258. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 96, 99; *Vishnu* IX, 22.

268. An ordeal is ordained, when the plaintiff declares himself ready to undergo punishment. Where, however, any outrage has been committed against the royal family, an ordeal should be administered even without a declaration of this sort. A.

administered in the forenoon, the person (to be tested) having fasted for a day and a night, taken a bath, and wearing his wet dress.

269. Excepting cases of high treason, an ordeal shall not be administered, unless the plaintiff comes forward and declares himself ready to undergo punishment in case of his being defeated.

270. The king may inflict ordeals on his own servants, even without the one party declaring himself ready to undergo punishment. On the other hand, in the case of other persons accused of a crime, (he should administer ordeals) according to law (only).

* 271. After having well fastened the two scales by the hooks of the beam, he should place the man in the one scale and a stone in the other.

The essential features of the proceedings described in pars. 271-284 may be summarized as follows: 1. The person to be tested by this ordeal should be placed in the one scale, and a basket filled with stones and sand placed in the other scale, as an equivalent. 2. The basket having been made precisely equal in weight to the man with the help of goldsmiths and other persons skilled in the practice of weighing, the position of the beam should be marked on each of the two arches. 3. After that, the man should be allowed to descend from the scale. The judge should admonish him, and he should get into the scale again, after a bill recounting the charge raised against him has been fastened on his head. 4. A Brahman should address the balance with prayers. 5. The man having descended once more from the scale, the result of the second weighing should be compared with the result of the first weighing. If he has risen, i.e. if he has proved lighter than the first time, he shall be acquitted; if the scale has gone down, or if it has remained in the same place as before, he must be pronounced guilty. 6. If any part of the balance has broken during the proceeding, he has to be acquitted.

271. The term 'a stone' seems to denote an equivalent here and in the next paragraph. The sequel shows that the equivalent consists of a basket filled with stones and other objects.

* 272. He should weigh the man on the northern side, and the stone on the southern side. There (in the southern scale) he should (place) a basket and fill it up with bricks, mud, and grains of sand.

273. In the first weighing, the weight (of the man) should be ascertained with the aid of experienced men, and the arch marked at that height which corresponds to the even position of the two scales.

* 274. Goldsmiths, merchants, and skilful braziers experienced in the art of weighing, should inspect the beam of the balance.

* 275. After having first weighed the man, and having made (on the arches) a mark for the beam, in order to show the (even) position of the scales, he should cause him to descend from the balance.

* 276. After having admonished him with solemn imprecations he should cause the man to get into the scale again, after having fastened a writing on

273-275. Goldsmiths, merchants, braziers, and other persons familiar with the art of weighing, should ascertain whether the man and the equivalent are precisely equal in weight, and whether the beam of the balance is quite straight, by pouring some water (on the beam of the balance?). A. According to the *Pitāmaha-smṛiti*, the water shall be poured on the beam of the balance. If it does not trickle down from the beam, the beam may be supposed to be straight. The way in which the position of the scales and of the beam of the balance has to be marked on the two arches, may be gathered from the *Yāgyavalkya-smṛiti*, which ordains that a line shall be drawn (across the arches).

276. He should cause the man to get into the scale once more, after having reminded him of his good actions and of the pre-eminence of truth, having invoked the deities, and having fastened on his head a bill recounting the charge, and containing an imprecation. The whole proceeding must not take place in windy or rainy weather. A. The *Vīramitrodaya* and other compilations quote another text of Nârada, according to which no verdict should be given if the scales have been moved by the wind.

his head. There must be neither wind nor rainfall (at the time when this ordeal is being performed).

277. When he has ascended (the scale), a Brahman, holding the scale in his hand, should recite the following: 'Thou art called *dhaṭa* (a balance), which appellation is synonymous with *dharma* (justice).

* 278. Thou knowest the bad and good actions of all beings. This man, being arraigned in a cause, is weighed upon thee.

279. Thou art superior to gods, demons, and mortals in point of veracity.

[Thou, Balance, hast been created by the gods in time out of mind, as a receptacle of truth.

* 280. Deign to speak truth, therefore, O propitious being, and deliver me from this perplexity. If I am an offender, take me down.

* 281. If thou knowest me to be innocent, take me upwards.] Therefore mayst thou deliver him lawfully from the perplexity in which he is involved.'

282. After having addressed him, (invoking) the guardians of the world and the gods, with these and other such speeches, he should cause the man who has been placed in the scale, to descend once more and should ascertain (the state of the matter).

* 283. If he rises, on being weighed (for the second time), he is undoubtedly innocent. If his

277. This quibble is based on the fact that the two words *Dhaṭa* and *Dharma* commence with the same syllable.

279-281. The words enclosed in brackets cannot be genuine. They appear to be a quotation from the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti* (II, 101, 102), which has been added as a marginal gloss by a copyist, and has subsequently crept into the text. *Yâgñavalkya* puts this entire address in the mouth of the defendant himself, whereas all the other *Smṛiti* writers put it in the mouth of a third person.

weight remains the same as before, or if he goes down, he cannot be acquitted.

* 284. Should the scales break, or the beam or the hooks split, or the strings burst, or the transverse beam split, (the judge) shall pronounce a formal declaration of his innocence.

21. The Ordeal by Fire.

* 285. I will propound, next, the excellent law regarding the (ordeal by) fire. The interval between

284. It seems strange that the accidents mentioned in this paragraph should be viewed as proofs of innocence. Vishnu, Kâtyâyana, and Vyâsa rule that the proceeding shall be repeated in every such case. Brîhaspati says that these accidents shall be taken as proofs of guilt. The reading *mûrtitaḥ* may be wrong (for *punaḥ sa?* 'he shall cause the proceeding to be repeated'). See Vyâsa.

285-303. Vishnu XI; Yâgyñavalkya II, 103-107.

The essential features of the ordeal by fire are as follows:

1. Eight concentric circles of equal breadth are marked on a piece of ground.
2. An iron ball is heated repeatedly by a blacksmith.
3. The hands of the defendant are examined, and all existing sores or scars coloured with dots.
4. His hands are wrapped up in leaves, in order to protect them against the hot iron.
5. A prayer addressed to Agni, god of fire, shall be recited and written on a leaf, which is fastened on the head of the defendant.
6. The iron ball is placed in his hands, and he is made to walk slowly through all the circles successively, taking one circle with each step. On reaching the last circle he may throw the ball on the ground.
7. His hands are examined once more. If they are found to contain any fresh sores or wounds, he is guilty; if not, he is innocent.
8. If he lets the ball drop from fear, before having reached the last circle, or if the examination of his hands has yielded no definite result, the whole proceeding has to be repeated.

285. Other legislators state that each circle shall be thirty-two *Āṅgulas* broad together with the space situated between it and the next circle. In par. 299 it is said that the breadth of each circle shall equal the length of the defendant's foot. This rule, according to the commentators, refers to the circle minus the intermediate space between it and the next circle, and means that a

every two circles is ordained to measure thirty-two *Āṅgulas*.

* 286. Thus the space covered by the eight circles will measure two hundred and fifty-six *Āṅgulas*.

* 287. He should place seven leaves of the holy fig-tree in the hands of the defendant, and should fasten the leaves (on his hands) with seven threads.

* 288. A professional blacksmith, who has practice in working with fire, and whose skill has been tested on previous occasions, should be caused to heat the iron in fire.

* 289, 290. An iron ball fifty *Palas* in weight having been repeatedly made fiery, sparkling and red-hot, a pure Brahman who reveres truth, should address it as follows, when it has been heated thrice: 'Listen to the law of Manu, which is superintended by the guardians of the world (themselves).

* 291. Thou, O fire, art the means of purification and the exalted mouth of all the gods. Thou, dwelling in the heart of all beings, knowest this affair.

* 292. Truth and falsehood proceed from thy tongue. Deign not to show thyself unworthy of the character thus attributed to thee in the Vedas and other books.

* 293. This man (the defendant) has been thus addressed by that man (the plaintiff), and has denied

circle shall equal the defendant's foot in breadth, where the foot is longer than sixteen *Āṅgulas*. *Pitāmaha* says that the outlines of the circles shall be marked with cow-dung.

288. 'A professional blacksmith,' not one officiating temporarily in that capacity. A.

289, 290. The *Vīramitrodaya* says that the iron ball shall be put into cold water, after it has been heated for the first and second times.

the charge, (declaring) "I will seize the fire, in order to show that it is all untrue."

* 294. Thus confiding in truth, this man is holding thee. Therefore, O fire, be cool for him, if he speak the truth. If, however, he should tell a lie, as a sinner, I implore thee, to burn his hands.'

* 295. This prayer having been carefully written on a leaf and recited, he should fasten the leaf on his head, and after having done so, should then give him the iron ball.

* 296. Having bathed and stepped into the space covered by the (eight) circles, he should seize the fiery ball, take his stand in one circle, and walk slowly through the seven others.

* 297. (The man) must not put it down again till he has passed through the whole of the measured ground. On reaching the eighth circle, he may drop the fiery ball.

* 298. That man who lets the ball drop from fear, or who cannot be proved to have been burnt, shall take the hot iron once more ; this is a fixed rule.

* 299. Each circle should be made as broad as his foot. He must not go further than the breadth of one circle with one step, nor must he remain behind it.

300. In this way the ordeal by fire should always be performed. It is adapted for every season except summer and very cold weather.

* 301. All sores or scars on his hands should be marked with signs previously, and one should examine the hands again afterwards (and look after) the dots with which (the sores) have been marked.

* 302. If it does not appear whether (either of) the two hands is burnt, he shall take and seven times crush grains of rice in his hand, with all his might.

* 303. The grains having been crushed by him, if the members of the court should declare him to be unburnt, he shall be honourably released as being innocent. If he is burnt, he shall receive due punishment.

22. The Ordeal by Water.

304. I will now proclaim the excellent law regarding the (ordeal by) water, (which may be performed at all seasons) one after the other, excepting the winter and dewy seasons.

* 305. (This ordeal may be performed) in streams

302, 303. The crushing of grains of rice serves the purpose of making visible such wounds as might have been overlooked previously. Here ends the section of the ordeal by fire. A.

305-317. Vishnu XII; Yâgñavalkya II, 108, 109.

The ordeal by water may be briefly described as follows:

1. This ordeal should be either performed in a tank or in a river which has no swift current.
2. Three arrows should be discharged from a bow of middling size.
3. After that, a strong man should enter the water as far as his navel. The defendant should seize him by the thigh and dive under water.
4. A swift runner should be sent after the second arrow. When he has reached the place where it has fallen, another equally swift runner should be sent back with it to the place where the defendant has entered the water.
5. The defendant is declared innocent, if he has remained under water till the arrow has been brought back. He is declared guilty, if any one of his limbs have been seen, or if he were to emerge from the water in a different spot from that where he entered it.
6. During the proceeding, a prayer is addressed to the deity of water, in which it is asserted, that fire arose from water, and that the water ordeal is superior therefore to the ordeal by fire.

305. The winter season comprises the months Agrahâyaṇa and

which have not too swift a course, in oceans, in rivers, in lakes, in ponds dug by the gods, in tanks, and in pools.

* 306. The diving shall take place after three arrows have been discharged from a bow which must not be too strong. Wise men (have declared) what its strength should be.

* 307. A strong bow is declared to be 107 (Aṅgulas) long, a moderate bow 106, and an inferior bow 105 (Aṅgulas). This is declared to be the rule regarding the bow.

* 308. A strong man should be placed like a pillar in water, reaching to his navel. The defendant should seize him by the thigh and dive under water.

Pausha. The dewy or cold season (Sisira) comprises the months Māgha and Phālguna. It appears, therefore, that the ordeal by water must not be performed during the period extending from the middle of November to the middle of March, i. e. during the cold weather. This is no doubt because the low temperature of the water during the cold weather might affect the capacity of the defendant to hold out under water sufficiently long.

306. Devakhāta, 'a pond dug by the gods,' denotes a natural hollow or lake. (Böhtlingk's Dictionary.) Nandapandita, in his Commentary of the *Vishnu-smṛiti* (LXIV, 16), gives the well-known lake of Pushkara, near Agmīr, as an instance of a Devakhāta.

307. It seems strange that the difference in length between the bows should not amount to more than one Aṅgula or inch. The commentators take the three numerals in this paragraph to denote 105, 106, and 107 respectively, and I have translated in accordance with this interpretation. It is, however, possible to translate the three numerals by 500, 600, and 700 respectively, and to refer them to the number of Hastas (1 Hasta = 18 inches) traversed by each of the three arrows. According to another text, which is wrongly attributed to Nārada by some commentators, the arrows shall be shot at a target, which has to be placed at a distance of 150 Hastas from the marksman.

* 309. From the place where the arrows have been discharged, a young man endowed with swiftness of limb should walk as quickly as possible to the place where the middlemost arrow has fallen down.

* 310. Another man, who must be an equally swift runner, should seize the middlemost arrow and return with it quickly to the place from which the (first) man has proceeded.

311. If he who took the arrow does not see the defendant in water on arriving, because he is completely under water, the defendant must be acquitted.

* 312. Otherwise he is guilty, though only one limb of his have become visible. (He is pronounced guilty) equally, if he has moved to a different place than that where he was first immersed.

* 313. Women or children must not be subjected to the ordeal by water by persons acquainted with the law; nor sick, superannuated, or feeble men.

* 314. Cowards, those tormented by pain, and persons afflicted by a calamity should also be held exempt from this trial. Such persons perish immediately after diving, because they are declared to have hardly any breath.

* 315. Should they even have appeared before the court on account of a serious crime, he must not cause them to dive under water, nor must he subject them to the ordeal by fire, or give them poison.

* 316. 'Nothing is more capable than water and fire of showing the difference between right and wrong.

316, 317. These two paragraphs contain the prayer by which the deity of water should be addressed. A. Vishnu XII, 8; Yâgñavalkya II, 108.



Because fire has arisen from the waters, therefore suspected persons

* 317. Are subjected to this proof by preference, by persons thoroughly conversant with the law. Therefore deign, O venerable Lord of Waters, to effect acquittal through truth.'

23. The Ordeal by Poison.

* 318. Now I shall proclaim the excellent rule regarding the ordeal by poison : at what time, in what manner, and in what form it should be administered.

* 319. The exact quantity of the poison (to be given) having been fixed by persons conversant with the essence of law, it shall be weighed, and given to the defendant in the autumn season, when winter sets in.

320. A man acquainted with law, must not (administer this ordeal) in the afternoon, nor in the

318-326. The ordeal by poison consists of the swallowing of a mild poison by the defendant. He is innocent if he digests the poison without being affected by it. Vishnu XIII; Yâgyavalkya II, 110, 111.

319. The autumn season, Sarad, comprises the two months of Ârvina and Kârttika, or from middle of September to middle of November. The winter season comprises the two months of Aprahâya and Pausha, or from middle of November to middle of January. Mitramisra, who quotes this text in the Vîramitrodaya, asserts that the term 'the winter season' must be taken in this place to include the dewy season, Sisira, as well, i.e. the time from middle of January to middle of March.

320. Though the season of Sarad has been referred to in par. 319, it must be reckoned among the prohibited seasons according to par. 320. A. This observation seems to be just, because the performance of this ordeal in the Sarad season is prohibited in par. 324 as well. Vasanta, the spring season, extends from middle of March to middle of May. Grîshma, the hot season, extends from middle of May to middle of July. Varshâ, the season of the rains, extends from middle of July to middle of September.

twilight, nor at noon. It must be avoided, likewise, in the autumn, summer, spring, and rainy seasons.

* 321. Spoiled poison, shaken poison, scented and mixed poison, as well as Kālakūṭa and Alābu poison, should be carefully avoided.

* 322. Poison from the *Sṛīṅga* plant, which grows in the Himālayas, of an excellent quality, having (the required) colour, flavour, and taste, and preserving its natural condition, should be given to members of the Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sūdra castes.

* 323. Let him give to the defendant one-eighth less than the twentieth part of a sixth part of a Pala of the poison, mixed with clarified butter.

* 324. Six Yavas should be given in the rainy season; five Yavas in the hot season; seven or eight in the winter season; in the autumn season this ordeal must not take place.

* 325. 'Thou, O poison, art the son of Brahman.

321. Spoiled, shaken, scented, and mixed poison should be avoided, because it has been changed from its natural state (into something different). Kālakūṭa and Alābu poison should be avoided, because it is too strong. A. Kālakūṭa is a certain deadly poison contained in a bulbous root or tuber. According to a well-known myth, the Kālakūṭa poison was produced at the churning of the ocean, when it threatened to destroy the whole world, and was therefore swallowed by Siva. Alābu is the bottle-gourd.

323. There are 960 Yavas to a Pala. The fraction, therefore, is as follows:— $960 \cdot \frac{1}{8} \cdot \frac{1}{20} \cdot \frac{1}{6} = 7$ Yavas. In par. 324, the author says that seven or eight Yavas of poison should be given in winter, i.e. in that season when this ordeal is ordinarily administered. Viṣṇu lays down generally that seven Yavas of poison should be given.

324. This rule shows that the prohibition which has been levelled in par. 320 against the performance of this ordeal in the rainy and summer seasons, must not be interpreted too strictly.

325. This is the prayer which should be addressed to the poison. A.

Truth and virtue are thy support. Clear this man from guilt. Become (like) Ambrosia to him, through truth.'

* 326. Let the man be kept in a shadowy place without taking food, for the whole remainder of the day. If he remains free from convulsions such as are generally caused by poison, he is declared innocent by Manu.

24. The Ordeal by Sacred Libation.

* 327. Now I shall proclaim the excellent rule regarding the ordeal by sacred libation, as it has been laid down, for all seasons indiscriminately, by learned men.

* 328. The consecrated water shall be given, early in the morning, to a virtuous man, who believes in God. He must have fasted and bathed, and wear his wet clothes.

* 329. The defendant should be made to drink three mouthfuls of water in which (an image of) the deity whom he holds sacred has been bathed and worshipped.

* 330. If he should meet himself with any calamity

326. Here ends the chapter of the ordeal by poison. A.

327-333. Vishnu XIV; Yâgñavalkya II, 112, 113.

327. The ordeal by sacred libation is performed by swallowing three mouthfuls of consecrated water in which an idol has been bathed. The defendant is declared innocent, if no misfortune befalls him within a certain period after this trial.

328. Immoral persons and infidels must not be subjected to this ordeal, because they are already deprived of the assistance of the gods in every case. A. Read pûrvâhne in the text.

330. If any misfortune should happen to him, through the act of the king or through fate, it shall be taken as proof of his guilt. A. Other legislators refer in particular to illness, fire, death

within a week or a fortnight (after having undergone this ordeal), it shall be regarded as proof of his guilt.

* 331. If a great misfortune even should befall him after the lapse of a fortnight, he must not be harassed by any one, because the fixed period has elapsed.

* 332. The drinking of consecrated water should be avoided in the case of great criminals, irreligious or ungrateful men, eunuchs, low rascals, unbelievers, Vrâtyas, and slaves.

333. A righteous king, who administers the five ordeals to persons charged with a crime in the way which has been stated, acquires prosperity both in a future state and in this life.

* 334. The ordeal by water is destined for the hot season. The ordeal by poison (should be administered) in very cold weather. A Brahman should be tested by the balance, fire is reserved for the Kshatriya.

* 335. The ordeal by water should be administered to the Vaisya. Poison should be given to the Sûdra. He must not give poison to the Brahman, nor should a Kshatriya take the (hot) iron.

of a relation, or punishment inflicted by the king. Nor is every sort of disease to be considered as proof of guilt. It is obvious that the inclusion of a punishment inflicted by the king among the proofs of guilt tends to place the defendant at the mercy of the sovereign power.

332. All the various categories of persons that are mentioned here as unfit for the performance of this ordeal are so because they are already deprived of the assistance of the gods in every case. A. Vrâtyas, those who have not been invested with the thread.

333. The term 'persons charged with a crime' may denote both real offenders, whose offence has remained secret, and wrongly accused persons. A.

336. The (five) ordeals, ending with the sacred libation and beginning with the balance, should be administered in the case of heavy charges. One hundred and fifty (*Pañsas*) should be given (to the defendant) if he has been acquitted. One who has not been acquitted is liable to punishment.

25. The Rice Ordeal.

* 337. Now I will proclaim the rule regarding the grains of rice which have to be chewed (by the defendant). This rice ordeal should be administered in cases of larceny, but on no other occasion whatsoever. That is the law.

* 338. Let the judge, who must have cleansed himself previously, use white grains of rice, but not (the grains) of any other fruit, and let him place them in an earthen vessel in the sight of (an image of the deity of) the sun.

339. After having mixed them with water in which (an image of the sun-god) has been bathed, he shall leave them in that place for a night. At daybreak, after having prepared them three times, a worshipper of the gods shall give them himself

340. (To the defendant), who must be facing the east and must have bathed and fasted, after having proclaimed the charge himself, in order that right may be discerned from wrong.

337-342. The rice ordeal consists of chewing a number of grains of rice in the husk. If the tooth-flesh is hurt and if blood issues forth, or if the man is seen to be trembling during the proceeding, it is viewed as a proof of guilt. Otherwise he is acquitted.

339. Should the reading be *triḥ kr̥tvāḥ*, '(he shall give them) thrice?'

* 341. When the defendant has chewed the grains, he shall cause him to spit them on a leaf. If a leaf of the holy fig-tree be not available, he shall take a leaf of the birch-tree (for that purpose).

* 342. Should blood issue forth, or the tooth-flesh be hurt, or the limbs shake, he must be pronounced guilty.

26. The Ordeal of the Hot Piece of Gold.

343. Now I shall give a description of the ordeal of the hot piece of gold, which has been ordained by Brahman himself for the purpose of distinguishing virtue from vice.

* 344. (The judge), after having cleansed himself, shall quickly pour clarified butter into a golden, silver, iron, or earthen vessel, and shall place the vessel on the fire.

* 345. He shall throw into it a shining coin, made of gold, silver, copper, or iron, after having washed it in water more than once.

* 346. Should (the coin) ever drop into the boiling (mixture), it would be a very dangerous thing to touch him (the fire?). Therefore he must address the clarified butter with the following prayer:

* 347. 'Thou art the best instrument of purification, O clarified butter, and (comparable to) Am-

343-348. The ordeal of the hot piece of gold (Taptamâsha) derives its name from the gold coin (mâsha) or signet-ring (mudrikâ), which those who are tried by this ordeal are required to pick out of a vessel filled with a boiling liquid, with the thumb and forefinger. They are declared innocent, if the hand remains unhurt.

346. The reading of the first half of this paragraph is quite uncertain, and the above rendering conjectural.

brosia at a sacrifice. Burn this man at once if he is criminal, and be as cold as ice to him if he is innocent.'

* 348. If, on touching and examining the forefinger (of the defendant) it is found to be unhurt and to show no boils, he is innocent. Otherwise, he is not (innocent).

SECOND TITLE OF LAW.

DEPOSITS.

* 1. Where a man entrusts any property of his own with another in confidence and without suspicion, it is called by the learned a Deposit, a title of law.

2. A sensible man should make a deposit with one who belongs to a respectable family, and who is virtuous, acquainted with his duties, veracious, influential, wealthy, and honourable.

3. In whatever manner a man may have delivered

348. Some writers refer to two further ordeals, besides the seven kinds mentioned by Nârada. One of them is the ordeal of the red-hot ploughshare, which the defendant is made to lick. The other consists of drawing lots.

II, 1. With one in whom he places no confidence, a man will not deposit a single cowry even, without the guarantee of a written receipt or of witnesses. On the other hand, he will deposit a thousand Suvarṇas even, without a receipt or witnesses, with one in whose honesty he places implicit reliance. A.

2. A prudent man may entrust a deposit to one endowed with the seven qualities here mentioned, because he feels sure that he may recover his property at any time. A. The term mahâpaksha, 'influential,' means literally one who has many friends and relations. Identical with Manu VIII, 179.

3. Thus, e. g. a sealed deposit must be returned with the seal, a deposit made before witnesses must be restored in the presence of the same witnesses. See Jolly, translation of Book VIII of the Code of Manu. Identical with Manu VIII, 180.

any of his effects to another, in the same manner shall that article be restored to him. Delivery and receipt ought to be equal.

4. If the depositary fails to restore the deposit to the depositor as he ought, he shall be compelled to restore it by forcible means, after his guilt has been proved by ordeals or other (modes of proof).

* 5. If one article hidden in another is deposited in another man's house, without stating (what it is), it is termed an Aupanidhika deposit.

* 6. Deposits are again divided into two species, attested and unattested ones. They must be restored precisely in the same condition (as they were in at the time of their delivery). Otherwise an ordeal must take place.

* 7. The wicked man who does not return a deposit, on being asked to do so by the depositor, shall be punished by the king. If the deposit has

4. Where the depositary, actuated by interested motives, refuses to restore the deposit, and is convicted of his guilt in a court of justice, by an ordeal or by other proof, he must restore it and pay twice its value as a fine. A. *Manu* VIII, 190.

5. 'One article hidden in another,' such as e.g. a pearl necklace tied up with a particular sort of knot in a cloth. Such a deposit must be restored in the same condition as before, and tied with those very knots with which it was originally delivered. A. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 65.

6. If a deposit has been handed over to the depositary in the presence of witnesses, it must be restored before witnesses. If no witnesses were present at the time of its delivery, they may be equally dispensed with at the time when it is returned to the depositor. If it is not returned to him, the depositary must perform an ordeal or make an oath, &c. A.

7. The last clause concerns a deposit which has not been returned on demand. In that case, a calamity arising through fate or the king affects the depositary, and not the depositor. A. *Manu* VIII, 191; *Vishnu* V, 169-171.

been lost or destroyed, he shall make good its value.

* 8. If he derives profit from a deposit, by using it without the consent of the depositor, he shall be punished likewise, and shall restore the profit, together with interest, to the depositor.

* 9. If a deposit is lost, together with the property of the depositary, the loss shall be the depositary's. The same rule shall obtain, if the loss has been caused by fate or by the king; unless (the depositary) should have acted fraudulently.

10. The depositor being dead, if the depositary restores the deposit to his next-of-kin, of his own accord, he must not be harassed either by the king or by the relations of the depositor.

11. (The rightful owner) shall try to recover it amicably, without resorting to stratagems. Or he shall explore (the depositary's) mode of living, and cause him to restore it by friendly expostulations.

8. If the depositary without the knowledge of the depositor derives gain from the use of the deposit he shall be punished, and shall make over his gain, together with interest, to the depositor. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 67.

10. If, the depositor being dead, the depositary through honesty restores the deposit to his nearest relative and heir, without having been asked to do so, or without the existence of the deposit being known to the heir, he must not be harassed by the relatives of the depositor asserting, 'He has not restored all,' or by the king. A. Manu VIII, 186.

11. Nârâyana, in commenting on Manu VIII, 187, observes that this rule applies to one who believes a deposit to be with another, but has not made it over himself. He shall try to recover the deposit amicably; or he shall ascertain whether the depositary has made extraordinary expenses, and may therefore be suspected to have embezzled the deposit. Other commentators explain this text in a different manner. See Professor Bühler's note on Manu VIII, 187. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 187.

12. What has been stolen by thieves, carried away by water, or burnt by fire, need not be restored (by the depositary), unless he should have appropriated something out of it.

* 13. He who fails to restore a deposit, and he who demands what he never deposited, shall both be punished like thieves, and shall be made to pay a sum equal (in amount to the value of the deposit).

* 14. The same law applies in the case of *Yâkita*, *Anvâhita*, and other such deposits, articles made over to an artist, *Nyâsa* and *Pratinyâsa* deposits.

* 15. If a man takes charge of a wealthy boy, the law is also the same. These six cases are equal (from a legal point of view).

12. If, however, he is convicted, by the performance of an ordeal, of having derived some profit from the deposit, he shall restore his gains. A. Nearly identical with *Manu* VIII, 189.

13. Either of the two criminals here mentioned must be punished like a thief and pay the value of the deposit as a fine. A. Nearly identical with *Manu* VIII, 191.

14. *Yâkita* is what has been borrowed for use, especially clothes and ornaments, which have been borrowed on the occasion of a wedding or other festival. *Anvâhita* is a deposit, which has been delivered by the depositor to a third person, on condition of its being returned afterwards to the owner. 'Articles made over to an artist' are materials to be worked by an artisan, as e.g. gold delivered to a goldsmith to be made into an earring. *Nyâsa* is a secret deposit, which has been handed over to some one inhabitant of the house, behind the back of the house-owner. *Pratinyâsa* is a mutual bailment, both parties exchanging deposits with one another. *Asahâya*, *Vigñânesvara*, *Mitramisra*, &c. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 67.

15. If a man takes a wealthy boy who has no guardian into his house, the property of the boy is subject to the above rules regarding deposits. A.

THIRD TITLE OF LAW.

PARTNERSHIP.

* 1. Where traders or others carry on business jointly, it is called Partnership, which is a title of law.

* 2. Where several partners are jointly carrying on business for the purpose of gain, the contribution of funds towards the common stock of the association forms the basis (of their undertakings). Therefore let each contribute his proper share.

* 3. The loss, expenses, and profit of each partner are either equal to those of the other partners, or exceed them, or remain below them, according as his share is equal to theirs, or greater, or less.

* 4. The stores, the food, the charges (for tolls and the like), the loss, the freight, and the expense of keeping valuables must be duly paid for by each of the several partners, in accordance with the terms of their agreements.

* 5. (Each partner) is responsible for what has been

III, 2. Thus, e. g. a principal amounting to 1000 Drammas is invested in their common business by four partners. One contributes one-half of the principal, i. e. 500 Drammas. Another contributes one-fifth, i. e. 200 Drammas. A third contributes 200 Drammas likewise. A fourth contributes 100 Drammas. The percentage of the gain and of the charges will be in accordance with the share contributed by each partner. A.

3. Manu VIII, 211; Yâgñavalkya II, 259.

4. The expense incurred by the purchase of merchandise, for food, &c., has to be defrayed by all the partners in due shares, according to the terms originally agreed on, and the several shares contributed by them. A.

5. He who causes the loss of funds contributed by all the partners must make it good, and so must he who has infringed

lost by his want of care, or in consequence of his acting against the instructions of, or without authorization from, all the other coparceners.

* 6. Where the property of the partnership is in danger through fate, through a gang of robbers, or through the king, the tenth part of the goods shall belong to him who has preserved them through his own exertion.

* 7. Should one partner meet with an accident, his heir shall replace him ; or on failure of an heir, another man, or all (the partners) if they are capable (of becoming his substitute).

* 8. In the same way, where an officiating priest has met with an accident, another (priest) shall officiate for him, and receive from him his part of the fee to the stipulated amount.

* 9. Where an officiating priest forsakes a sacri-

the rules of the society, or who has caused a loss by acting without authorization from his partners. A. *Yâgñavalkya II, 260.*

6. If any one member of the society exerts himself to guard their common property against a fire, or against a gang of robbers, or against an encroaching prince who wants to seize it, he shall receive a tenth part of it, as a reward for his trouble. A. *Yâgñavalkya II, 260.*

7. Should any one among the partners die, his sons or other heirs shall take his share. Failing heirs, it shall belong to any other partner, who is able to officiate for him. Or, if all are able to officiate for him, they all shall take it together. A. *Yâgñavalkya II, 265.*

8. If among several officiating priests one should meet with a calamity, his share of the work shall pass to another, and the stipulated fee shall also belong to his substitute. A. *Manu VIII, 206.*

9. If the case of an officiating priest or sacrificer who has left the other party from anger, avarice, or some other reprehensible motive, and without delinquencies on the part of the other party, be brought before the king, he shall punish him. A. *Manu VIII, 389; Yâgñavalkya II, 237; Vishnu V, 113.*

ficer, who is no offender and free from guilt, or where (a sacrificer) forsakes a faultless priest, they shall both be punished.

* 10. There are three sorts of officiating priests : one honoured by previous generations, one appointed by (the sacrificer) himself, and one who performs the functions of a priest of his own accord through friendship.

* 11. This law applies to hereditary and self-chosen priests. But it is no sin to abandon a priest officiating of his own accord.

* 12. A trader on reaching a toll-house should pay the legal duty. A prudent man must not try to evade it, (because) it is called the (king's) tax.

* 13. If he evades a toll-house, or if he buys or sells at another than the legal hour, or if he does not state the value (of his goods) correctly, he shall be fined eight times the amount which he tried to evade.

11. In the case of those officiating priests who have been employed by the ancestors of the sacrifices, i. e. who are hereditary in his family, and in the case of those who have been chosen by himself the punishment ordained for forsaking a priest should be inflicted. But if the sacrificer abandons one who officiates for him from friendship, and employs in his place one better qualified, or more acceptable to himself, awarding to him the stipulated fee, he is free from blame. A.

12. A duty is the king's due, and traders must not defraud the king of it. A.

13. There are three ways for evading a duty : one, if a merchant avoids a toll-house and thus escapes paying the ordinary toll ; another, if he buys or sells at an unseasonable time a commodity on which he has not paid the customary duty ; a third, if he does not state correctly the amount or value of his goods or chattels. A merchant, who has committed any one out of these offences, shall pay eight times the amount of the duty embezzled by him as a fine. A. Manu VIII, 400 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 262.

14. It is declared that a wise man should always abstain from levying a toll on that property of a learned Brahman which belongs to his household; but not (on that which he uses) for trading purposes.

15. The alms received by Brahmans, the property of stage players, and what is capable of being carried on one's back; on all that he must raise no duty.

* 16. If a travelling merchant who has come into his country should die there, the king shall preserve his goods till the heir comes forward.

* 17. On failure of an heir, he must make them over to his relatives or connexions. On failure of them, he shall keep them well guarded for a period of ten years.

* 18. When such property without an owner, and which is not claimed by an heir, has been preserved for ten years, the king may keep it for himself. Thus the sacred law will not be violated.

14. The term *Srotriya*, 'a learned Brahman,' applies to Brahmans generally in this place. All the chattels of a Brahman, except what belongs to the household furniture, are liable to pay duty. Likewise, if he imports and exports goods in trading, those goods have to pay duty. A. *Manu* VII, 133; *Âpastamba* II, 10, 26, 10; *Vasishtha* XIX, 23; *Vishnu* III, 26.

15. The following three descriptions of property shall be exempt from taxation: alms received by Brahmans, no matter how great their value; the property of actors, singers, and the like persons; and what may be carried on the shoulders by any one. A. *Vasishtha* XIX, 37.

18. Read *adâyâdam* in the text.

FOURTH TITLE OF LAW.

RESUMPTION OF GIFT.

* 1. Where a man wishes to resume what he has given, because it has been unduly given by him, it is called Resumption of Gift, a title of law.

* 2. What may be given and what not, valid gifts and invalid gifts; thus the law of gift is declared fourfold in judicial affairs.

* 3. Again, what may not be given is eightfold; what may be given is of one kind only; of valid gifts there are seven species; and sixteen sorts of invalid gifts.

* 4. An Anvâhita deposit, a Yâkita, a pledge, joint property, a deposit, a son, a wife, the whole property of one who has offspring,

* 5. And what has been promised to another man; these have been declared by the spiritual guides to be inalienable by one in the worst plight even.

* 6. What is left (of the property) after the expense of maintaining the family has been defrayed,

IV, 1. 'Unduly' means in a mode opposed to law. Mitâksharâ, Viramitrodaya, Mayûkha, &c. Manu VIII, 214.

2. 'Valid gifts,' literally 'what is given.' 'Invalid gifts,' literally 'what is not given.'

4. For the meaning of the technical terms, Anvâhita and Yâkita, see II, 14. The prohibition of such gifts as would leave the family destitute appears to relate principally to charitable donations and religious endowments.

4-6. Yâgñavalkya II, 175.

6. That only may be given which is left after the cost of living has been defrayed for those whom the head of the family is bound to support. Any gift, on the other hand, which causes hardship to the family, is reprehensible, and not meritorious. A.

may be given. But by giving away anything besides, a householder will incur censure.

7. He who has, for three years, property sufficient to provide for those whom he is bound to maintain, or who has even more than that, shall drink the Soma juice.

* 8. The price paid for merchandise, wages, (a present offered) for an amusement, (a gift made) from affection, or from gratitude, or for sexual intercourse with a woman, and a respectful gift, are the seven kinds of valid gifts.

* 9. Invalid gifts are the following (sixteen): what

7. This rule applies to those cases where there is more wealth than what suffices to maintain the family. A. Manu XI, 7; Yāgñavalkya I, 124; Vasishṭha VIII, 10; Vishṇu LIX, 8.

8. Those gifts only are valid which have been made in one of the seven modes here mentioned. The sixteen other modes of gift are illegal. A. 'A present offered for an amusement,' i. e. what has been given to bards, eulogists, and the like persons. 'A gift made from affection,' to a daughter or other relative. Vīramitrodaya, &c. Instead of *śrībhakti*, 'sexual intercourse with a woman,' the MSS. of Vulg. and the quotations read *śrīśulka*, 'a nuptial gift presented to the relations of the wife.'

9-11. 1. 'Fear,' as e. g. if an honest man promises one hundred drachmas to a ruffian who addresses him, while he is passing through a forest, with the words, 'If thou givest me one hundred drachmas, thou shalt live. Otherwise, thou shalt die.' 2. 'Anger, or hatred:' if a man, actuated by jealousy, says to a Brahman, to whom his wife has offered a seat, 'All the furniture which you see in this house shall be yours.' 3. 'Sorrow:' if a man, in a heavy affliction, declares, 'I will go into the forest. My house has been given to Brahmans to-day.' 4. 'Pain:' a man distressed by a painful illness, says to a Brahman, 'I have given thee one hundred *Suvarṇas*.' 5. 'A bribe:' a litigant says to an assessor of the court, 'I will give thee one hundred *Paṇas* if my cause is declared victorious by thee.' 6. 'In jest,' what has been laughingly given. 7. 'Under false pretences,' as e. g. under the following circumstances:—A libidinous man is enamoured of a public woman, by the name of *Kūtamaṅgarī* ('Mango Bud'). He is deprived of her

has been given by a man under the influence of fear, anger, hatred, sorrow or pain ; or as a bribe ; or in jest ; or fraudulently, under false pretences ;

* 10. Or by a child ; or by a fool ; or by a person not his own master ; or by one distressed ; or by one intoxicated ; or by one insane ; or in consideration of a reward, thinking ' This man will show me some service ;'

* 11. And so is invalid what was given from ignorance to an unworthy man thought to be worthy, or for a purpose (thought to be) virtuous.

* 12. Both the donee who covets invalid gifts and accepts them from avarice, and the donor of what ought not to be given who yet gives it away, deserve punishment.

by a Thakur, and is bewailing his separation from her. Some one asks him whether he will make him a present of a ring, in case he should bring *Kûtamañgarî* before him. He promises to give the ring and offers a surety for it. Thereupon the other exhibits a Mango bud (*Kûtamañgarî*) to him, instead of the woman *Kûtamañgarî*. 8. What was given by a child. 9. What was given by a fool. 10. What was given by a person not his own master. 11. What was given by one distressed, as e.g. if a man being carried away by a current of water exclaims, ' I will give one hundred *Suvarṇas* to any one who saves my life.' 12. What was given by one inebriated. 13. What was given by one insane or possessed by a demon. 14. What was given through a hope of recompense, in expectation of some service to be performed by the donee. 15. What was given to an unworthy man, from ignorance, as e.g. to a *Sûdra*, whom the donor fancied to be a Brahman, because he saw him girt with the sacred thread. 16. What was given for a purpose (thought to be) virtuous, as e.g. if a devout man has made a religious endowment, and the donee employs it for gambling or libidinous purposes. A. Other jurists construe these texts somewhat differently, in order to obtain the sixteen sorts of void gifts distinguished by Nârada. *Manu* VIII, 212.

FIFTH TITLE OF LAW.

BREACH OF A CONTRACT OF SERVICE.

* 1. If a man has promised to render service and fails to render it, it is termed Breach of a Contract of Service, a title of law.

* 2. The sages have distinguished five sorts of attendants according to law. Among these are four sorts of labourers ; the slaves (are the fifth category, of which there are) fifteen species.

* 3. A student, an apprentice, a hired servant, and fourthly, an official ; these must be regarded as labourers ; slaves are those born in the house and the rest.

* 4. The sages have declared that the state of dependence is common to all these ; but that their respective position and income depends on their particular caste and occupation.

* 5. Know that there are two sorts of occupations ; pure work and impure work. Impure work is that done by slaves. Pure work is that done by labourers.

* 6. Sweeping the gateway, the privy, the road,

V, 1-4. Persons bound to obedience. A.

3. 'A student,' one studying divine science. 'A pupil,' an apprentice. *Vīramitrodaya*, &c.

4. Their respective position depends on their caste, and their income depends on their occupation. A.

5-7. Unclean occupations. A.

6. The term 'sweeping' has to be construed with all four nouns, the gateway and the rest. 'The privy,' i.e. a hole or other receptacle of impure substances. 'The place for rubbish,' i.e. a place where the dust and other sweepings from the house are deposited. *Vīramitrodaya*.

and the place for rubbish ; shampooing the secret parts of the body ; gathering and putting away the leavings of food, ordure, and urine,

* 7. And lastly, rubbing the master's limbs when desired ; this should be regarded as impure work. All other work besides this is pure.

* 8. Till he has mastered science, let a student attend diligently on his teacher. The same conduct has to be observed by him towards his teacher's wife and son.

* 9. Let him preserve chastity and beg alms, lying on a low couch and using no ornaments. Let him go to rest after and rise before all (others who are staying at) his teacher's house.

* 10. Let him never come or stay without his teacher's bidding. His (teacher's) call he must obey without hesitation, when he is able to do so.

11. Let him read at the proper time, when his teacher is not averse to it, sitting on a lower seat than his teacher, by his side, or on a bench, and paying attention (to what he says).

12. Science, like the current of a stream, is constantly advancing towards the plain. Therefore, let one studying science be humble towards his teacher.

* 13. His teacher shall correct him, if he does not

8. He must obey his teacher's wife and son, as much as the teacher himself. A.

8-11. Vishnu XXVIII, and the references in the Notes to that Chapter.

9-15. Rules of conduct for a student. A.

12. 'The current of a stream,' meaning a river, advances into the plain, and so does science. Therefore one engaged in studying it should always be lowly and humble. A.

13-14. Gautama II, 42-44 ; Âpastamba I, 28, 29, 31 ; Manu VIII, 299, 300.

pay obedience to him, scolding him or chastising him with a rope or with a small shoot of cane.

14. (The teacher) must not strike him a heavy blow, nor (must he beat him) on a noble part or on the chest; and he must encourage him, after having chastised him. Otherwise the king shall punish him.

* 15. After having completed his studies, let him give the customary present to his teacher and turn home. The conduct of a pupil has been declared.

* 16. If (a young man) wishes to be initiated into the art of his own craft, with the sanction of his relations, he must go and live with a master, the duration of his apprenticeship having been fixed.

* 17. The master shall teach him at his own house and feed him. He must not employ him in work of a different description, and treat him like a son.

* 18. If one forsakes a master, who instructs him

13. Scolding him, i. e. abusing him. A. The Nepalese MS. has a better reading of this clause: 'Or he shall beat him without hurting him, with' &c.

14. A teacher, though angry, must not strike his pupil severely, nor on a noble part, nor on the chest. After having beaten him, he must again encourage him. If the teacher, actuated by an excess of anger, beats him too severely, the pupil shall announce it to the king, who shall punish the teacher. A.

15. Manu II, 245; Yâgñavalkya I, 51; Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 1; Gautama IX, 1; Vishnu XXVIII, 42.

16-21. Rules for an apprentice. A.

16. The teacher must make an agreement in this form, 'Let this apprentice stay with me so and so long.' Viramitrodaya.

17. The teacher shall cause the pupil to do the work peculiar to his own profession, and no other work, and shall feed him and instruct him at his own house. He shall treat him like a son, and not like a labourer. A.

18. If a pupil forsakes his teacher, though the latter has not committed a mortal sin or other heavy crime, the teacher may compel him by forcible means to remain at his house. A.

and whose character is unexceptionable, he may be compelled by forcible means to remain (at the master's house), and he deserves corporal punishment and confinement.

*19. Though his course of instruction be completed, an apprentice must continue to reside at the house of his master, till the fixed period has expired. The profit of whatever work he may be doing there belongs to his master.

*20. When he has learnt the art of his craft within the (stipulated) period, the apprentice shall reward his master as plentifully as he can, and return home, after having taken leave of him.

21. Or, a certain fee having been agreed upon and the skill of the pupil examined, the apprentice shall take (his fee) and shall not go to live in the house of another man.

*22. Hired servants are of three kinds: highest, middlemost, and lowest. The wages due for their labour are fixed in proportion to their skill and to the value of their services.

*23. Soldiers constitute the highest class, agriculturists the middle class, and porters the lowest class. These are the three classes of hired servants.

19. The whole gain of that work which is done by the apprentice while staying at the house of his master after completing his course of instruction, belongs to the master, and not to the apprentice. A. Yâgñavalkya II, 184.

20. After the lapse of the stipulated period, i.e. when the time fixed for his apprenticeship has expired. A.

21. The apprentice shall receive whatever fee has been agreed upon, after his skill has been examined by the master. A. The only MS. of the earlier recension of the Nârada-smṛiti breaks off at this paragraph. The remainder of the present translation has been done from the more recent recension of the Nârada-smṛiti. See Introduction.

* 24. One appointed to manage the property (of the family) and to superintend the household, must also be regarded as a labourer. He is also termed *Kauṭumbika* (the general family servant).

* 25. Thus have the four classes of servants doing pure work been enumerated. All the others do dirty work and are slaves, of whom there are fifteen kinds.

* 26. One born at (his master's) house ; one pur-

24. 'The property,' meaning fields or ready money, &c. 'One appointed to manage it,' i.e. one deputed to administrate it. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 405.

26-28. 'One born at (his master's) house,' one born of a female slave in the house (of her master). 'One received (by gift),' one obtained by the acceptance of a gift and the like. 'One obtained by inheritance,' a slave of the father or other ancestor. 'One maintained during a general famine,' one whose life has been preserved, during a period of dearth, in order that he might do service (for his preserver). 'One pledged by his rightful owner,' one reduced to the condition of a pledge, for a loan received (by his master). 'One released from a heavy debt,' one enslaved for debt, whose debt has been paid and who has thereby become the slave (of him who paid the debt). 'One made captive in a fight,' one defeated in a combat and enslaved by the victorious party. 'One won through a wager,' one gained through the success of a cause, which was preceded by an agreement in this form, 'If I am defeated in this quarrel, I will be thy slave.' 'One who has come forward declaring, "I am thine,"' one who has promised of his own accord to become the slave of another man. 'An apostate from asceticism,' one who has forsaken the order of religious ascetics. 'One enslaved for a stipulated period,' one obtained through an agreement in this form, 'I will be thy slave for such a space of time.' 'One who has become a slave in order to get a maintenance,' one who has offered himself as a slave, on condition that food shall always be given to him. 'One enslaved on account of his connexion with a female slave : ' by a female slave is meant a female house-slave ; one enslaved for connexion with her is one who has married her through love, and has thus been reduced to the status of a slave. 'One self-sold' is one who has sold himself.

chased; one received (by gift); one obtained by inheritance; one maintained during a general famine; one pledged by his rightful owner;

*27. One released from a heavy debt; one made captive in a fight; one won through a wager; one who has come forward declaring, 'I am thine;' an apostate from asceticism; one enslaved for a stipulated period;

*28. One who has become a slave in order to get a maintenance; one enslaved on account of his connexion with a female slave; and one self-sold. These are the fifteen classes of slaves as declared in law.

*29. Among these, the four named first cannot be released from bondage, except by the favour of their owners. Their bondage is hereditary.

*30. Should any one out of them (however) save his master's life, when his life is in peril, he shall be released from slavery and shall take a son's share (of his master's wealth).

*31. One maintained during a famine is released from bondage if he gives a pair of oxen. It is not

These are the fifteen species (of slaves). *Mitâksharâ*, p. 268. *Manu* VIII, 415.

30. This rule is applicable to any of the fifteen sorts of slaves. *Mitâksharâ*, p. 269. Other commentators cite an encounter with a tiger as an instance of a perilous situation. The slave, in order to obtain release from slavery, must have risked his own life in rescuing his master.

31. The objection that a slave cannot give a pair of oxen, as he has no property of his own according to Nârada himself (V, 41), may be met by the argument that the dominion of slaves over affectionate gifts and the like is universally acknowledged, just as the right of a woman to dispose of *Strîdhana* given to her as an affectionate present. See the gloss on this text in *Colebrooke's Digest*, III, 1, 43.

by labour (alone) that the value of the food consumed during a famine can be repaid.

*32. One pledged (is released) when his master redeems him by discharging the debt. If, however, he causes (the pledgee) to take him in lieu of payment, he becomes equal to a purchased slave.

*33. It is by paying his debt with interest, that a debtor is released from slavery. One enslaved for a stipulated period recovers freedom on the expiration of that period.

*34. One who has come forward declaring, 'I am thine,' one made a prisoner in war, and one won through a wager, these are released on giving a substitute whose capacity for work is equal to theirs.

*35. An apostate from asceticism shall become the king's slave. He can never be emancipated, nor is there any expiation of his crime.

*36. One who has become a slave in order to get a maintenance, is released at once on giving up the said subsistence. One enslaved on account of his being connected with a female slave is released on parting with her.

*37. That wretch who, being independent, sells himself, is the vilest of slaves. He cannot be released from bondage.

*38. Those who are sold after having been captured by robbers, and those who are enslaved by forcible means, must be emancipated by the king. Their slavery is not legal.

*39. In the inverse order of the (four) castes,

33. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 182.

35. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 183.

36. The *Mitâksharâ* (p. 270) declares that sexual intercourse with a slave is prohibited. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 182.

38. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 182.

39. As a man of the highest caste may marry a wife of an

slavery is not ordained, except where a man violates the duties peculiar to his caste. Slavery (in that respect) is analogous to the condition of a wife.

*40. If one not his own master offers himself (as a slave), saying, 'I am thine,' he (to whom he has offered himself) may not dispose of him. His former master may recover him when he likes.

*41. Three persons are declared to have no proprietary right: a wife, a slave, and a son. Whatever property they acquire shall be made over to him to whom they belong.

*42. He who pleased in his mind wishes to emancipate his own slave, shall take from his (the slave's) shoulders a jar filled with water and smash it.

*43. He shall sprinkle his head with the water, which must contain whole grain and flowers, and

inferior caste or of his own caste, whereas a woman of the highest caste is forbidden to marry a man of inferior caste, the same rule should be observed with regard to a slave. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 406. An ascetic who violates the duties of his order is liable to become the slave of his inferior in caste even. *Mitâksharâ*, p. 271. *Yâgyavalkya II*, 183; *Manu VIII*, 410-414.

40. If a man, after having promised to become the slave of one man, enters the service of another man afterwards, that other man must relinquish him. 'One not his own master,' i. e. the slave of another man. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 411.

41. According to the standard commentators the purport of this rule is merely to indicate the want of independence of wives, sons, and slaves in the disposal of their property. See Professor Bühler's note on *Manu VIII*, 416. Identical with *Manu VIII*, 416.

42, 43. The breaking of a water-pot which the slave is carrying on his shoulder is said to be indicative of the discontinuance of the former slave's office to carry water. The solemn smashing of a water-jar (*ghaṭa-sphoṭa*) forms the principal part of another ceremony of a totally different character as well, viz. of the ceremony of expulsion from caste.

having declared him a free man three times, he shall dismiss him with his face turned towards the east¹.

SIXTH TITLE OF LAW.

NON-PAYMENT OF WAGES.

* 1. A series of rules will be stated (next) for the payment and non-payment of labourers' wages. It is termed 'Non-payment of Wages,' a title of law.

* 2. A master shall regularly pay wages to the servant hired by him, whether it be at the commencement, at the middle, or at the end of his work, just as he had agreed to do.

* 3. Where the amount of the wages has not been fixed, (the servant of) a trader, a herdsman, and an agricultural servant shall respectively take a tenth part of the profit (derived from the sale of merchandise), of the seed of cows, and of the grain.

* 4. Their implements of work, and whatever else

¹ The Indian MSS. and some quotations insert the following paragraph here, which is omitted in the Nepalese MS. and in other quotations :—

'* 44. From that time let it be said that this slave is cherished by the favour of his master. His food may be eaten, and presents accepted from him, and he shall be respected (by worthy persons).'

VI, 2. When the amount of the wages has been fixed by an agreement in this form, 'I will give thee thus much,' it shall be divided into three parts, and one part be given on three occasions, viz. at the commencement, middle, and end of the labour. This rule is applicable where the amount of the wages has been fixed. The next paragraph states the rule for those cases where the amount of the wages has not been fixed. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 414.

3. The strange term 'the seed of cows' denotes cows' milk according to the commentators. *Yāgyavalkya* II, 194.

4. The phrase 'whatever may have been entrusted to servants for their business' is explained as referring to grain and the like

may have been entrusted to them for their business, they shall employ with due care and not neglect them wantonly.

* 5. If one fails to perform such work as he had promised to do, he shall be compelled to perform it, first paying him his wages. If he does not perform it after having taken wages, he must pay back twice the amount of his wages.

* 6. One who abandons merchandise which he had agreed to convey to its destination, shall give a sixth part of the wages. (An employer) who does not pay the wages which he had agreed to give shall forfeit those wages together with interest.

* 7. A merchant who does not take a conveyance

used for agriculture. It appears from the preceding paragraph that business of every sort is intended. *Yâgñavalkya II, 193.*

5. *Manu VIII, 215; Âpastamba II, 11, 28, 2-3; Vishnu V, 153, 154; Yâgñavalkya II, 193.*

6. The *Ratnâkara* refers the second half of this paragraph, like the first half, to the special case of wages or hire promised to the carrier for the transport of goods. See *Colebrooke's Digest, III, 1, 92. Yâgñavalkya II, 198.*

7. 'A conveyance,' a cart or the like. 'Beasts for draught or burden,' horses or others. When a man hires the conveyance, &c. of another for the purpose of transporting merchandise, and does not transport the merchandise afterwards, because he has promised to pay an excessive hire, he shall pay a fourth part of the promised hire to the owner of the conveyance. When, however, he takes the conveyance and leaves it, after having completed one half of the journey, he shall have to pay the whole of the hire. *Vîramitrodaya, p. 420. Yâgñavalkya II, 198.* Of vv. 6, 7, the Nepalese MS. has an entirely different version, as follows: '* 6. One who abandons his work before the expiration of the term, forfeits his wages. If it is through the fault of his employer that he strikes work, he shall be rewarded for as much as has been finished by him. 7. He who leaves on the road that which he had undertaken to transport, shall give a sixth part of the (stipulated) wages. An employer who does not pay (wages) after having set the workman to work, (shall be

or beasts for draught or burden, after having hired them, shall be made to pay a fourth part of the hire; and the whole, if he leaves them half-way.

* 8. And so shall a carrier who fails to transport (the goods entrusted to him) forfeit his wages. He shall be compelled to pay twice the amount of his wages, if he raises difficulties at the time of starting.

* 9. When the merchandise has been damaged by the carrier's fault, he shall have to make good every loss, not including such losses as may have been caused by fate or by the king.

* 10. For (tending) a hundred cows, (a heifer shall be given to the herdsman) as wages every year; for (tending) two hundred (cows), a milch cow (shall be given to him annually), and he shall be allowed to milk (all the cows) every eighth day.

* 11. Those (cows) which a cowherd takes to

compelled to pay) the wages together with interest.' This is probably the true reading, as paragraphs 6 and 7 are quoted in this form in the *Vīramitrodaya* and in *Colebrooke's Digest* respectively.

8. According to the *Mitāksharā* (p. 280), the excessive fine ordained in the second half of this paragraph shall be inflicted when a man raises obstacles on specially important occasions, such as a wedding, or the auspicious time for undertaking a journey. *Yāgyavalkya* II, 197.

9. 'Merchandise,' pearls or other commodities which are to be transported. 'Damaged,' i.e. destroyed. In the terms 'merchandise' and 'carrier,' which are successively used in this paragraph, a bull and a husbandman are included by implication. Thus it is declared in the *Madanaratna*. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 418. What the *Madanaratna* means is this, that the responsibility of a husbandman for a bull used by him for the purposes of agriculture is analogous to the responsibility of a carrier for the goods he has undertaken to transport. *Vishnu* V, 155, 156; *Yāgyavalkya* II, 197.

10. *Manu* VIII, 231.

11. *Manu* VIII, 230; *Yāgyavalkya* II, 164.

pasture every day when the night is over, he shall take back again in the evening, after they have eaten (grass) and drunk (water).

*12. If such a cow meets with an accident, he shall struggle to protect her as best he may. If he is unable (to rescue her) he shall go in haste to announce it to his master.

*13. Should he neither struggle to protect (the cow), nor raise a cry, nor announce it to his master, the herdsman must make good the value of the cow (to the owner), and (must pay) a fine to the king.

*14. But the herdsman alone shall make good (the loss of an animal) which has strayed, or been destroyed by worms, or slain by dogs, or met its death (by tumbling) into a pit, if he did not duly exert himself (to prevent such accidents).

*15. So if goats or sheep are surrounded by wolves, and the herdsman does not come (to their assistance), he shall be responsible for any (animal) which a wolf may attack and kill.

12. He shall struggle to protect the cow, and if unable to protect her he shall raise an alarm. Ratnākara. See Colebrooke's Digest, III, 4, 11.

13. The second half of this paragraph is read as follows in the Nepalese MS.: 'The herdsman is to blame in that case, and he shall make good the loss.'

14. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 232. Read *nash/am* in the text. The Nepalese MS. here inserts the following paragraph, which is nearly identical with Manu VIII, 234: 'If cattle die, let him give everything to the owner: the tail, skin, the hindpart, the thigh, the bladder, tendons, and yellow concrete bile, and let him point out their particular marks.'

15. Identical with Manu VIII, 235. The Nepalese MS. adds the following paragraph, which is nearly identical with Manu VIII, 236: 'If they graze together in the forest, without being kept in order, and a wolf, suddenly jumping on one of them, kills it, the herdsman shall be free from blame in that case.'

* 16. But for (an animal) seized by robbers, though he raised a cry, the herdsman shall not be bound to pay, provided he gives notice to his master at the proper place and time.

* 17. It is according to these principles that all disputes arising with herdsmen have to be settled. In case of the (natural) death (of an animal entrusted to his care the herdsman) is free from blame, if he can produce the tail, the horns, and the rest.

* 18. If a public woman declines to receive a man after having received her fee, she shall pay twice the amount (of the fee). The same (fine shall be imposed) on a man who does not pay the (stipulated) fee, after having had connexion with a woman (of this description).

* 19. Should a man unnaturally abuse the person (of a public woman) or cause her to be approached by many, he must pay eight times the amount (of the stipulated fee), and a fine to the same amount.

* 20. If a man has built a house on the ground of a stranger and lives in it, paying rent for it, he may take with him, when he leaves the house, the thatch, the timber, the bricks, and other (building materials).

* 21. But if he has been residing on the ground

16. Identical with Manu VIII, 233.

17. The term 'the rest' may be referred, in accordance with the analogous rule of Manu, to the 'ears, hide, bladder, tendons, the yellow concrete bile, and the special proofs or marks.' Manu VIII, 234.

18. Illness, however, is considered as a legitimate reason for breaking an engagement of this sort. Viramitrodaya, p. 422, and other commentaries.

21. The delivery of the materials, out of which the house has been constructed, to the owner of the ground, has to be regarded as a compensation for the ground having been used without authorisation from the owner.

of a stranger, without paying rent and against that man's wish, he shall by no means take with him, on leaving it, the thatch and the timber.

* 22. Hired commodities shall be restored (by the hirer), when the fixed period has expired. The hirer must make good whatever may have been spoiled or destroyed except in the case of (inevitable) accident.

SEVENTH TITLE OF LAW.

SALES EFFECTED BY ANOTHER THAN THE RIGHTFUL OWNER.

* 1. When property kept as a deposit, or the property of a stranger lost (by him) and found (by another man), or stolen articles, are sold in secret, it has to be considered as a 'Sale Effected by Another than the Rightful Owner.'

* 2. When a chattel, which had been sold by another person than the owner, has been recovered

22. This rule applies in the case of water-jars and the like having been injured or destroyed. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 421. The *Ratnâkara* refers this paragraph to broken carriages and the like. See *Colebrooke's Digest*, III, 1, 104. 'Spoiled,' i. e. partially disfigured. 'Destroyed,' i. e. entirely ruined. 'Accident,' when the things have been knocked against one another. *Vîramitrodaya*, *ibid*.

VII, 1. The term 'property kept as a deposit' includes by implication a *Yâkita* and the other species of bailments. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 374, and the other commentaries. See II. Title of Law, 14, 15.

2. The owner of a chattel, which has been sold by a stranger who has no right to it, may reclaim it from any one who happens to be possessed of it. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 375; *Vishnu* V, 164-166; *Manu* VIII, 201, 202; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 168. In the Nepalese MS. the last clause runs as follows: 'The buyer who buys in secret is guilty of theft.'

by the owner, he may keep it. No blame attaches to a sale effected in public, but a clandestine sale is viewed in the same light as theft according to law.

* 3. If a man buys from a slave who has not been authorized (to sell) by his master, or from a rogue, or in secret, or at a very low price, or at an improper time, he is as guilty as the seller.

* 4. The purchaser must not make a secret of the way in which he came by a chattel (purchased by him). He becomes free from blame if he can point out the way in which the chattel was acquired by him. In any other case he is equally guilty with the vendor, and shall suffer the punishment of a thief.

* 5. The vendor shall restore his property to the rightful owner, and shall pay to the buyer the price for which it was sold to him ; besides that he shall pay a fine to the king. Such is the rule in the case

3. 'One who has not been authorized (to sell) by his master,' one who has received no special permission from him (to sell the chattel). The term 'a slave' has to be interpreted in a pregnant sense, so as to include young sons and other dependent persons. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 375. *Vishnu* V, 166 ; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 168.

4. It appears from the detailed provisions of *Bṛihaspati*, *Kātyāyana*, and other *Smṛiti*-writers on the subject of purchase and sale, that every purchase, in order to be legitimate, had to be concluded in open market, on a market day or hour ; or that, at least, the purchaser was required to produce the vendor, when the purchase had not been made in open market. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 168. The Nepalese MS. inserts the following paragraph here : 'Any purchase or sale which has been effected by another than the rightful owner must be known to be invalid ; this is a rule in lawsuits.' The quotations in the *Vīramitrodaya* and other works prove this verse to be genuine. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 170.

5. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 170.

of a sale effected by another than the rightful owner.

6. If any one finds a treasure, which had been deposited by a stranger, he shall take it to the king. Every treasure, found by members of any caste, belongs to the king, excepting (those treasures which have been found by) members of the Brahman caste.

7. A Brahman even, when he has found a treasure, must at once give notice to the king. If the king gives it to him he may enjoy it. If he does not give notice, he is (viewed as) a thief.

8. Of his own property also, which he had lost and found again afterwards, a man must give notice to the king. If he does so, he may keep it as his lawful property. It is not his lawful property otherwise.

EIGHTH TITLE OF LAW.

NON-DELIVERY OF A SOLD CHATTEL.

* I. When merchandise has been sold for a (certain) price and is not delivered to the purchaser, it is termed Non-delivery of a Sold Chattel, a title of law.

* 2. Property in this world is of two kinds, movable and immovable. All that is termed merchandise in the laws regarding purchase and sale.

* 3. The rule regarding the gift and receipt of

6-8. Gautama X, 36-38, 43-45; Vasishtha III, 13-14; XVI, 19, 20; Manu VIII, 30-39; Vishnu V, 56-64; Yâgyavalkya II, 33-35. The position of the two last paragraphs is inverted in the Nepalese MS.

VIII, 3. 'Gift' means sale. 'Receipt' means purchase. What

merchandise is declared sixfold by the learned : (what is sold) by tale, by weight, by measure, according to work, according to its beauty, and according to its splendour.

* 4. If a man sells property for a certain price, and does not hand it over to the purchaser, he shall have to pay its produce, if it is immovable, and the profits arising on it, if it is movable property.

* 5. If there has been a fall in the market value of the article in question (in the interval, the purchaser) shall receive both the article itself, and together with it the difference (in point of value). This law applies to those who are inhabitants of the same place ; but to those who travel abroad, the

is counted before selling it is said to be sold 'by tale.' Betel-nuts may be mentioned as an instance. 'What is sold by weight,' such as gold or sandal-wood and the like substances, which are weighed on a pair of scales. 'What is sold by measure,' such as rice or the like. 'By work,' such as animals giving milk or used for draught or burden. 'According to its beauty,' something handsome, as e.g. a handsome prostitute. 'According to its splendour,' or lustre, as e.g. rubies. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 437. A similar exposition is delivered in the *Ratnākara*, as quoted in *Colebrooke's Digest*, III, 3, 3.

4. 'The profits arising on it,' such as e.g. the milk of a cow. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 437. The *Vivādaśintāmaṇi* (p. 55) and the *Ratnākara*, as quoted in *Colebrooke's Digest* (III, 3, 18), take the term *kriyāphalam* as a *Dvandva* compound, denoting 'the work, such as the carrying of burdens and the like, and the profits, such as milk and the like.' *Vishṇu* V, 127 ; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 254.

5. The previous paragraph contains the rule for those cases where the value of the property has increased after its sale. The present rule refers to those cases where the value of the property has diminished after the sale. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 437. Those who travel abroad, i. e. who are in the habit of visiting other countries (for trading purposes), may claim the profit which might have accrued to them from travelling abroad. *Vivādaśintāmaṇi*, pp. 55, 56. *Vishṇu* V, 129 ; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 254.

profit arising from (dealing in) foreign countries shall be made over (as well).

* 6. If the article (sold) should have been injured, or destroyed by fire, or carried off, the loss shall be charged to the seller, because he did not deliver it after it had been sold by him.

* 7. When a man shows one thing, which is faultless (to the intending purchaser), and (afterwards) delivers another thing to him, which has a blemish, he shall be compelled to pay twice its value (to the purchaser), and an equal amount as a fine.

* 8. So when a man sells something to one person, and (afterwards) delivers it to another person, he shall be compelled to pay twice its value (to the purchaser), and a fine to the king.

* 9. When a purchaser does not accept an article purchased by himself, which is delivered to him (by the vendor), the vendor commits no wrong by selling it to a different person.

* 10. Thus has the rule been declared with regard

6. According to *Gagannâtha*, this rule has reference to those cases only where the purchaser has not formally asked for the delivery of the property purchased by himself. He infers from a text of *Yâgñavalkya* that after a demand the loss shall fall on the vendor, even though the property was injured in one of the modes mentioned by that authority, i.e. by force majeure. See *Colebrooke's Digest*, III, 3, 27. It is quite doubtful, however, whether the compiler of the *Nârada-smṛiti* had this distinction in view. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 256.

8, 9. Both he who shows unblemished goods, and sells blemished goods afterwards, and he who sells property to one man and afterwards sells the same property to another man, though the first sale has not been rescinded by the purchaser, shall pay twice the value of the property sold as a fine. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 440. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 257.

9. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 255.

10. Consequently, where there is no agreement as to the time of

to that merchandise for which the price has been tendered. When the price has not been tendered, there is no offence to be imputed to the vendor, except in the case of a special agreement.

* 11. It is for the sake of gain that merchants are in the habit of buying and selling merchandise of every sort. That gain is, in proportion to the price, either great or the reverse.

* 12. Therefore shall merchants fix a just price for their merchandise, according to the locality and season, and let them refrain from dishonest dealings. Thus (by adhering to these principles) traffic becomes an honest profession.

NINTH TITLE OF LAW.

RESCISSION OF PURCHASE.

* 1. When a purchaser, after having purchased an article for a (certain) price, repents (of the purchase made by himself), it is termed Rescission of Purchase, a title of law.

* 2. When a purchaser, after having purchased an article for a (certain) price, thinks he has made a foolish bargain, he may return it to the vendor on the same day, in an undamaged condition.

delivery, the vendor commits no wrong by retaining a commodity sold, on purpose to obtain payment. Thus according to the gloss in Colebrooke's Digest, III, 3, 20. The *Vīramitrodāya* (p. 441) has a slightly different explanation. 'Where the price for a sold chattel has not been paid, and the purchase concluded through a verbal engagement merely, there is no offence whether it be ratified or not, unless there should be an agreement in this form, "This purchase cannot be rescinded."'

*3. When the purchaser returns it on the second day (after the purchase has been made), he shall lose a thirtieth part of the price. (He shall lose) twice as much on the third day. After that time, the purchaser is bound to keep it.

*4. The (intending) purchaser shall first examine an article (before purchasing it), in order to find out its good and bad qualities. That which has been approved by the purchaser after close examination, cannot be returned to the vendor.

*5. Milch cattle may be examined for three days; animals of burden, for five days; and in the case of precious stones, pearls, and coral, the period of examination may extend over seven days.

*6. Bipeds shall be examined within half a month; a female, within twice the same (space of time); all sorts of grain, within ten days; iron and clothes, within a single day.

*7. A worn gown, which is in a ragged condition and soiled with dirt, cannot be returned to the vendor, if it was in that blemished state at the time when the purchase was effected.

*8. Wearing apparel loses the eighth part of its value on being washed for the first time; the fourth

IX, 3. 'He shall lose a thirtieth part,' he shall give one-thirtieth part more than the stipulated price. 'Twice as much,' i.e. a fifteenth. See Colebrooke's Digest, III, 3, 5.

5, 6. 'For three days,' including the day of purchase. The terms 'for five days,' &c., have to be interpreted in the same way. 'Milch cattle,' such as e.g. female buffaloes. 'Animals of burden,' such as e.g. young bulls. 'Bipeds,' males, i.e. male slaves. 'Twice the same space of time,' a month. 'A female,' a female slave. *Vīramitrodaya*, pp. 433, 434. *Manu* VIII, 222; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 177.

8, 9. When apparel has been given to a washerman to be washed by him, he is bound to make good the value of that

part (on being washed) for the second time; the third part (on being washed) for the third time; and one half (on being washed) for the fourth time.

* 9. One half of the original value having been lost, a quarter (of the reduced value) shall be deducted henceforth, till the fringe is tattered and (the cloth) in rags. In the case of tattered cloth, there is no rule regarding the reduction of its value (through being washed).

* 10. There is no other way for preparing metallic apparatus of any sort than by forging it in fire according to the rules (of art). While they are being forged, (the weight of) the metals is diminished by exposure in fire.

* 11. Gold is not injured at all (by such treatment). On silver, the loss amounts to two Palas in the hundred. On tin and lead, the loss is eight Palas in the hundred.

* 12. On copper, as well as on utensils made of it, the loss should be known to be five Palas (in the hundred). As for iron, there is no fixed rule regarding the loss arising on it, because it is different in nature from the other metals.

which has been spoiled by him. If it has been washed a single time, he must make good its original value minus an eighth. If it has been washed twice, he must make good its original value minus a fourth. Thus if it has been washed three times, a third has to be deducted from the original value, and so forth. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 372.

11, 12. The value of gold is not diminished on its being heated in fire. Therefore, as much (gold) as has been delivered to a goldsmith for making a bracelet and the like, thus much shall the goldsmith restore after having weighed it. Otherwise, he shall be compelled to restore the loss, and to pay a fine. When silver, a hundred Palas in weight, is heated in fire, the loss amounts to

13. The loss and gain arising from the preparation of cloth shall be stated (next). On yarns made of cotton or wool, the increase of value amounts to ten in the hundred.

14. (This rule has reference) to large tissue (only). In the case of (tissue of) middle size, five in the hundred (is gained). In the case of very fine tissue, the gain is said to amount to three Palas in the hundred.

15. In the case of cloth made of the hair of an animal, and of embroidered cloth, the loss amounts to one-thirtieth. In the case of silk stuff and of cloth prepared from the inner bark of trees, the gain is the same (as the loss in the preceding case). Nor is there any loss (in these cases).

* 16. A merchant who is acquainted with the qualities of the merchandise (he deals in) must not

two Palas. When a hundred Palas of tin or lead is heated in fire, the loss amounts to eight Palas. In the case of copper, the loss shall be five Palas. Artizans losing more than the above amount shall be punished. *Mitâksharâ*, pp. 264, 265. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 178.

13-15. When a blanket or the like is made of coarse woollen thread, the increase must be considered to amount to ten Palas in the hundred. The same rule applies in the case of cloth and the like made of cotton thread. In the case of cloth and the like of a middling quality, i.e. which is not made of very fine thread, the increase amounts to five Palas. In the case of cloth made of very fine thread, the increase is three Palas in the hundred. All these rules apply in the case of washed cloth only. That is called 'embroidered cloth' (*kârmika* or *karmakṛita*) where a circle, *Svas-tika*, or other (figure) is worked on woven cloth, with coloured yarns. 'Cloth made of the hair (of an animal)' is where hairs are joined so as to form a piece of cloth or the like. *Mitâksharâ*, pp. 265, 266. *Manu* VIII, 397; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 179, 180.

16. 'He must not annul a purchase,' he must not repent of it. 'He must know' before concluding a purchase, the 'loss and gain on merchandise,' such as horses or others, i.e. the diminution of

annul a purchase, after having once made it. He ought to know all about the profit and loss on merchandise, and its origin.

TENTH TITLE OF LAW.

TRANSGRESSION OF A COMPACT.

* 1. The aggregate of the rules settled amongst heretics, followers of the Veda (Naigamas) and others, is called Samaya (compact, or established usage). Thus arises a title of law, termed Transgression of a Compact.

* 2. Among heretics, followers of the Veda (Naigamas), guilds (of merchants), corporations (Pûgas), troops (of soldiers), assemblages (of kinsmen), and other (associations) the king must maintain the usages (settled among them), both in fortified towns and in the open country.

its value in one country, and the increase of its value in another country, and 'its origin,' the country where it comes from. That is the meaning. Viramitrodaya, pp. 434, 435.

X, 1. 'Heretics,' Kshapazakas (Buddhist or Jain mendicants) and others who detract from the authority of the Veda. 'Naigamas,' traders or merchants. According to the Mitâksharâ, the term Naigama refers to Pârupatas and others who uphold the authority of the Veda. The term 'and others' is used to include corporations of learned Brahmins and other (associations). Viramitrodaya, p. 423. The term samaya, literally 'compact,' denotes local or caste usages, the violation of which forms the subject of the tenth title of law.

2. Of the term Naigama, the commentators give the same two different interpretations as in the preceding paragraph. I have referred it to 'followers of the Veda,' because it comes immediately after the term 'heretics.' The term pûga has three interpretations in this place. Some say it means 'companies of traders or others.'

* 3. Whatever be their laws, their (religious) duties, (the rules regarding) their attendance, and the (particular mode of) livelihood prescribed for them, that the king shall approve of.

* 4. The king shall prevent them from undertaking such acts as would be either opposed (to the wishes of the king), or contemptible in their nature, or injurious to his interests.

* 5. Mixed assemblages, unlawful wearing of arms, and mutual attacks between those persons shall not be tolerated by the king.

Others say it denotes 'associations of persons differing in caste, whose mode of subsistence is not fixed.' The *Vīramitrodaya* interprets it as referring to riders on elephants, horses, &c. In explanation of the terms *vrāta*, 'a troop of soldiers,' and *gana*, 'an assemblage of kinsmen,' the commentators quote the following text of *Kātyāyana*: 'A multitude of united men armed with various weapons is called *vrāta*. An assemblage of families is called *gana*.' *Manu* VIII, 41; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 192, &c.

3. 'Their laws,' such as to speak the truth. 'Their (religious) duties,' such as the duty of going about begging alms when the night is over, early in the morning. 'The rules regarding their attendance,' the duty of attending, in a temple or other (public hall), for the affairs of the community, when the sound of a drum or other instrument is heard. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 430. The *Ratnākara* interprets the term *karma*, 'their (religious) duties,' by 'their proper occupation for a livelihood.' The drift of this rule, according to *Gagannāha*, is this, that the king must not act otherwise than is consistent with the usages of castes or other corporations. See *Colebrooke's Digest*, III, 2, 11. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 192, &c.

4. 'Contemptible in their nature,' essentially despicable, such as the eating of betel, which is customary among heretics and others. 'Injurious to his interests,' causing pecuniary loss, &c. 'He shall prevent them from undertaking such acts,' he shall act so that they do not undertake them. *Vīramitrodaya*, pp. 430, 431.

5. 'Mixed assemblages,' meetings or gatherings of persons differing in caste. 'Unlawful wearing of arms,' wearing arms without sufficient motives, such as the apprehension of a danger. See *Ratnākara*, as quoted in *Colebrooke's Digest*, III, 2, 25.

*6. Those who cause dissension among the members of an association, shall undergo punishment of a specially severe kind; because they would prove extremely dangerous, like an (epidemic) disease, if they were allowed to go free.

*7. Whenever a criminal act, opposed to the dictates of morality, has been attempted, a king desirous of prosperity shall redress it.

ELEVENTH TITLE OF LAW.

BOUNDARY DISPUTES.

*1. Whenever (a decision has to be given) in regard to landed property, whether it be a dike (or bridge), a field, a boundary, a tilled piece of ground, or a waste, it is termed a Boundary Dispute.

2. In all quarrels regarding landed property or boundaries, the decision rests with the neighbours, the inhabitants of the same town or village, the

6. 'An association,' a guild of merchants or other corporation. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 430.

7. When an act tainted with the sin of covetousness or another crime, and opposed to the dictates of revealed and traditional law, such as e.g. the prostitution of widows or other (virtuous females) among heretics or other (sinful men), has been attempted, the king must redress it, though it may have been practised for a long time. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 431.

XI, 1. The meaning is as follows: 'A dike,' an embankment for the purposes of irrigation. 'A field,' a cultivated piece of ground (under water). 'A boundary,' a landmark. 'A tilled piece of ground,' cultivated soil. 'A waste,' uncultivated ground. When a decision has to be given in a quarrel with regard to any of these, it is called a lawsuit concerning landed property, or Boundary Dispute. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 451.

2. *Manu VIII*, 259; *Yāgyavalkya II*, 150.

(other) members of the same community, and the senior (inhabitants of the district),

*3. (As also) with those living outside on the outskirts of the village and who live by the tillage of fields situated in those parts, and with herdsmen, bird-catchers, hunters, and other inhabitants of the woods.

4. These men shall determine the boundary, in accordance with the (old) landmarks, (such as) chaff of grain, coal, pot-sherds, wells, sanctuaries, trees,

5. Objects of general notoriety, such as ant-hills, artificial mounds, slopes, hills and the like, and fields, gardens, roads, and old dikes.

6. When a piece of ground has been carried off by a stream, or abandoned (by the owner), or when the boundary marks have been destroyed, (they shall fix the boundary) according to the inference to be drawn from (an inspection of) the spot, and according to the traces of possession (held by the former owner).

*7. Should the neighbours speak falsely, when called upon to decide a question of this sort, they shall all be punished one by one by the king, each having to pay the fine of the (second or) middlemost degree.

*8. The corporation, the senior (inhabitants of

3. The foresters shall only be consulted in default of cultivators whose fields are adjacent to the boundaries of the village. *Vîramîtrodaya*, p. 456. *Manu* VIII, 260. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 150.

4, 5. *Manu* VIII, 246-251; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 151.

7. *Manu* VIII, 263; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 153. The fine of the second degree consists of 500 *Paṇas*.

8. The lower degree of punishment in the case of the persons here mentioned seems to be due to the fact that they may be supposed to be interested in the suit.

the district) and the rest shall also receive punishment one by one: they shall have to pay the fine of the first degree, if they make false statements.

*9. The boundary should not be fixed by one man single-handed, though he be a reliable person. This business should be entrusted to a plurality of persons, because it is an affair of importance.

*10. Should a single man undertake to fix the boundary, (he must do so) after having kept a fast, in a collected frame of mind, wearing a garland of red flowers and a (red) cloak, having strewed earth on his head.

*11. Should there be no persons conversant (with the true state of the question) and no boundary marks, then the king himself shall fix the boundary between the two estates, as he thinks best.

12. According to this rule let all contests be decided in regard to houses, gardens, reservoirs of water, sanctuaries and the rest, as well as the space intermediate between two villages.

*13. When trees have grown on the boundary (or ridge) separating two contiguous fields, the fruits and blossoms shall be assigned to the owners of the two fields in common.

9. According to the *Viramitrodaya* (p. 458), this prohibition in regard to the determination of the boundary by a single man, has reference to those only who are not acceptable to both parties and unacquainted with the law.

10. *Manu VIII, 256*; *Yâgñavalkya II, 152*.

11. In default of neighbours and other persons conversant with the state of the matter, and of trees and other boundary marks, the king shall fix the boundary of his own accord. He shall distribute the ground intermediate between the two villages, which has become the subject of a contest, between the two litigant parties, and fix landmarks between the two. *Viramitrodaya, p. 460. Manu VIII, 265*; *Yâgñavalkya II, 153*.

*14. When the boughs (or offshoots) of trees grown on the field of one man should take root in the field of another man, they must be known to belong by right to the owner (of that field), because they have sprung forth in another field (than the stem of the tree).

*15. A cross-road, the sanctuary of a deity, a street, and a public road must not be obstructed by (a place for) ordure, a terrace, a pit, an aqueduct, the edge of a thatch (syandanikâ), or the like (obstructions).

16. Should any one cause such obstruction through inadvertency or by force, the king shall impose on him a fine of the highest degree.

*17. The (erection of a) dike in the middle of another man's field is not a prohibited act, as it may be productive of considerable advantage, whereas the loss is trifling. That is to be desired as (comparative) gain where there is (a slight) loss (only).

*18. There are two sorts of dikes (or water-courses), one (called kheyâ) which is dug into the ground, and (another called bandhya) which prevents the access of water. A kheyâ dike serves the purpose of irrigation, a bandhya dike serves to keep the water off.

*19. No grain is (ever produced) without water ;

14. This rule seems to be intended principally for banyans and the like trees covering a large area with their offshoots. The Nepalese MS. omits vv. 13, 14, 16.

15. The term syandanikâ is variously explained as denoting either the projecting roof or the eaves of a house.

17. Yâgñavalkya II, 156.

18. Kheyâ means literally 'what is capable of being dug,' and bandhya 'what is capable of being stopped.' What is meant by these two terms may best be seen from the next paragraph.

but too much water tends to spoil the grain. An inundation is as injurious (to growth) as a dearth of water.

* 20. If a man were to put in repair a dike erected long ago, but decayed, without asking the permission of the owner, he shall not have (the use and) profits of it.

* 21. However, after the death of the owner or of another man sprung from the same race (who has succeeded to his property), he may repair the dike, after having been authorized to do so by the king.

* 22. By acting otherwise he will get into trouble, in the same way as the hunter (of the tale). The shafts of him are spent in vain who hits again and again one who has been hit already.

* 23. When the owner of a field is unable (to cultivate it), or dead, or gone no one knows whither, any stranger who undertakes its cultivation unchecked (by the owner or others) shall be allowed to keep the produce.

* 24. When the owner returns while the stranger

20. With the owner's permission, any man may restore a dike, &c., which has fallen into decay. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 468. *Yāgyñavalkya* II, 157. Read *pravṛtām* in the text.

21. The authority of the king is required, because, without it, the profits of the dike would have to be enjoyed by the king himself. See *Yāgyñavalkya* II, 157.

22. The *tertium comparationis* in this simile has to be sought in the vanity of the effort only. *Manu* (IX, 73) applies the same simile to seed, i.e. *semen virile* spent in vain on the field, i.e. wife of a stranger.

23. 'Unable' (to cultivate the field) through want of means. 'A field,' one which has become a desert. *Vivāda-kintāmaṇi*, p. 64.

24. 'The owner,' or his son or other (descendant). 'The whole expense incurred in tilling the waste,' the cost of converting the desert into cultivated ground. *Vīramitrodaya*, pp. 469, 470.

is engaged in cultivating the field, (the owner) shall recover his field, after having paid (to the cultivator) the whole expense incurred in tilling the waste.

25. A deduction of an eighth part (shall be made), till seven years have elapsed. But when the eighth year arrives, (the owner) shall recover the field cultivated (by the other, as his independent property).

* 26. A tract of land (which has not been under cultivation) for a year is called *Ardhakhila* (half-waste). That which has not been (under cultivation) for three years is called *Khila* (waste). That which has not been under cultivation for five years is no better than a forest.

27. A field which has been held by three generations in succession, and a house which has been inherited from an ancestor, cannot be estranged (from its legitimate owner) by force of possession, except when the king wills it so.

* 28. When grain has been destroyed by cows or

25. It appears from an analogous text of *Kātyāyana* that this rule is intended for those cases where the owner is unable to pay for the expense incurred by the cultivator. *Kātyāyana* says, 'If through want of means (the owner) do not repay the expense entailed by the cultivation of the waste, the cultivator shall be allowed to keep the produce minus an eighth part. During eight years he may keep the (annual) produce (minus an eighth). After that period, it shall belong to the proprietor.'

26. These definitions are inserted here, because the previous rules according to the commentators apply to a desert or forest only, the cultivation of which causes considerable difficulty and expense.

28-42. *Nārada's* eleventh title of law, though called 'Boundary Disputes,' is in reality a collection of all legal rules relating to fields. *Manu* and those who follow him treat the subject of damage done by cattle to crops or grass as a section of the chapter on 'Disputes between master and herdsman,' which title of law is wanting in the *Nārada-smṛiti*.

28. *Gautama XII, 20.*

other cattle crossing a fence, the herdsman deserves punishment in that case, unless he should have done his best to keep the cattle off.

* 29. When grain has been destroyed (altogether), with the root, the owner of it may claim a corresponding quantity of grain (as damages); the herdsman shall be corporally punished; and on his master he shall impose a fine.

* 30. A cow within ten days after her calving, a full grown bull, a horse, and an elephant shall be kept off carefully. The owner of any one out of these animals is not liable to punishment (should they do mischief).

* 31. For (mischief done by) a cow he shall inflict a fine of one Mâsha; for (mischief done by) a female buffalo, two Mâshas; in the case of a goat or sheep (trespassing) with its young, the fine shall amount to half a Mâsha.

* 32. The (owners of) elephants and horses shall not have to pay any fine; for they are looked upon as protectors of (the king's) subjects. Impunity is (likewise) granted to (the owner of) a strayed cow,

29. The author of the *Vîramitrodaya* (p. 450) observes expressly that the term *vadha* denotes corporal punishment, and not execution, in this place. The other commentators agree with him. *Manu* VIII, 241; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 161; *Gautama* XII, 26; *Vishnu* V, 146. The Nepalese MS. omits this paragraph.

30. The reason why horses and elephants have to be kept off is given in paragraph 32. Horses and elephants were used for the purposes of war principally. *Manu* VIII, 242; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 163, &c.

31. *Vishnu* V, 140-144; *Gautama* XII, 22-25; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 159.

32, 33. *Manu* VIII, 242; *Vishnu* V, 150; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 163. The Nepalese MS. has 'a pregnant cow' for 'a strayed cow.'

of one that has recently calved, and of one unmanageable.

33. (As also to the owner of) one that has lost her way, or broken down, or stuck (in marshy ground), or (of) a bull marked with the sign of consecration. Four times (the amount of the damage done) is declared (to be the fine) in the case of (a cow) whose nostrils have been pierced and who abides in the field.

* 34. When the cattle lie down in the field (after grazing), the fine to be inflicted shall be double; when they remain (in the field for the night), it shall be four times (the ordinary amount); when they graze in the sight (of the keeper), that man shall be punished even as a thief.

* 35. When cows, straying through the fault of

33. The genuineness of this paragraph appears doubtful, because some of the propositions contained in it are nearly identical with the rules laid down in the paragraphs immediately preceding and following it. Besides, the language of this paragraph is obscure, and it is not given in any commentary nor in the Nepalese MS. The solemn ceremony of setting a bull at liberty and consecrating him to the gods, with a mark on each flank, is described by Vishnu, chapter LXXXVI, and in the *Grihya-sûtras*. Piercing the nostrils of a barren cow is mentioned as an offence by Manu VIII, 325. It does not become clear why damage done by a cow of this sort should be a greater offence than damage done by an ordinary cow.

34. 'When they lie down in the field,' after having eaten their fill. 'When they remain,' when they spend the night in the field, after grazing. *Vivâdaśintâmani*, *Gagannâtha*, &c. 'In the sight of the keeper:' thus according to *Gagannâtha* (Colebrooke's Digest, III, 4, 46). The correctness of his interpretation is confirmed by *Yâgñavalkya* II, 162. According to the *Vivâdaśintâmani* (p. 67), the meaning is this, that the cattle are allowed to graze by the keeper, in the sight of the proprietor of the field, and in spite of the remonstrances of the latter. Vishnu V, 145; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 160, 162.

their keeper, have entered a field, no punishment shall be inflicted on the owner of the cows; the herdsman (alone) is punishable (for the damage done by them).

* 36. When (a herdsman) has been seized by the king or (devoured) by an alligator, or struck by Indra's thunderbolt, or bitten by a serpent, or fallen from a tree,

* 37. Or killed by a tiger or other (ferocious animal), or smitten by a disease of any sort, no offence can be imputed either to the herdsman or to the owner of the cattle.

* 38. When a man claims damages for grain consumed by cattle (grazing in his field), that quantity of grain must be restored to him (by the owner of the cattle), which has been consumed in the field in the estimation of the neighbours.

* 39. The cows shall be given up to their owner, and the grain to the husbandman. In the same way a fine shall be imposed on the herdsman when grain has been trodden down (by cows).

36. 'Seized by the king,' employed in the king's business. See Colebrooke's Digest, III, 4, 52.

37. This paragraph is omitted in the Nepalese MS.

38. Gautama XII, 26; Manu VIII, 241; Yâgñavalkya II, 161. The Nepalese MS. inserts a spurious verse here, the first half of which is identical with Manu IX, 37, and the second half identical with Nârada XI, 22.

39. The meaning of the injunction to give up the cows seems to be this, that the owner of the cows shall not at once recover them, when they have been seized by the proprietor of the field, after doing damage in the field. The Vivâdātintâmani has a different reading of this clause: *gavatram gominâ deyam*. This is explained as meaning that 'blades of corn must be made good by the owner of cattle.' Similar readings are found in other commentaries as well. Âpastamba II, 11, 28, 5.

40. When a field is situate on the borders of a village, or contiguous to a pasture ground, or adjacent to a high road, the herdsman is not reprehensible for the destruction of grain (in that field), if the field is not protected by a fence.

* 41. On (that side of) the field which faces the road a fence shall be made over which a camel cannot look, nor cattle or horses jump, and which a boar cannot break through.

* 42. A householder's house and his field are considered as the two fundamentals of his existence. Therefore let not the king upset either of them; for that is the root of householders.

43. When his people are flourishing, the religious merit and the treasure of a king are sure to be in a flourishing state as well. When (the people) cease to prosper, (his merit and his treasure) are sure to abate as well. Therefore he must never lose sight of (that) cause of prosperity.

TWELFTH TITLE OF LAW.

THE MUTUAL DUTIES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE.

* 1. That title of law in which the legal rules for women and men regarding marriage and the other

40. 'Pasture ground,' a meadow reserved for feeding cows or other cattle. Ratnâkara. See Colebrooke's Digest, III, 4, 27. Manu VIII, 238, 240; Vishnu V, 147, 148; Gautama XII, 21; Yâgyavalkya II, 162.

41. Manu VIII, 239.

42. This maxim shows that the compiler of the Nârada-smṛiti wrote for an essentially agricultural people.

XII, 1. Manu IX, 1.

(mutual relations between them) are laid down is called The Mutual Duties of Husband and Wife.

2. When a woman and man are to unite (as wife and husband), the choice of the bride must take place first of all. The choice of the bride is succeeded by the (ceremony of) joining the bride and bridegroom's hands. Thus the ceremony (of marriage) is twofold.

3. Of these two parts (of the marriage ceremony) the choice of the bride is declared to lose its binding force, when a blemish is (subsequently) discovered (in either of the two parties). The Mantra (prayer), which is recited during the ceremony of joining the bride and bridegroom's hands, is the permanent token of matrimony.

4. When a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sūdra takes a wife, it is best for him to take her out of his own caste ; and so is a member of her own caste the (most eligible) husband for a woman (of any caste).

5. A Brahman may marry three wives of different caste, in the direct order of the castes ; and so may

2. The Smṛiti-writers, as a rule, do not mention the act of *varana*, 'choice of a bride,' at all. It appears from the next paragraph that Nārada also does not place it on a par with the ceremony of marriage, which is indissoluble for life.

3. The 'choice of the bride,' or betrothal, being dissoluble on the discovery of a blemish (in either party), it follows that the act of joining the bride and bridegroom's hands, i. e. the ceremony of marriage, must be indissoluble. See, too, paragraph 28. The particular Mantras to be recited during the marriage ceremony are given in the *Gr̥hya-sūtras*.

4. Āpastamba II, 6, 13, 1 ; Vasishṭha VIII, 1 ; Gautama IV, 1 ; Manu III, 12 ; Yāgñavalkya I, 55.

5, 6. It is important to note that Nārada belongs to that group of Smṛiti-writers who recognise the legitimacy of marriage unions between Brahmans and Sūdra women. Baudhāyana I, 8, 16, 1-5 ;

a Sûdra woman take a husband of any of the three castes above her own.

6. For a Kshatriya, two wives differing (from him) in caste are permitted; for a Vaisya, a single wife differing (from him) in caste. (On the other hand), a Vaisya woman may take a husband of two different castes; and a Kshatriya woman may take a husband of one different caste.

7. Sagotras and Samânapravaras are ineligible for marriage up to the fifth and seventh degrees of relationship respectively, on the father's and mother's side.

*8. The man must undergo an examination with regard to his virile; when the fact of his virile has been placed beyond doubt, he shall obtain the maiden, (but not otherwise.)

*9. If his collar-bone, his knee, and his bones (in

Vasishtha I, 24, 25; Vishnu XXIV, 1-4; Manu III, 12-14; Yâgñavalkya I, 56, 57.

6. The somewhat laconic terms of the original may be paraphrased as follows: A Kshatriya may marry a Vaisya and a Sûdra woman, besides a wife of his own caste. A Vaisya may marry a Sûdra woman, besides a wife of his own caste. A Vaisya woman may either take a Vaisya husband, or she may wed a Kshatriya or a Brahman. A Kshatriya may either take a Kshatriya husband, or she may marry a Brahman.

7. A Sagotra is a relative bearing the same family name (laukika gotra). A Samânapravara is one descended from the same Rîshi (vaidika gotra). See Professor Bühler's notes on Gautama XVIII, 6; Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 15. Manu III, 5; Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 15-16; Gautama IV, 2-5; Vasishtha VIII, 1, 2; Baudhâyana II, 1, 31-38; Vishnu XXIV, 9, 10; Manu III, 5; Yâgñavalkya I, 53.

8. Yâgñavalkya I, 55. It should be observed, however, that the eligibility of impotent men or eunuchs for marriage is recognised in the Code of Manu (IX, 203), and that such men are very commonly married now-a-days.

9. The curious disquisition on impotency is quoted in such an

general) are strongly made; if his shoulders and his hair are (also) strongly made; if the nape of his neck is stout, and his thigh and his skin delicate; if his gait and his voice is vigorous;

*10. If his semen, when thrown into water, does not swim on the surface; and if his urine is rich and foamy: by these tokens may a potent man be known; and one impotent by the opposite characteristics.

*11. Fourteen species of impotent men are distinguished by the sages, according to the rules of science, including both the curable and incurable. The rules regarding them shall be given in order.

*12. One naturally impotent, one whose testicles have been cut out, a *Pakshashandha*, one who has been deprived of his potency by a curse of his spiritual guide, or by illness, or by the wrath of a deity,

*13. One jealous, a *Sevya*, one whose semen is (evanescent) as air, a *Mukhebhaga*, one who spills

early compilation as *Aparārka's Commentary of the Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti* (twelfth century), which goes far to prove its genuineness. *Aparārka's* gloss on this passage, scanty as it is, has proved useful in elucidating some of the difficult terms occurring in it, and in establishing the correct readings. Besides, I have been able to avail myself of some valuable remarks, kindly communicated to me by the late Dr. Haas, the well-known connoisseur of Indian medicine.

10. An analogous text is quoted from the *Smṛiti* of *Kātyāyana*. 'He is called impotent whose urine froths not and whose faeces sink in water, and whose generative organ is deficient in erection or seminal juices.' See *Colebrooke's Digest*, V, 5, 330.

12. 'One naturally impotent' (*nisargashandha*), one born without the capacity of producing semen. *Aparārka*. This category seems to be synonymous with the *sahaga* of *Susruta*, the standard writer on medicine. *Pakshashandha*, according to *Aparārka*, is one capable of approaching a woman once in every half-month (*Paksha*).

13. The jealous man, *īrshyāshandha*, seems to be identical with the *īrshyaka* of *Susruta*, 'qui nisi alius cujusdam ineuntis feminam

his semen, one whose semen is devoid of strength, one timorous, and one who is potent with another woman (than his wife) only, (these are the fourteen sorts of impotent persons.)

* 14. Among these, the two first are incurable ; the one called Pakshashandha should wait for a month ; the (three) named after him shall have to wait for a year.

* 15. Those four, among whom, in the above enumeration, the one jealous comes first, shall be avoided by their wives just like an outcast, though they may have been enjoyed by them.

* 16. For the wife of one who spills his semen, or whose semen is devoid of strength, though they may have discharged their marital duties, another husband must be procured, after she has waited for half a year.

* 17. If a man is timorous, he fails when he is about

conspectu non potest.' The term *sevyā* is obscure enough. Dr. Haas proposes to read *ka sevyastka* or *ka mevyastka* or *kāsekyastka*, for *ka sevyastka*. The *āsekyā* is a species of impotent person according to Susruta. It may be, however, that the reading *sevyā* is correct, and denotes one with whom sexual intercourse is possible. Mukhebhaga, 'is qui ore prout cunno utitur.' The revolting practice in question is repeatedly referred to e. g. by Nārada himself, VI, 19, according to the commentators, and I, 183. Dr. Haas proposes to read *mushkabhagnaḥ*, 'one deprived of the scrotum.' It may be argued, however, that this category has already been referred to in paragraph 12, and that the reading *mushkabhagna* is objectionable for metrical reasons. According to Aparārka, *ākshipta*, the next term, means 'is cuius semen in coitu retro (aut susum) fluit ;' *moghabāga* means 'is cui semen ad propagationem aptum non est ;' *śālīna* means 'is cuius penis coitu facto collabitur ;' and *anyāpati*, the last term, means 'is qui cum alia femina praeter uxorem potest.'

15. 'Like an outcast (*patita*).' Dr. Haas assigns a different meaning to the term *patita*, viz. 'is cuius penis collabitur ;' and refers to such expressions as *dhvagaḥ patati*, 'penis collabitur,' in the *Bhavaprakāśa*.

to approach his wife ; such a feeble man shall be stirred up by bringing before him other men's wives or young maidens, &c.

* 18. If a man is potent with another woman but impotent with his own wife, his wife shall take another husband. This is a law promulgated by the Creator of the world.

19. Women have been created for the sake of propagation, the wife being the field, and the husband the giver of the seed. The field must be given to him who has seed. He who has no seed is unworthy to possess the field.

20. Let a maiden be given in marriage by her father himself, or by her brother with the father's authority, or by her paternal grandfather, or by her maternal uncle, or by her agnates or cognates.

21. In default of all these, by the mother, in case she is competent (to act as guardian) ; if she be wanting in competence, the distant connexions shall give a maiden in marriage.

22. If no such person be in existence, let the maiden have recourse to the king, and let her, with his permission, betake herself to a bridegroom of her own choice,

20, 21. The object of these rules is to prevent that any marriageable maiden should remain unmarried, which is a great point in the eyes of a Hindu legislator. Vishnu XXIV, 38, 39 ; Manu V, 151 ; Yâgñavalkya I, 63. The Nepalese MS. refers to the maternal instead of the paternal grandfather.

22, 23. This is the custom of Svayamvara, 'self-choice (of a bridegroom),' so well known from the Indian epics. It appears from this paragraph that Nârada does not allow this custom to be practised except with certain restrictions. See, however, the next paragraph. 'Age ;' Manu says (IX, 94) that a man at the age of thirty shall marry a maiden of twelve, and a man aged twenty-four, years a maiden of eight. Gautama XVIII, 20 ; Vasishtha XVII,

23. Who belongs to her own caste, and is a suitable match in point of descent, morality, age, and sacred learning. Let her discharge her religious duties in common with him, and bear children to him.

24. When a bridegroom goes abroad after having espoused a maiden, let the maiden wait till her menses have passed three times, and then choose another bridegroom.

25. Let no maiden suffer the period of maturity to come on without giving notice of it to her relations. Should they omit to give her in marriage, they would be equal to the murderers of an embryo.

26. He who does not give such a maiden in marriage commits the crime of killing an embryo as many times as her period of menstruation passes by without her having a husband.

27. Therefore a father must give his daughter in marriage once (for all), as soon as the signs of maturity become apparent. (By acting) otherwise he would commit a heavy crime. Such is the rule settled among the virtuous.

67, 68; Manu IX, 90-92; Vishnu XXIV, 40; Yâgñavalkya I, 64; Baudhâyana IV, 1, 14. Read *anurûpam* in the text.

24. This is the law in the case of a woman recently married, when consummation has not yet taken place. As for the conduct enjoined to one left by her husband, when they have been married for some length of time, see paragraphs 96-101.

25. Maturity, according to a well-known versus memorialis, generally commences after completion of the tenth year. 'One aged eight years is a child; one aged nine years is a maiden; one aged ten years is a virgin; after that time she is a marriageable woman.' See Parâsara VII, 6; Samvarta V, 66; Gautama XVIII, 22; Vasishtha XVII, 69; Vishnu XXIV, 41; Manu IX, 4, 93.

26. Vasishtha XVII, 71; Yâgñavalkya I, 64; Baudhâyana IV, 1, 13.

27. It must not be inferred from this rule that Nârada is not

28. Once is the (family) property divided, once is a maiden given in marriage, and once does a man say, 'I will give;' each of these three acts is done a single time only among the virtuous.

29. This rule applies to the five (first) marriage forms only, beginning with the Brâhma (form of marriage). In the three (others), beginning with the Âsura form, the (irrevocable) gift (of a maiden to a particular suitor) depends on the qualities (of the suitor).

30. Should a more respectable suitor, (who appears) eligible in point of religious merit, fortune, and amiability, present himself, when the nuptial gift has already been presented (to the parents by the first

an advocate of infant marriage, like many other Smṛiti-writers. Thus Dakṣa says, 'Let a maiden be given in marriage at the age of eight years; thus justice will not be violated.' Âṅgiras rules that a maiden must be given in marriage in her tenth year by all means. Râgamârtanda, Yama, and Parâsara declare that it is a heavy sin if she continues to reside at her father's house after having reached her twelfth year of age. Vasishṭha, Gautama, Viṣṇu, and Manu (IX, 93) ordain to give a maiden in marriage before she attains the age of puberty.

28. This is the general rule regarding the indissolubility of the marriage tie. Divers important restrictions of this rule are stated in paragraphs 24, 29, 30, 96-101. Identical with Manu IX, 47. The Nepalese MS. inserts two paragraphs here: 'Soma springs into existence when the marks of puberty appear, and enjoys women. Their breast is a Gândharva, and Agni (the god of fire) is said to dwell in their menstrual discharge. Therefore let a father give his daughter in marriage before the marks of puberty have appeared in her, and before the menses and the breasts have been developed, and before she has been enjoyed by Soma and the rest.' The first paragraph occurs in the Pañġatantra as well. See the Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. Gândharva.

29. Other legal consequences of the choice of a particular form of marriage are stated in the law of inheritance. See XIII, 9.

30. Out of the various meanings of the term *sulka*, the meaning

suitor), the verbal engagement (previously made) shall be annulled.

31. Let no man calumniate a faultless maiden, neither must one calumniate a faultless suitor. When, however, there is an actual defect, it is no offence if they dissolve their mutual engagement.

32. When a man, after having made a solemn promise of giving his daughter in marriage to a certain suitor, does not deliver her afterwards, he shall be punished by the king like a thief, in case the suitor be faultless.

33. But when a man gives a maiden in marriage, who has a (secret) blemish without first making (the defect) known, the king shall visit him with punishment of the very gravest kind.

34. When a man, from hatred, declares a certain maiden to have lost her virginity, he shall pay one hundred *Paṇas* as a fine, unless he be able to give proofs of her disgrace.

* 35. When a man, after having plighted his faith to a maiden, abandons her, although she is faultless, he shall be fined and shall marry the maiden, even against his will.

36. Affliction with a chronic or hateful disease,

'nuptial gift, presented to the parents of the bride by the bridegroom,' is no doubt the only one which fits in this place, as it appears from the preceding paragraph that this rule is applicable principally to the *Âsura* form of marriage, i. e. marriage by purchase. *Yâgñavalkya* I, 65.

31. *Manu* VIII, 225; IX, 72; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 66; *Vishṇu* V, 47.

32. *Manu* IX, 71; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 65.

33. *Manu* VIII, 224; IX, 73; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 66; *Vishṇu* V, 45.

34. *Vishṇu* V, 47; *Manu* VIII, 225; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 66.

35. *Yâgñavalkya* I, 66.

36. It does not become quite clear how far the last term in this

deformity, the loss of her virginity, a blemish, and proved intercourse with another man: these are declared to be the faults of a maiden.

37. Madness, loss of caste, impotency, misery, to have forsaken his relatives, and the two first faults of a maiden (in the above text): these are the faults of a suitor.

38. Eight nuptial rites have been ordained for the (four) castes, by which wedlock may be entered into. The Brâhma form is the first of these, the Prâgâpatya form is the second.

39. The Ârsha, Daiva, Gândharva, and Âsura forms follow next. The Râkshasa form is no worse than the one preceding it, and the Paisâka is declared to be the eighth.

40. In the Brâhma form, a maiden decked with ornaments is given (to the bridegroom), after he has been invited and honourably received (by the father). When he has been addressed with the words, 'Fulfil your sacred duties together (with her),' it is termed the Prâgâpatya form.

41. When (the father) receives (from the bridegroom) a dress and a bull and a cow, it is termed the Ârsha form. When she is given, before the

enumeration, anyagatabhâvâ, differs in import from the two terms immediately preceding it. Perhaps it denotes one pregnant, or who has had a child with another man.

37. 'To have forsaken his relatives.' It is evident that certain near relatives must be meant, as e.g. Manu says (VIII, 389) that a mother, father, wife, or son must not be forsaken.

38-43. Manu III, 20, 21, 27-34; Yâgñavalkya I, 58-61; Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 17-II, 5, 12, 2; Gautama IV, 6-13; Baudhâyana I, 20, 1-9; Vasishtha I, 28-35; Vishnu XXIV, 17-26.

40. See Professor Bühler's note on Manu III, 30, 27.

altar, to a priest, who officiates at a sacrifice, it is termed the Daiva form.

42. The union of a willing maiden with her lover is the fifth form, termed Gândharva. When a price is (asked for the bride by the father and) taken (by him), it is the form termed Âsura.

43. The Râkshasa form is declared to consist of the forcible abduction of a maiden. Sexual intercourse with a woman during her sleep or while she is unconscious (of the approach of a man) constitutes the eighth form, the basest of all.

44. Of these, the (first) four, beginning with the Brâhma form, are declared to be lawful; the Gândharva form is common (to all castes); the three forms, which come after it, are unlawful.

45. (Besides the lawful wives) seven other sorts of wives are mentioned in order, who have previously been enjoyed by another man. Among these, the Punarbhû (woman twice married) is of three kinds, and the Svairinî (wanton woman) is fourfold.

*46. A maiden not deflowered, but disgraced by the act of joining the bride and bridegroom's hands, is

43. The term *pramatta*, translated by 'unconscious,' may either refer to a temporary or to a permanent derangement of the maiden's intellect.

44. *Manu* III, 23-26; *Âpastamba* II, 5, 12, 3; *Gautama* IV, 14, 15; *Baudhâyana* I, 20, 10-16; *Vishnu* XXIV, 27, 28.

45. The fact that Nârada treats *Punarbhûs*, 'remarried women,' as being only one degree superior to *Svairinîs*, 'wanton women,' and belonging like the latter to the category of women previously enjoyed by another man, indicates the low estimation in which he holds remarried women, though remarriage is a perfectly legitimate proceeding, according to him, in certain cases. *Manu* V, 163; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 67. Read *trividhâ* in the text.

46. 'The act of joining the bride and bridegroom's hands,' the marriage ceremony. *Vasishtha* XVII, 20; *Manu* IX, 176; *Vishnu* XV, 8.

declared to be the first Punarbhû. She is required to have the marriage ceremony performed once more (when she is married for the second time).

*47. One who, after having left the husband of her youth and betaken herself to another man, returns into the house of her husband, is declared the second (Punarbhû).

*48. When a woman, on failure of brothers-in-law, is delivered by her relations to a *Sapinda* of the same caste, she is termed the third (Punarbhû).

*49. When a woman, no matter whether she have children or not, goes to live with another man through love, her husband being alive, she is the first *Svairinî* (wanton woman).

*50. When a woman, after the death of her husband, rejects her brothers-in-law or other (relations) who have come to her, and unites herself with a stranger through love, she is called the second (*Svairinî*).

*51. One who, having come from a (foreign) country, or having been purchased with money, or being oppressed with hunger or thirst, gives herself up to a man, saying, 'I am thine,'—is declared to be the third (*Svairinî*).

*52. When a woman, after having been given in

47. Manu IX, 176; *Vasishtha* XVII, 19; *Vishnu* XV, 9.

48. This is an allusion to the custom of *Niyoga* or *levirate*, as described below, in paragraphs 80–88.

49. *Yâgñavalkya* I, 67.

50. The 'wanton woman' here referred to is apparently one who, after the death of her husband, declines to perform the custom of *Niyoga* with a brother-in-law or other relation, and goes to live with a stranger instead of it.

51. 'I am thine;' this is the formula by which a slave that is to be delivered himself to his future master. See above, V, 27.

52. The term *utpannasâhasâ* has been translated 'by force.'

marriage by her spiritual guides, in a manner corresponding with the usages of her country, (is afterwards married) to another by force, she is called the last Svairinī.

* 53. Thus has the law been declared with regard to Punarbhû and Svairinī wives. Among them, each preceding one is inferior to the next in order, and each following one is superior to the one preceding her.

* 54. The issue of those women who have been purchased for a price belongs to the begetter. But when nothing has been paid for a woman, her offspring belongs to her legitimate husband.

55. When seed is strewn on a field, without the knowledge of the owner, the giver of the seed has no share in it; the fruit belongs absolutely to the owner of the field.

56. When seed, carried off by a torrent of water or by a gust of wind, grows up in the field of a

The Mitāksharâ, p. 77, interprets it by utpannavyabhiġârâ, 'through adultery,' which seems to mean that an elopement is referred to, and not a forcible abduction. In that case, however, this species of wanton women would coincide entirely with the species described in paragraph 49. Besides, it appears from what is said in paragraph 53, that the species of wanton women described in paragraph 52 must be less reprehensible than the three species described in the preceding paragraphs.

53. The Nepalese MS. has the following two paragraphs instead of 53. 'Among the four sorts of Svairinī women, the last respectively are preferable to those previously mentioned; the treatment of their offspring is optional, as regards inheritance, funeral oblations of balls of meal and water, and other concerns. To Punarbhû women, the same rule is applicable as to Svairinī women. Among them (also) each preceding one is inferior,' &c.

54. This rule shows that the purchase and sale of women must have been a very common proceeding in the times of Nārada.

56. Manu IX, 54.

stranger, the owner of that field shall obtain the produce ; none of the produce shall belong to the owner of the seed.

57. When a full-grown bull begets calves with the cows of another man, while roaming in his cow-pen, the calves shall belong to him who owns the cows ; in vain has the bull spent his strength.

58. When seed is sown in the field of another with the consent of the owner of that field, the offspring is considered to be the common property of the giver of the seed and the owner of the soil.

*59. Grain cannot be produced without a field, nor can it be produced without seed. Therefore offspring belongs by right to both, the father as well as the mother.

*60. Nor is (legitimate) offspring produced, when a man meets a woman at another house than her own. That is declared adultery by those conversant with (the law on) this subject, unless she have come into (the man's) house of her own accord.

*61. A man is not punishable as an adulterer for having intercourse with the wife of one who has left his wife without her fault, or of one impotent or consumptive, if the woman herself consents to it.

57. Manu IX, 50, &c.

58. Manu IX, 53.

60. When a woman enters the house of her paramour of her own accord to have intercourse with him, there is no offence (on his part). *Vivādaśintāmaṇi*, p. 112. The Nepalese MS. reads this paragraph differently: 'When a man has intercourse with a woman who has a protector living, at another man's house, it is termed adultery by those conversant with the subject, unless,' &c.

61. When a man has connexion with a married woman, forsaken by her husband, or whose husband is impotent or feeble, he is not punishable, in case the woman consents to it, even though he meet her at her own house. *Vivādaśintāmaṇi*, p. 112.

*62. To meet with another man's wife in an unseasonable hour or place, and to sit, converse, or dally with her, these are the three grades of adultery.

*63. When a woman and a man have meetings at the confluence of two rivers, at a Ghât, in a garden, or in a park, it is also termed adultery.

64. By the employment of go-betweens, dispatch of letters and other criminal proceedings of various kinds, adultery may be found out by the knowing.

*65. If one touches a woman in a place (where it is) improper (to touch her) or allows himself to be touched (in such a spot), all such acts, done with mutual consent, are declared to be adultery.

*66. Bestowing attentions (on a woman), sporting (with her), touching her ornaments and clothes, sitting with her on a bed, all such acts are (also) declared to be adulterous.

*67. If a man seizes a woman by the hand, by a braid of hair, or by the border of her gown, or if he calls out, 'Stop, stop,' all such acts are (also) declared to be adulterous.

68. By the sending of clothes, ornaments, garlands of flowers, drinks, food, and fragrant substances, adultery may (also) be discovered by the wise.

62. Manu VIII, 354; Yâgñavalkya II, 284.

63. Manu VIII, 356. The Nepalese MS. omits paragraphs 64, 65, and arranges paragraphs 66-69 differently.

65. Identical with Manu VIII, 358. 'A place (where it is) improper (to touch her).' For a different interpretation of this term, see Professor Bühler's note on Manu VIII, 358.

66. 'Bestowing attentions on a woman,' doing what is agreeable to her. *Vivâdākintâmani*, p. 110. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 357.

67. Such acts, when committed against another woman than one's own wife, constitute the offence of adultery. That is the meaning. *Vivâdākintâmani*, p. 110; Yâgñavalkya II, 284.

*69. When a man, actuated by vanity, folly, or braggartism, declares himself, that he has enjoyed the love of a certain woman, that is also termed an adulterous proceeding.

70. When a man has connexion with a woman of his own caste, a fine of the highest degree (shall be inflicted on him); and the middling fine, when he has connexion with a woman of lower caste; and capital punishment, when he has connexion with a woman of superior caste.

71. (When he has connexion) with a maiden against her will, he shall have two fingers cut off. If the maiden belongs to the highest (or Brahman) caste, death and the confiscation of his entire property (shall be his punishment).

*72. When, however, he has connexion with a willing maiden, it is no offence, but he shall bestow ornaments on her, honour her (with other presents), and (lawfully) espouse her.

*73. A mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, paternal uncle's (wife), friend's (wife), pupil's wife, sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law,

*74. Daughter, spiritual teacher's wife, Sagotra relation, one come to him for protection, a queen, a female ascetic, a nurse, an honest woman, and a female of the highest caste :

70. *Manu* VIII, 374-385; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 286; *Vishnu* V, 40, 41; *Gautama* XII, 2, 3; *Baudhâyana* II, 3, 52, &c.

71. *Manu* VIII, 366, 367; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 288.

72. *Manu* VIII, 366; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 288. The Nepalese MS. reads: *'When a man of the same caste has intercourse with a willing maiden.'

73-75. *Manu* XI, 171; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 231-233, &c.

* 75. When a man carnally knows any one out of these (twenty) women, he is said to commit incest. For that crime, no other punishment than excision of the organ is considered (as a sufficient atonement).

* 76. When a man has sexual connexion with (small) cattle, he shall pay one hundred (*Paṇas*) as a fine; (for sexual connexion) with a cow, he shall pay the middling fine; and the same (for sexual connexion) with a low-caste woman.

* 77. Let a punishment be inflicted by the king on him who has intercourse with a woman, with whom it is forbidden to have intercourse, and let such sinners be cleared (of the moral offence committed by them) by performing a penance.

* 78. Intercourse is permitted with a wanton woman, who belongs to another than the Brahman caste, or a prostitute, or a female slave, or a female not restrained by her master (*nishkâsint*), if these women belong to a lower caste than oneself; but with a woman of superior caste, intercourse is prohibited.

75. The fact that female ascetics (*pravragitâ*) are reckoned by Nârada among those females whose violation is incest—literally ‘an offence as heavy as the violation of a spiritual teacher’s bed’—constitutes an important difference between his teaching and Manu’s. Manu ordains the same punishment for the violation of female ascetics as for the violation of the wives of actors and singers and other abandoned women. See Professor Bühler’s note on Manu VIII, 363. All commentators declare that this rule is applicable in the case of guarded women only. The *Vivâdañ-tâmaṇi* says that the term ‘mother’ denotes a stepmother in paragraph 73.

76. Vishnu V, 43, 44; Manu VIII, 385; *Yâgyavalkya* II, 289.

78. The two terms, *svairinî*, ‘a wanton woman,’ and *abrâhmaṇî*, ‘one not belonging to the Brahman caste,’ have to be connected. ‘A wanton woman,’ a self-willed unchaste woman. *Nishkâsint*

* 79. When, however, such a woman is the kept mistress (of another man, intercourse with her) is as criminal as (intercourse) with another man's wife. Such women, though intercourse with them is not (in general) forbidden, must not be approached, because they belong to another man.

* 80. Should the husband of a childless woman die, she must go to her brother-in-law, through desire to obtain a son, after having received the (required) authorization from her Gurus.

81. And he shall have intercourse with her, till a son be born. When a son is born, he must leave her. It would be sinful intercourse otherwise.

82-84. (He shall approach) a woman who has brought forth male issue, and who is praiseworthy, free from passion, and without amorous desire. He must have anointed his limbs with clarified butter, or with oil which has not lost its natural condition, and must turn away his face from hers, and avoid the contact of limb with limb. For this (custom is

means 'one who has left her family' according to the Madanaratna, and 'a female slave not restrained by her master' according to Vigñānesvara, Mādhavākārya, and the rest. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 510. See above, V, 39.

79. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 290. The Nepalese MS. reads 'when they belong to another man.'

80-88. *Manu* IX, 59-64, 143; *Yāgñavalkya* I, 69; *Gautama* XVIII, 4-8; *Āpastamba* II, 10, 27, 2, 3; *Vasishṭha* XVII, 55, 66; *Baudhāyana* II, 4, 9-10. Regarding the history of the Indian levirate, see my 'Outlines of a History of Hindu Law' (*Tagore Law Lectures* for 1883), pp. 153, 154.

80. The Gurus intended are, the teacher, sub-teacher, and officiating priests of the deceased husband. See Professor Bühler's note on *Vasishṭha* XVII, 56. According to *Vasishṭha*, the authority of both the Gurus and relatives is required. The relatives are referred to by Nārada himself, paragraphs 82-84.

practised) when the family threatens to become extinct, for the continuation of the lineage, and not from amorous desire. He must not approach a woman who is with child, or blamable, or unauthorized by her relations. Should a woman procreate a son with her brother-in-law without having been authorized thereto by her relations,

85. He is declared an illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting, by the expounders of the Veda. So when a younger brother has intercourse, without authorization, with the wife of his elder brother,

86. Or an elder brother with the wife of his younger brother, they are both declared to commit incest. After having been authorized by the Gurus, he shall approach the woman and advise her,

* 87. In the manner previously stated, (as if she were) his daughter-in-law. He becomes pure, when the ceremony for the birth of a male child is performed. (Let him approach her) once, or till she has conceived. When she is pregnant, she is even as (his daughter-in-law).

86. According to *Gagannâtha's* reading of these texts, the appointment to raise offspring may be given by the king also, where Gurus and relations are wanting. The same clause is found in the Nepalese MS. 'He shall advise the woman' means, according to *Gagannâtha*, 'he shall teach her the general illegality of receiving the caresses of other men, and the particular legality of an appointment to raise up offspring.' See *Colebrooke's (Gagannâtha's) Digest*, IV, 4, 147.

87. 'His daughter-in-law;' a brother's wife is considered as similar to a daughter-in-law, according to *Gagannâtha*. See loc. cit. The 'ceremony for the birth of a male child' (*Pumsavana*), which has the procreation of a son for its object, is usually performed at the time when the mother perceives the first signs of a living conception. It has to be observed that the reading of this paragraph is uncertain, and its rendering conjectural. The Nepalese MS. agrees with *Gagannâtha*.

* 88. Should the man or woman behave otherwise, impelled by amorous desire, they shall be punished severely by the king. Otherwise justice would be violated.

* 89. Husband and wife must not lodge a plaint against one another with their relations, or the king, when a quarrel has arisen through passion, which has its root in jealousy or scorn.

90. When husband and wife leave one another, from mutual dislike, it is a sin, except when a woman, who is kept under supervision, commits adultery.

* 91. When a married woman commits adultery, her hair shall be shaved, she shall have to lie on a low couch, receive bad food and bad clothing, and the removal of the sweepings shall be assigned to her as her occupation.

* 92. One who wastes the entire property of her husband under the pretence that it is (her own) *Strīdhana*, or who procures abortion, or who makes an

89. The term *sambandha*, literally 'connexion,' has been rendered by 'a quarrel.' It can hardly be referred to friendly connexion (with another man or woman) in this place. The prohibition of lawsuits between wife and husband may be compared to the analogous prohibition, in the case of husband and wife, of suretyship, division of property, contracting of debts, and giving evidence.

91. Mitramisra, in the *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 520, quotes this text as proving that an adulteress even has a claim to maintenance. He interprets it as follows. When a woman has committed adultery through amorous desire, she shall be shaved and compelled to lie on a low couch, bad food and a bad dwelling shall be given to her for her maintenance; and the removal of rubbish shall be assigned to her as her occupation. *Yāgñavalkya* I, 70.

92. As for the constituents of *Strīdhana*, or separate property of a woman, see XIII, 8.

attempt on her husband's life, he shall banish from the town.

* 93. One who always shows malice to him, or who makes unkind speeches, or eats before her husband, he shall quickly expel from his house.

* 94. Let not a husband show love to a barren woman, or to one who gives birth to female children only, or whose conduct is blamable, or who constantly contradicts him; if he does (have conjugal intercourse with her), he becomes liable to censure (himself).

* 95. If a man leaves a wife who is obedient, pleasant-spoken, skilful, virtuous, and the mother of (male) issue, the king shall make him mindful of his duty by (inflicting) severe punishment (on him).

96. When a faultless maiden has been married to a man who has a blemish unknown (before his marriage), and does not repair to another man (after discovering it), she shall be enjoined to do so by her relations. If she has no relations living, she shall go (to live with another man) of her own accord.

97. When her husband is lost or dead, when he

93. 'He shall expel from his house.' This, according to an interpretation mentioned by Gagannâtha, means that he shall banish her from the principal habitation, assigning to her a separate dwelling within his close. See Colebrooke's Digest, IV, 1, 63. This interpretation is hardly correct, though it is interesting as it shows the tendency of the commentators to explain away those laws under which married women were deprived of their claim to maintenance. Manu IX, 80, 81; Yâgñavalkya I, 73, &c.

96. This rule shows that a marriage is dissoluble on the discovery of a blemish, as well as a betrothal. See XII, 3.

97. 'Lost,' i.e. gone no one knows whither. This text, or an identical text of Parâsara, has been frequently appealed to by the

has become a religious ascetic, when he is impotent, and when he has been expelled from caste: these are the five cases of legal necessity, in which a woman may be justified in taking another husband.

98. Eight years shall a Brahman woman wait for the return of her absent husband; or four years, if she has no issue; after that time, she may betake herself to another man.

99. A Kshatriya woman shall wait six years; or three years, if she has no issue; a Vaisya woman shall wait four (years), if she has issue; any other Vaisya woman (i. e. one who has no issue), two years.

100. No such (definite) period is prescribed for a Sûdra woman, whose husband is gone on a journey. Twice the above period is ordained, when the (absent) husband is alive and tidings are received of him.

101. The above series of rules has been laid down by the Creator of the world for those cases where a man has disappeared. No offence is imputed to a woman if she goes to live with another man after (the fixed period has elapsed).

modern advocates of the remarriage of widows in India. Vasishṭha XVII, 74.

98, 99. Vasishṭha XVII, 75-80; Manu IX, 76, 77; Gautama XVIII, 15-17.

100, 101. The Nepalese MS. has three paragraphs instead of these two, as follows:—'100. No such period is ordained for a Sûdra woman, nor is justice violated (in her case). The utmost limit for her is a year, especially if she has no issue. 101. This term has been ordained for the wives of absent husbands who are dead. Twice the same term is ordained, when (the absent husband) is alive and tidings are received of him. 101 a. The (other) term has been ordained for those who have issue (?). Afterwards, no offence is imputed to a woman who goes to live with another man.'

102. This body of laws is applicable to the offspring of unions in the direct order of the castes; the offspring of a marriage union in the inverse order of the castes is said to be (produced by) a confusion of castes.

103. There are Anantara, Ekântara, and Dvyantara sons both in the direct and inverse order of the castes.

104. (Of this description are) the Ugra, Pârasava, and Nishâda, (who are begotten) in the direct order, as well as the Ambashtha, Mâgadha, and Kshattri, who spring from a Kshatriya woman.

105. One of these (latter castes) is begotten in the direct order, of the two (others) it must be known that they are (begotten) in an inverse order. The Kshattri and the rest are begotten in an

102. 'In the direct order of the castes,' i.e. where a man of higher marries a woman of lower caste. 'In the inverse order of the castes,' i.e. where a woman of higher marries a man of lower caste.

103-113. Manu X, 6-41; Gautama IV, 16-28; Vasishtha XVIII; Baudhâyana I, 16, 6-12, 17 passim; Vishnu XVI, 1-7; Yâgyavalkya I, 91-95.

103. An Anantara is the son of a father whose caste is only one degree higher or lower than the caste of the mother. An Ekântara is the son of a father whose caste is two degrees higher or lower than the caste of the mother. A Dvyantara is the son of a father whose caste is three degrees higher or lower than the caste of the mother. The Nepalese MS., throughout superior to the Indian MSS., reads as follows:—' 103. An Ugra, Pârasava, and Nishâda are (begotten) in the direct order, and are declared to be the sons of Sûdra women with husbands of the (three) higher castes. 104. Of a Brahman woman are born a Kândâla, a Sûta, and a Vaidehaka; they are declared to spring in an inverse order, from their union with husbands of different caste. 105. An Ambashtha, Mâgadha, and Kshattri are the sons of a Kshatriya woman. Of these, one is born in the direct, and two are born in the inverse order. 106 a. Of a Vaisya woman, are born an Ambashtha, Yavana, and Âyogava,

inverse order, the (three) mentioned first in the direct order.

106. Sacraments, beginning with the boiling of gruel, three times seven in number (shall be performed) by them. The son (of a Brahman) with a Brahman woman is equal in caste (to his father). The son (of a Brahman) with a Kshatriya woman is an Anantara.

107. An Ambashtha and an Ugra are begotten in the same way by Kshatriya men and on Vaisya women respectively. An Ambashtha is an Ekântara, the son of a Brahman with a Vaisya woman.

108. In the same way, a son called Nishâda

Of these, one is born in the inverse, and two are born in the direct order. 106 b. A Sûta and the other Pratilomas (men born in the inverse order), who are begotten contrary to order, are declared to partake of the series of three times seven sacraments, beginning with the Pâka ceremony (cooking food). 106 c. The son,' &c.

106. The meaning of the first half of this paragraph is somewhat obscure. The term *triḥ sapta*, 'three times seven,' has been connected with *samskârâs*, 'sacraments.' The sacraments are peculiar to those mixed castes, which are procreated in the direct order of castes. See Manu X, 41. The 'boiling of gruel' (*ârupâka*) being mentioned as the first sacrament, it appears that the sacraments here referred to are identical with the *yagñas*, 'sacrifices,' of which there are twenty-one according to the usual theory. See Gautama XVIII, 18-20, and Professor Weber's paper on Vedic Sacrificial Rites, *Indische Studien*, X, p. 320. It is also possible to connect the clause 'three times seven' with 'them.' The number of twenty-one mixed castes procreated in a direct order is received by adding the fifteen castes springing from a further mixture between the mixed castes (Manu X, 31) to the six principal mixed castes procreated in a direct order. For *vai matâḥ*, as I have conjectured, the MSS. read *kosh/hataḥ*, which might be rendered '(The twenty-one sacraments, beginning with the boiling of gruel, have to be performed by them) out of a pot.' However, the correctness of this reading is liable to considerable doubt. The Nepalese MS. reads, *te samskârâśka pakâdyâs teshâm triḥ saptako ganâḥ*. This is perhaps the original reading. See the preceding note.

springs from the union of a Kshatriya with a Sûdra woman. A Sûdra woman obtains from a Brahman a son (called) Pârasava, who is superior (to the Nishâda).

109. Thus have the sons born in the direct order of castes been declared. The two sons called Sûta, and Mâgadha as well as the Âyogava,

110. And the Kshattri and Vaidehaka are begotten in the inverse order of castes. The Sûta is declared to be an Anantara, begotten by a Kshatriya on a Brahman woman.

111. Similarly, the Mâgadha and Âyogava are the sons of Vaisya and Sûdra fathers (and of a Brahman mother). A Brahman woman obtains of a Vaisya father an Ekântara son, the Vaidehaka.

112. A Kshatriya woman (obtains of a Sûdra) an Ekântara son, called Kshattri. A Dvyantara son in the inverse order, the most abject of men, because he is the fruit of sinful intercourse,

113. *Kandâla* by name, is born of a Sûdra, when a Brahman woman forgets herself (with him). Therefore must the king take special care to prevent women from sinful intercourse with men of different caste.

THIRTEENTH TITLE OF LAW.

THE LAW OF INHERITANCE.

*1. Where a partition of the paternal property

113. The Nepalese MS. inserts the following before the clause beginning with the word 'Therefore:—'Because confusion of the castes springs up, where the king keeps no watch over them.'

XIII, 1. The term 'sons' includes by implication grandsons and

is instituted by the sons, it is called by the learned, Partition of Property, a title of law.

* 2. The father being dead, the sons shall divide the estate as they ought; (and so shall) daughters (divide the property) of their mother (when she dies); or, failing daughters, their issue.

* 3. (The distribution of the property shall take place) when the mother has ceased to menstruate and the sisters are married, or when the father's sexual desire is extinguished and he has ceased to care for worldly interests.

* 4. Or let a father distribute his property among his sons himself, when he is stricken in years, either allotting a larger share to the eldest son, or (distributing the property in any other way) following his own inclination.

more remote descendants. The term 'paternal' includes property of the grandfather and more remote ancestors as well. Mandlik's *Mayûkha*, p. 33 (IV, 3, 1, Borrodaile). Analogous remarks are found in most other Commentaries.

2. 'Their issue' (*tadanvayaḥ*). According to the usual explanation, the male issue of the daughters is meant. However, there is nothing in the text to warrant an exclusion of the female issue of daughters. *Manu* IX, 104, 192; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 117; *Gautama* XXVIII, 1; *Baudhâya* II, 3, 8.

3. According to the *Mayûkha*, the clause 'when the sisters are married' has to be construed with both the preceding and following clauses, the marriage of the sisters being required to precede both a division in the father's lifetime and a division in the mother's lifetime. See *Mayûkha*, p. 33 (translation, p. 39). The *Dâyabhâga* has a totally different reading of this text, which is censured in the *Vîramitrodaya*. *Gautama* XXVIII, 1.

4. The *Dâyabhâga* (II, 82, Colebrooke) states correctly that the unequal distribution referred to in the last clause of this text must be different from that sort of unequal distribution under which the eldest son is to receive a larger share than the rest. The *Mîtâksharâ* school, on the other hand, recognises two different modes of

* 5. Or the senior brother shall maintain all (the junior brothers), like a father, if they wish it, or even the youngest brother, if able; the well-being of a family depends on the ability (of its head).

* 6. Property gained by valour, or belonging to a wife, and the gains of science, are three kinds of wealth not subject to partition; and so is a favour conferred by the father (exempt from partition).

* 7. When the mother has bestowed (a portion of) her property on any (of her sons) from affection, the rule is the same in that case also; for the mother is equal to the father (as regards her competence to bestow gifts).

* 8. What (was given) before the (nuptial) fire, what (was given) during the bridal procession, the husband's donation, and what was received from her brother, mother, or father, that is called the six-fold property of a woman (Strīdhana).

distribution only: one equal, and the other with the customary deductions in favour of the eldest son, middlemost son, &c., according to the order of seniority. The writers of this school, therefore, have endeavoured to refute the interpretation of the *Dâyabhāga*. See *Vīramitrodaya*, transl., p. 54.—*Manu* IX, 112 foll.; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 114; *Āpastamba* II, 6, 14; *Gautama* XXVIII, 2; *Vishnu* XVII, 1; *Baudhāyana* II, 3, 9.

5. As the management of the property and government of the family, under this rule, may devolve on the youngest brother even, it follows that the middlemost brother may get it *à fortiori*. This is expressly stated in the *Dâyabhāga* (III, 1, 15, Colebrooke). *Manu* IX, 108.

6. 'What was received at the time of obtaining a wife is here called the "wealth of a wife;" meaning effects obtained on account of marriage.' *Dâyabhāga* (VI, 1, 13, Colebrooke); *Manu* IX, 206; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 119.

8. It may be asked by whom the gifts presented before the nuptial fire and during the bridal procession, i. e. at two different stages of the marriage ceremony, must have been presented in

*9. Such property of a woman shall go to her offspring; if she have no offspring, it is declared to go to her husband (if she was married to him) according to one of the four (praiseworthy) marriage forms, beginning with the Brâhma form; (if she was married) according to one of the other forms, it shall go to her parents.

*10. When one brother maintains the family of another brother, who is engaged in studying science, he shall receive a share of the wealth gained by that study, though he be ignorant (himself).

*11. A learned man is not bound to give a share of his own (acquired) wealth against his will to an unlearned co-heir, unless it have been gained by him using the paternal estate.

*12. Two shares let the father keep for himself

order to be Strîdhana. As all the other gifts classed as Strîdhana are presented by relations, it may be inferred that the nuptial gifts have to come from the same quarter. Kâtyâyana declares expressly that a gift made by a stranger is not Strîdhana. Manu IX, 194; Yâgñavalkya II, 143, 144; Vishnu XVII, 18.

9. See XII, 38 foll. The commentators are of opinion that the Gândharva form of marriage follows the same rule as those four forms which are referred to in the first half of this text. This, however, is an artificial interpretation, which has merely been devised for the purpose of making this text agree with an analogous rule of Manu (IX, 196). Manu IX, 195-197; Yâgñavalkya II, 144, 145; Vishnu XVII, 19-21; Vasishtha XVII, 46; Baudhâyana II, 2, 3, 43. Read *katurshvâhuḥ* in the text.

10. Śrīkrishṇa observes that where the support has been offered by several unlearned co-heirs, they shall all of them be made to participate in the gains of science. See Colebrooke's *Dâyabhâga*, VI, 1, 15, note.

11. 'The word "paternal" intends joint property.' *Dâyabhâga* VI, 1, 17; Manu IX, 206; Yâgñavalkya II, 119; Gautama XXVIII, 30.

12. The rule which assigns two shares to a father distributing

when distributing his property. The mother shall receive the same share as a son (when the sons divide the property) after her husband's death.

* 13. To the eldest son a larger share shall be allotted, and a less share is assigned to the youngest son. The rest shall take equal shares, and so shall an unmarried sister.

* 14. The same rule applies to sons of a wife (Kshetrâgas) lawfully begotten on her. For sons of lower caste, a decrease in the shares according to the order (of their caste) is ordained, in case they are born of women legally married.

* 15. When a father has distributed his property amongst his sons, that is a lawful distribution for them (and cannot be annulled), whether the share of one be less, or greater than, or equal to the shares of the rest; for the father is the lord of all.

his property himself, is referred to the father's self-acquired property in the Mitâksharâ school, and to ancestral property in the Bengal school. This difference of interpretation is connected with the varying views taken in the several schools of law of the extent of the patria potestas in questions of proprietary right and inheritance. See Dânyabhâga II, 35, Colebrooke; Mitâksharâ I, 5, 7, Colebrooke. Yâgñavalkya II, 123; Vishnu XVIII, 34.

13. The share of an unmarried daughter, according to the translation here given, would have to be equal to the shares of the middlemost brothers. According to Gagannâtha, all that is meant by Nârada is this, that the daughter shall receive some portion of the property, the precise amount of it being left undecided. See Colebrooke's Digest, V, 1, 71.—Manu IX, 113–118; Vishnu XVII, 37; XVIII, 35; Baudhâyana II, 3, 9; Gautama XXVIII, 5–13; Vasishtha XVII, 42 foll.; Âpastamba II, 6, 14, 6–10; Yâgñavalkya II, 114, 124.

14. For the rules regarding the procreation of a Kshetrâga son, see XII, 80–88. Gautama XXVIII, 35–39; Vasishtha XVII, 47–50; Vishnu XVIII, 1–31; Baudhâyana II, 3, 10; Yâgñavalkya II, 125; Manu IX, 149–156.

15. The writers of the Bengal school give this text its plain

* 16. A father who is diseased, or angry, or absorbed by (sinful) worldly interests, or who acts illegally, has not the power to distribute his property (as he likes).

* 17. The son of a maiden, a son obtained through a pregnant bride, and one born of a woman (whose transgression was) unknown (at first and is found out subsequently): of these, the mother's husband is regarded as the father, and they are declared to be entitled to shares of his property.

* 18. A maiden's son, whose father is unknown and whose mother is not legally married (to his father), shall give a funeral ball (of rice) to his maternal grandfather and inherit his property.

* 19. Those sons who have been begotten by one or by many on a woman not authorized (to raise issue to her deceased husband), shall all be dis-

meaning, viz. that a father may distribute his property among his sons as he pleases. They add, however, that in doing so he must be guided by lawful motives, such as compassion on an incapable son, partiality for a pious son, and the like. See *Dâyabhâga* II, 74, 75; *Colebrooke's Digest*, V, 1, 32. The *Mayûkha*, on the other hand, declares that this rule of *Nârada* had legal force in the former ages of the world only. See *Mandlik's Mayûkha*, p. 35 (transl. p. 43). *Yâgñavalkya* II, 116.

16. This rule 'relates to the case where the father, through perturbation of mind occasioned by disease or the like, or through irritation against any one of his sons, or through partiality for the child of a favourite wife, makes a distribution not conformable to law.' *Colebrooke's Dâyahâga* II, 83. The *Mitâksharâ* (I, 2, 13, 14), cutting down the privileges of the father everywhere, interprets this rule as a prohibition of any other mode of unequal distribution except that by which the customary deductions are made in favour of the eldest son, &c.

17, 18. *Manu* IX, 170-172; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 129; *Vishnu* XV, 10-17; *Vasishtha* XVII, 21-23.

19. Regarding the rule of *Niyoga*, or appointment of a married

inherited; they are the sons of their (respective) begetters only.

* 20. They shall offer the funeral ball (of rice) to their begetter, in case their mother had been obtained for a price; if no price has been paid for her, they shall give the funeral ball to the husband (of their mother).

* 21. One hostile to his father, or expelled from caste, or impotent, or guilty of a minor offence, shall not even take a share (of the inheritance), if he is a legitimate son; much less so, if he is a (Kshetrage) son of the wife (only).

* 22. Persons afflicted with a chronic or acute disease, or idiotic, or mad, or blind, or lame (are also incapable of inheriting). They shall be maintained by the family; but their sons shall receive their respective shares (of the inheritance).

* 23. The sons of two fathers shall give the funeral

woman or widow to raise offspring to her husband, see XII, 80-88; Manu IX, 143.

20. See XII, 54.

21, 22. Manu IX, 201-203; Âpastamba II, 6, 14, 1, 15; Gautama XXVIII, 23, 40, 43; Vasishtha XVII, 52, 53; Baudhâyana II, 3, 37-40; Vishnu XV, 32-37; Yâgyavalkya II, 140, 141.

21. The commentators are at variance as to the precise meaning of the term 'hostile to his father.' Thus the Sarasvatîvilâsa declares it to denote one who forgets himself so far as to say, 'He is not my father.' The Dâyakramasaṅgraha says it means one who beats his father. According to Gagannâtha and the Ratnâkara, it means 'one who attempts his father's life or commits other hostile acts against him (mâraṇâdikṛit), and who fails to offer the customary funeral oblations to his father after his death.' See Colebrooke's Digest, V, 4, 320.

22. Atrophy or pulmonary consumption is instanced as a chronic, and leprosy as an acute disease, in the Ratnâkara. See Colebrooke's Digest, loc. cit.

23. 'The adoptive father,' literally 'the man who owns the

ball (of rice) and the water oblations to each of the two (fathers) singly, and shall receive one half of the property left by their natural and adoptive fathers.

* 24. That portion (of the property) which belongs to a reunited coparcener is declared to be absolutely his own. So when one of the sharers has no issue it shall go to the rest (after the death) of those who are childless.

* 25. If among several brothers one childless should die or become a religious ascetic, the others shall divide his property, excepting the *Strīdhana*.

mother' (Kshetrika). The 'son of two fathers' is no doubt one procreated by Niyoga on the wife of one impotent, &c. It is not equally clear why he is to obtain one half only of the property left by his two fathers, as he is elsewhere declared to succeed to both. According to the *Ratnākara*, this rule 'relates to the case where the natural father has a son begotten in lawful wedlock, and the husband of the mother also has by some means (*kathamkit*) obtained male issue by himself begotten.' See *Colebrooke's Digest*, V, 4, 242.—*Yāgñavalkya* II, 127; *Manu* IX, 145, 190; *Baudhāyana* II, 3, 18, 19.

24. For several other interpretations of this difficult text, see *Colebrooke's Digest*, V, 8, 433. It has to be observed, however, that the reading translated here differs from the reading translated by *Colebrooke*.

25, 26. The fact that the widow is invested with a claim to maintenance merely under this text, whereas the leading texts of *Yāgñavalkya* and *Vishṇu* constitute her heir to the property of a husband who has died without leaving male issue, has caused some difficulty to the commentators. Thus *Madana* says that this text must be held applicable to the widow of an undivided or reunited coparcener only, who is given a mere claim to maintenance by all writers of the *Mitāksharā* school. The writers of the *Bengal* school, on the other hand, recognise the widow's right of inheritance in the case of undivided coparceners even. It appears, however, from the order of heirs given in 49–51, that *Nārada* does not make the widow an heir in any case.

25. *Manu* IX, 212; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 138; *Vishṇu* XVII, 17; *Gautama* XVIII, 21.

*26. They shall make provision for his women till they die, in case they remain faithful to the bed of their husband. Should the women not (remain chaste), they must cut off that allowance.

*27. If he has left a daughter, her father's share is destined for her maintenance. They shall maintain her up to the time of her marriage; afterwards let her husband keep her.

*28. After the death of her lord, the relations of her husband shall be the guardians of a woman who has no son. They shall have full authority to control her, to regulate her mode of life, and to maintain her.

*29. When the husband's family is extinct, or contains no male, or when it is reduced to poverty, or when no one related to it within the degree of a *Sapinda* is left, the father's relations shall be the guardians of a woman.

*30. It is through independence that women go

26. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 142.

27. 'They shall maintain her,' literally 'they shall give her a share.' See par. 13, where a share is allotted to an unmarried sister. The maintenance of the daughter includes, no doubt, the obligation to defray the expense of her marriage. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 141.

28. All the commentators declare that the right of guardianship goes in the order of proximity. 'Thus, without (her guardian's) consent, she may not give away anything to any person; nor indulge herself in matters of shape, taste, smell, and the like; and if the means of subsistence be wanting he must provide her maintenance.' *Gagannâtha*. See *Colebrooke's Digest*, IV, 1, 13.

29. The Nepalese MS. and the commentaries insert the following text here: *'If both families are extinct, the king is declared to be the protector of a woman; he shall provide for her and punish her when she has swerved from the path of duty.'

30, 31. *Vasishtha* V, 1, 2; *Baudhâya* II, 3, 44, 45; *Gautama*

to ruin, though born in a noble family. Therefore the Lord of creatures has assigned a dependent condition to them.

* 31. The father protects her during her infancy, the husband protects her when she is grown up, and the sons (protect her) in her old age. A woman is unfit to enjoy independence.

* 32. What is left (of the father's property), when the father's obligations have been discharged, and when the father's debts have been paid, shall be divided by the brothers, in order that the father may not continue a debtor.

* 33. For those (brothers), for whom the initiatory ceremonies have not been duly performed by their father, they must be performed by the (other) brothers, (defraying the expense) from the paternal property.

XVIII, 1; Manu IX, 3; V, 148; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 85; *Vishnu* XXV, 12, 13.

30. 'They go to ruin,' i. e. they are guilty of disloyalty and other offences; thus, because they do not know what is legal for those who live exactly according to sacred ordinances, and because they cannot be instructed, they would violate the duties of their class and the like. *Gagannâtha*. See Colebrooke's Digest, IV, 1, 4.

32. The term *pitrîdâyebhyo*, 'when the father's obligations have been discharged,' is differently explained by different commentators. Thus *Varadarâga* (Burnell's *Vyavahâranirnaya*, p. 18) says it denotes the father's funeral rites and the like. *Akṣuta*, as quoted in Colebrooke's *Dâyabhâga* I, 47, note, refers it to sums of which payment has been promised by the father. Manu VIII, 166; IX, 104; *Baudhâyana* II, 3, 8; *Gautama* XXVIII, 1; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 117. Read *dattvarnam* in the text.

33. There appears to be some doubt as to what is meant here by the term *samskâra*, 'initiatory or sacramental ceremonies,' some commentators including the ceremony of marriage in that term, and others declaring the initiatory ceremonies to terminate with the investiture with the sacred thread. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 124.

* 34. Or, no paternal wealth being left, the initiatory ceremonies must be invariably performed for their brothers by those previously initiated contributing (the required) funds from their own portions.

* 35. One who, being authorized to look after the affairs of the family, charges himself with the management (of the family property), shall be supported by his brothers with (presents of) food, clothing, and vehicles.

* 36. When the fact of a legal partition should be called into question, the decision of the dispute (which has arisen) among the sharers shall be founded on (the testimony of) kinsmen, the written deed recording the division of the estate, and the separate transaction of business.

* 37. Among unseparated brothers, the performance of religious duties is single. When they have come to a partition, they have to perform their religious duties each for himself.

35. Some commentators explain this text as having reference to one who generously declines to take his share at the time of partition. His share shall be made up afterwards by the other brothers contributing severally a portion of their shares. However, there seems to be more foundation for the opinion of those commentators who interpret this text as ordaining the allotment of a preferential share or the presentation of special gifts to the manager of the family property. See Colebrooke's Digest, V, 2, 108.

36. The commentators observe that the contest here referred to does not turn on the mode but on the fact of partition. See Colebrooke's Digest, V, 6, 381. The business here referred to consists of agriculture and the like acts, according to the Mitâksharâ. Yâgñavalkya II, 149.

37. The term 'religious duties,' according to the Mitâksharâ, relates principally to the five Mahâyagñas, 'great sacrifices' or 'sacraments.' Before division they are performed by one brother, generally the eldest brother, as representative of the rest. Manu IX, 111; Gautama XXVIII, 4.

*38. Giving, receiving, cattle, food, houses, fields, and servants must be regarded as separate among divided brothers, and so must cooking, religious duties, income, and expenditure (be kept separate for each of them).

*39. (The acts of) giving evidence, of becoming a surety, of giving, and of taking, may be mutually performed by divided brothers, but not by unseparated ones.

*40. If (brothers or others) should transact such matters as these publicly with their co-heirs, they may be presumed to be separate in affairs, even though no written record (of the partition) be in existence.

*41. Those brothers who for ten years continue to live separate in point of religious duties and business transactions, should be regarded as separate; that is a settled rule.

*42. When a number of persons, the descendants of one man, are separate in point of (the performance of) religious duties, business transactions, and work-

38. 'Giving and receiving,' without consulting each other. Purchase of 'cattle' and the like. See Colebrooke's Digest, V, 6, 380. The upshot of a long discussion of this text by *Gagannātha* is this, that none of the acts mentioned here may be regarded as conclusive evidence by itself, a great deal of collective evidence of all sorts having to be adduced in each case. See Colebrooke's Digest, V, 6, 387.

39. *Yāgyavalkya* II, 52.

41. The term 'brothers' is here used to denote coparceners generally. *Smṛitīkandrikā* XVI, 14. The *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (§ 812, Foulkes) contests the correctness of this interpretation. The Nepalese MS. does not give this paragraph, and it is elsewhere attributed to *Bṛihaspati*.

42, 43. 'Religious duties,' prescribed observances, such as the five great sacrifices (*Mahāyagñas*). 'Business transactions,' such as

ing utensils, and do not consult each other about their dealings,

*43. They are quite at liberty to perform, according to pleasure, all (such transactions as) the gift or sale of their own shares. They are (in fact) masters of their own wealth.

*44. One born after partition shall receive his father's property exclusively. Or, if other sharers have reunited with the father, they shall come to a division (with the son born after partition). Such is the law.

*45. The legitimate son of the body, the son begotten on a wife (Kshetrāga), the son of an (appointed) daughter, the son of a maiden, the son received with the wife, the son secretly born,

*46. The son of a remarried woman, the son cast off, the adopted son, the son bought, the son made, and the son who has offered himself, are declared to be the twelve sons.

*47. Among these, six are kinsmen and heirs, and six are not heirs (but) kinsmen. Each preceding one is declared to be superior (to the one

trading and the like acts. 'Working utensils,' such as household furniture, the separate possession of which is indicative of partition. The meaning is that, when they are separated thus, each may give, sell, or otherwise dispose of (his share). Mayūkha, p. 51 (transl. p. 76).

44. Manu IX, 216; Yâgñavalkya II, 122; Gautama XXVIII, 29; Vishnu XVII, 3. This text is not found in the Nepalese MS., nor is it commonly quoted in the Digests.

45-47, 49. Manu IX, 158-184; Vishnu XV, 1-29; Vasishṭha XVII, 12-39; Baudhâya II, 2, 3, 14-32; Yâgñavalkya II, 128-132.

45, 46. Regarding the meaning of the technical terms in this text, see the corresponding portion of the Code of Manu, and the notes on them in Professor Bühler's translation.

following next), and each following one inferior (to the preceding one).

[48. Where some doubt arises in regard to a house or field, the possession of which has suffered an interruption, (the doubt) may be removed by consulting a writing, or persons who know all about the enjoyment (of the property in question by its occupant), or witnesses.]

*49. After their father's death, these (sons) shall succeed to his wealth in order. Whenever a superior son is wanting, the one next to him in rank is entitled to succession.

*50. On failure of a son, the daughter (succeeds), because she continues the lineage just like (a son); both a son and a daughter continue the lineage of their father.

*51. On failure of daughters, the Sakulyas (are to succeed) and (after them) the Bāndhavas; next, a member of the same caste. In default of all, that (wealth) goes to the king,

48. This text, which comes in very awkwardly between pars. 47 and 49, is apparently spurious, as has been pointed out long ago by Professor Bühler. It is not given in the Nepalese MS.

50. *Gimūtavāhana* and other writers of the Bengal school restrict the daughter's right of succession, as declared in this text, to those daughters who are neither barren nor widowed. See *Dāyabhāga* IV, 2, 10. However, there is nothing in the words of the original to warrant this restriction. *Āpastamba* II, 6, 14, 4.

51, 52. *Manu* IX, 185-189; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 135, 136; *Vasishṭha* XVII, 81-84; *Vishṇu* XVII, 4-14; *Āpastamba* II, 6, 14, 2-5; *Gautama* XXVIII, 21, 41, 42.

51. The term *Sakulya* is apparently used to denote the agnates, and *Bāndhava* to denote the cognates. Therefore the last term *sagāti* cannot be referred to blood-relationship at all, and must denote connexion by membership of the same caste. It is true that the commentators explain it as denoting descent from the same *Rishi*. See *Colebrooke's Digest*, V, 8, 448.

* 52. Unless it should be the property of a Brahman. A king devoted to duty must allot a maintenance to his women. Thus has the law of inheritance been declared.

FOURTEENTH TITLE OF LAW.

HEINOUS OFFENCES.

* 1. Whatever act is performed by force (sahas) by persons inflamed with (the pride of) strength, is called Sâhasa (a heinous offence); sahas (force) means strength in this world.

* 2. Manslaughter, robbery, an indecent assault on another man's wife, and the two species of insult, such are the four kinds of Heinous Offences.

* 3. It is again declared to be threefold in the law-books, viz. (heinous offences) of the first, middlemost, and highest degree. The definition of each kind shall be given as follows.

* 4. Destroying, reviling, disfiguring or otherwise

52. 'His women,' i. e. the women of the deceased proprietor. Vigñānesvara, Nilakantha, and other commentators declare that the term strī, 'woman,' cannot denote the legitimate wives of a deceased heir, and must therefore mean his concubines. This interpretation has been called forth, no doubt, by the fact that, in the opinion of these commentators, the inheritance of one sonless belongs to the widow in the first instance, and does not go to others, where a legitimate widow is in existence.

XIV, 1. The term Sâhasa, literally 'violence,' is used to denote violent deeds or heinous offences of every sort. Manu VIII, 332; Yâgñavalkya II, 230.

2. This text is omitted in the Nepalese MS.

4. 'Destroying,' i. e. totally annihilating the fruits and other objects mentioned in this text. 'Reviling,' i. e. abusing, using bad

(injuring) fruits, roots, water and the like, or agricultural utensils, is declared to be Sâhasa of the first degree.

* 5. (Injuring) in the same way clothes, cattle, food, drink, or household utensils, is declared to be Sâhasa of the middlemost degree.

* 6. Taking human life through poison, weapons or other (means of destruction), indecent assault on another man's wife, and whatever other (offences) encompassing life (may be imagined), is called Sâhasa of the highest degree.

* 7. The punishment to be inflicted for it must be proportionate to the heaviness of the crime, (so however as) not to be less than a hundred (*Panas*) for Sâhasa of the first degree, whereas for Sâhasa of the middlemost degree the punishment is declared by persons acquainted with the law to be no less than five hundred (*Panas*).

* 8. For Sâhasa of the highest degree, a fine amounting to no less than a thousand (*Panas*) is ordained. (Moreover) corporal punishment, confiscation of the entire property, banishment from the town and branding, as well as amputation of that limb (with which the crime has been committed), is declared to be the punishment for Sâhasa of the highest degree.

* 9. This gradation of punishments is ordained for every (caste) indiscriminately, excepting only corporal punishment in the case of a Brahman. A Brahman must not be subjected to corporal punishment.

language. 'Disfiguring,' injuring so far only as to leave the form intact. *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 499.

8, 9. The ambiguous term *vadha* in these two paragraphs is

* 10. Shaving his head, banishing him from the town, branding him on the forehead with a mark of the crime of which he has been convicted, and parading him on an ass, shall be his punishment.

* 11. Those who have committed Sâhasa of either of the two first degrees are allowed to mix in society, after having been punished, but if a man has committed Sâhasa of the highest degree, no one is allowed to speak to him, even when he has received punishment.

* 12. Theft is a special kind of it. The difference between (Sâhasa and theft) is as follows. Sâhasa is where the criminal act consists of a forcible attack, theft is where it is done by fraud.

* 13. That (theft) is again declared to be three-fold by the wise, according to the (value of the) articles (purloined), whether articles of small, middling, or superior value have been stolen.

* 14. Earthenware, a seat, a couch, bone, wood, leather, grass, and the like, legume, grain, and prepared food, these are termed articles of small value.

* 15. Clothes made of other material than silk, cattle other than cows, and metals other than gold, are (termed) articles of middling value, and so are rice and barley.

explained as denoting corporal punishment, and not execution, by the commentators.

9, 10. Gautama XII, 46, 47; Vishnu V, 2-8; Yâgñavalkya II, 270; Manu VIII, 124, 379-380.

12. 'A criminal act' (âdhi), i.e. injuring another man's property; 'through a forcible attack,' i.e. violently, is called theft equivalent to Sâhasa; a criminal act done 'by fraud' is called ordinary theft. Viramitrodaya, p. 490. Manu VIII, 332.

13. Yâgñavalkya II, 275. 14. Manu VIII, 326-329.

* 16. Gold, precious stones, silk, women, men, cows, elephants, horses, and what belongs to a god, a Brahman, or a king, these are regarded as articles of superior value.

17. Taking away by any means whatsoever the property of persons asleep, or disordered in their intellect, or intoxicated, is declared to be theft by the wise.

18. Where stolen goods are found with a man, he may be presumed to be the thief. (The possession of) stolen goods may be inferred from a luxurious mode of life. Suspicion arises where a man is seen in bad company or indulges in extravagance.

* 19. Those who give food or shelter to thieves seeking refuge with them, or who suffer them (to escape) though able (to arrest them), partake of their crime themselves.

* 20. Those who do not come to offer assistance, when people are crying out (for help) within their hearing, or when property is being taken away, are likewise accomplices in the crime.

* 21. That series of punishments, which has been ordained by the wise for the three kinds of Sâhasa, is equally applicable to theft, according as it concerns one of the three species of articles in their order.

22. When cows or other (animals) have been lost,

16. See the Indian law of prescription, where the property of Brahmans and kings is declared to be exempt from the ordinary rules regarding limitation. Manu VIII, 323.

18. Yâgñavalkya II, 266.

19. Those who give food or any other assistance to a thief, or who suffer a thief to escape though able to seize him, have to be punished like thieves. Vivâdāṁtāmaṇi, p. 93. Manu IX, 278; Yâgñavalkya II, 276.

20. Manu IX, 275. This text is omitted in the Nepalese MS.

or when (other) property has been taken away forcibly, experienced men shall trace it from the place where it has been taken.

23. Wherever the footmarks go to, whether it be a village, pasture ground or deserted spot (the inhabitants or owners of) that place must make good the loss, unless they can prove the footmarks to go out of that place again.

24. When the footmarks are obscured or interrupted, because (they lead to) broken ground or to a spot much frequented by other people, the nearest village or pasture ground shall be made responsible.

25. Where two persons have gone the same road, the offence, as a rule, shall be imputed to him who stood charged with other crimes before, or who associates with suspicious characters.

26. *Kandâlas*, executioners, and other such persons, as well as those who are in the habit of roaming at night, shall institute a search (after the thieves) in the villages; those living outside (of inhabited places) shall search (for them) outside.

27. When the thieves are not caught, the king must make good (the loss) from his own treasury. By showing himself remiss (towards criminals), he would incur sin and would offend both against justice and his own interest.

23. Yâgñavalkya II, 271.

24. Yâgñavalkya II, 272.

26. Manu IX, 267.

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH TITLES OF LAW.

ABUSE AND ASSAULT.

* 1. Abusive speeches, couched in offensive and violent terms, regarding the native country, caste, family, and so forth (of a man), are termed Abuse, (a title of law.)

* 2. It is divided into three species, called respectively *Nishṭhura*, *Aślīla*, and *Tīvra*. The punishment for each increases in severity according as the insult is of a more (or less) serious nature.

* 3. Abuse combined with reproaches has to be regarded as *Nishṭhura*; abuse couched in insulting language is *Aślīla*; charging one with an offence causing expulsion from caste is called *Tīvra* by the learned.

* 4. Hurting the limbs of another person with a hand, foot, weapon or otherwise, or defiling him

XV, XVI, 1. Thus, e.g. when a man says, 'The Gaudas (Bengalis) are quarrelsome,' he abuses another man's native country. When a man says, 'Brahmans are very avaricious,' he abuses another man's caste. When he says, 'The *Viśvāmitras* are a ferocious race,' he abuses another man's family. The clause 'and so forth' is added, in order to include abusive speeches levelled against learned men, artisans, or the like persons, whose learning or art has been abused. 'Violent terms,' i.e. terms which ought never to be used. *Mitāksharā*, p. 285; *Viramirodaya*, p. 482.

3. 'Abuse combined with reproaches' is when e.g. a man says, 'What a fool,' or 'What a rascal.' 'Abuse couched in insulting language' is when a man says, 'I will visit your sister,' or the like. 'Charging one with a mortal sin causing expulsion from caste,' such as e.g. the drinking of spirituous liquor. See loc. cit.

with ashes or other (impure substances), is termed Assault.

* 5. There are three species of that also, as it may be either light, or of a middling sort, or heavy, according as it consists in the raising (of a hand or weapon for the purpose of striking a blow), or in an unexpected attack, or in striking a wound.

* 6. Stealing articles of small, middling, or superior value, is called the three kinds of Sâhasa ; there the thorny weeds (sinners) should be extirpated.

* 7. In both kinds (of insult) five cases are distinguished, when the respective innocence or guilt of the two parties has to be established.

* 8. When two parties have been guilty of insult, and both have commenced to quarrel at the same time, they shall suffer the same punishment, in case that no difference (in their respective culpability) becomes apparent.

* 9. He who is the first to offer an insult is decidedly criminal ; he who returns the insult is likewise culpable ; but the one who began shall suffer the heavier punishment (of the two).

6. The above translation of this paragraph follows the reading of the MSS. If that reading be correct, this paragraph contains a rule relating to the subject of theft or Sâhasa. The quotations have a different reading, under which this paragraph has to be closely connected with the preceding one, and has to be referred equally to the three degrees of assault.

7. The Nepalese MS. and the commentaries insert the following paragraph here : * ‘When an insult has occurred between two men engaged in a violent quarrel, he who suffers the insult patiently is struck, but the offender is punishable.’

8-10. The one who has first commenced a quarrel shall receive the heavier punishment of the two. That man is liable to punishment who persists in hostility. When it is impossible to ascertain any

*10. When both parties are implicated equally, he of the two shall receive punishment who follows up his attack, whether he was (originally) the aggressor or the defendant.

*11. If a Svapâka, Meda, *Kandâla*, cripple, one who gains his substance by killing (animals), an elephant-driver, one deprived of his caste for non-performance of the ceremony of initiation, a slave, or one who treats a Guru or spiritual teacher with disregard,

*12. Should offend a superior, he shall be punished by whipping him on the spot. Nor do the sages regard bodily injury done to a man of this stamp as (an offence equal to) theft.

*13. Should any such low person, abhorred by men, insult another man (his superior), that man himself shall punish him. The king has nothing to do with the penalty (to be inflicted on him).

*14. For these people are the refuse of human society, and their property is (likewise) impure. The king also is at liberty to whip them, but he must not amerce them with a fine.

15. A Kshatriya who reviles a Brahman must

difference in the culpability of the two parties, their punishment shall be equal. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 472. Read *pûrvam*.

11. Svapâka, literally 'dog-cooking,' is the name of a particular degraded tribe, whose only office is to act as public executioners. Meda is the name of another mixed caste. *Kandâlas* are the lowest caste of all, see XII, 113. The Nepalese MS. and the commentaries read *shandha*, 'a eunuch,' instead of Meda.

12-14. When a Svapâka or the like should have insulted an *Ârya* or member of the three higher castes, honourable men shall be entitled to punish them in person. When the (honourable men) are unable to do so, the king shall punish them; but he must not confiscate their property. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 472.

15-17. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 267-269.

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pay one hundred (Panas) as a fine. A Vaisya (must pay) one and a half hundred, or two hundred. A Sûdra deserves corporal punishment.

16. A Brahman shall be fined fifty (Panas) for calumniating a Kshatriya; in the case of a Vaisya, the fine shall be half of fifty (i. e. twenty-five); in the case of a Sûdra, (it shall amount to) twelve (Panas).

17. When a twice-born man offends against a member of his own caste, (he shall pay) twelve (Panas as a fine). When he utters calumnies which ought never to be uttered, the fine shall be twice as high.

18. Even he who in accordance with fact (contemptuously) calls another man one-eyed, lame, or the like (names), shall be fined by the king not less than one Kârshâpaa.

19. One must not tax with his offence a man who has done penance according to law, or who has received due punishment from the king. By transgressing this rule one becomes liable to punishment.

20. Two persons, a Brahman and a king, are declared to be exempt from censure and corporal punishment in this world; for these two sustain the visible world.

* 21. One who calls an outcast an outcast, or a thief a thief, is equally criminal with those whom he taxes (with their offence). (If he reproaches them) without reason, he is twice as guilty as they are.

17. According to the commentators of Manu, the term 'calumnies which ought never to be uttered' has to be referred to insinuations against the honour of a man's mother, sisters, or other female relatives. See Professor Bühler's note on Manu VIII, 269.

18. Manu VIII, 274; Yâgyavalkya II, 204.

22. A once-born man (or Sûdra), who insults members of a twice-born caste with gross invectives, shall have his tongue cut out ; for he is of low origin.

23. If he refers to their name or caste in terms indicating contempt, an iron rod, ten Aṅgulas long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth.

24. If he is insolent enough to give lessons regarding their duty to Brahmans, the king shall order hot oil to be poured into his mouth and ears.

*25. With whatever limb a man of low caste offends against a Brahman, that very limb of his shall be cut off ; such shall be the atonement for his crime.

26. A low-born man, who tries to place himself on the same seat with his superior in caste, shall be branded on his hip and banished, or (the king) shall cause his backside to be gashed.

27. If through arrogance he spits (on a superior), the king shall cause both his lips to be cut off ; if he makes water (on him), the penis ; if he breaks wind (against him), the buttocks.

28. If he pulls (a superior) by the hair, (the king) shall unhesitatingly cause his hands to be cut off, likewise (if he seizes him) by the feet, beard, neck, or scrotum.

29. If a man breaks the skin (of his equal) or

22. 'He is of low origin,' because the Sûdra caste has been produced from Brahman's feet. Identical with Manu VIII, 270.

23. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 271.

24. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 272.

25. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 279.

26, 27. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 281, 282. In paragraph 27 the Nepalese MS. has 'the nose' instead of 'the beard.'

28. Identical with Manu VIII, 283.

29. According to the majority of the commentators of Manu,

fetches blood (from him), he shall be fined a hundred (*Panas*); if he cuts the flesh, six *Nishkas*; if he breaks a bone, he shall be banished.

* 30. If a man censures a king devoted to the discharge of his duties, he shall have his tongue cut out or his entire property confiscated, as an atonement for such crime.

* 31. When an evil-minded man assails a wicked king even, he shall be (fastened) on a stake and burnt in fire; (for he is) more criminal than one who has committed a hundred times the crime of killing a Brahman.

* 32. A father is not liable to be punished for an offence committed by his son; nor is the owner of a horse, dog, or monkey (responsible for any damage caused by one of these animals), unless he should have set them to do it.

SEVENTEENTH TITLE OF LAW.

GAMES.

* 1. Dishonest gambling with dice, small slices of leather, little staves of ivory, or other (games), and betting on birds, form (the subject of) a title of law called (Gambling with Dice and Betting on Animals).

* 2. The master of the gaming-house shall arrange

this rule has reference to an equal in caste. Nearly identical with *Manu* VIII, 284.

XVII, i. The translation is according to the *Vîramitrodaya*. The subject of bets on animals is treated at great length in the *Dhammathats* of Burma, which are based on the law-codes of India. 'Other games,' such as e.g. *Katuraṅga* (*Shatranj*, the Indian chess). 'Birds,' such as pigeons, also bets on professional wrestlers, rams, &c. *Vîramitrodaya*, p. 718. *Manu* IX, 223.

2. 'He shall pay the stakes which have been won,' i.e. to the

the game and pay the stakes which have been won ; the profit of such a conductor of games shall amount to ten per cent.

3. When the dice on being thrown fall twice in a game at dice, those acquainted with (playing at) dice allot the victory to the adversary and the defeat to the gambler.

4. When a dispute has arisen among gamblers, let (other) gamblers be appealed to ; they shall act both as judges and as witnesses in a dispute of this sort.

5. No gambler shall ever enter into another gaming-house before having paid his debt ; he must not disobey the master of the gaming-house, and must pay of his own accord what he owes to him.

*6. Wicked men who play with false dice shall be driven out of the gaming-house, after a wreath of dice has been hung round their necks ; for that is the punishment ordained for them.

7. If a man gambles with dice, without authorization from the king, he shall not get his stake, and shall have to pay a fine.

*8. Or let the gamblers pay to the king the share

winning party. That portion which has to be paid to the king (see paragraph 8) may also be held to be included in this rule, as *Bṛhaspati* says : ' Let the master of the gaming-house collect the stakes and pay his due to the winning party and to the king.' *Āpastamba* II, 10, 25, 12, 13 ; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 199, 200.

3. The rendering of the first portion of this paragraph is conjectural. It might also be translated as follows : ' When the dice on being thrown fall twice repeated,' i. e. when the number is twice as high as at the preceding throw.

4. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 202.

6. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 202.

7, 8. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 201, 203. Paragraphs 7 and 8 are omitted in the Nepalese MS.

due to him and play in public, thus no wrong will be committed.

EIGHTEENTH TITLE OF LAW.

MISCELLANEOUS.

* 1. Under the head of Miscellaneous (Disputes) are comprised lawsuits depending on the king, (such as) transgression of the king's commandments and obedience towards his injunctions,

* 2. Grants of towns, the division of the constituent elements of a state, the duties and the reverse of heretics, followers of the Veda, corporations (of merchants), and assemblages (of kinsmen).

* 3. Disputes between father and son, neglect of (prescribed) penances, abstraction of gifts (made to worthy persons), the wrath of anchorites,

* 4. Sinful confusion of castes, the rules regarding their means of subsistence, and (in short) whatever

XVIII, 1-4. The meagre contents of this title of law can hardly be said to be in keeping with the somewhat pompous announcement contained in paragraphs 1-4. On the whole, this title of Miscellanies, as defined by Nârada and Brîhaspati, may be described as treating of public law or the law of kings (*râgadharma*), private law being treated in the seventeen other titles of law.

1. 'Obedience towards his injunctions,' thus according to the *Mitâksharâ*, p. 351. The *Vîramitrodaya* refers the term *tatkarmakaramam* to those who, from arrogance, do such acts as are permitted to a king only, such as e. g. placing themselves on the king's throne.

2. 'Grants of towns,' i.e. to Brahmins and others. Nârada seems to be referring to the so-called *Agrahâras*. Regarding the seven constituent parts of a state, see *Manu* VII, 157; IX, 294. Naigama has been translated 'followers of the Veda,' because it comes immediately after *pâshanî*, 'heretics.' See, too, X, 1. It usually denotes citizens or traders.

has been omitted in the preceding (titles of law), are treated under the head of Miscellaneous.

5. The king shall be careful to protect all orders and the constituent elements of his state with the four means indicated by science.

6. When any caste should remain (behind the rest) or exceed the limits (assigned to it, the king), seeing that it has strayed from its path, shall bring it back to the path (of duty).

7. So also, when other wicked acts, opposed to the dictates of the sacred law, have been committed, the king, after having reflected (upon the matter) himself, shall inflict punishment on those who deserve it.

8. What is opposed to revealed and traditional law, or injurious to living beings, must not be practised by the king; and when it is practised (by others), he must check it.

*9. When an act contrary to justice has been undertaken by a former king from folly, he must redress that iniquitous enactment in accordance with the principles of equity.

*10. The weapons of soldiers, the tools of artisans, the ornaments of public women, the various musical or other instruments of professional (musicians, or other artists, &c.),

*11. And any implements by which artificers gain

5. 'The four means' of conciliation, division, bribery, and force. Manu VIII, 41.

6. Yâgñavalkya I, 360. The Nepalese MS. offers a variation as regards the arrangement of paragraphs 6-11.

7. Manu VII, 16; VIII, 126; Yâgñavalkya I, 367; Vasishtha XIX, 8; Vishnu III, 37.

10. For 'the tools of artisans' the Nepalese MS., in common with the Mitâksharâ, has 'the beasts of burden and the like of carriers of goods.'

their substance, must not be laid hold on by the king, even when he confiscates the entire property (of a man or woman).

12. It is not permitted to either advise or rebuke a king or Brahman, on account of their dignity and sanctity, unless they should swerve from the path (of duty).

13. That wicked man who does not act up to the laws proclaimed by the king, shall be fined and corporally punished, as offending against the king's commandments.

14. If the king were remiss in dictating punishments to (members of) any caste, when they have left the path (of duty), the created beings of this world would perish.

15. Brahmins would leave the sacerdotal caste, and Kshatriyas would forsake the Kshatriya caste. The stronger would eat up the weaker, like fish on a spit.

16. The Vaisyas would abandon their work, and the Sûdras eclipse all (the rest), if the kings did not visit their subjects with punishment (when they have committed an offence).

17. To show favour to the virtuous at all times and to oppress the wicked, that is declared to be the duty of kings; gain (results to them) from the oppression of their foes.

18. As fire is not polluted even though it always burns the creatures of this world, even so a king is not polluted by inflicting punishment on those who deserve it.

19. Intelligence is the glory of rulers; it becomes

14, 15. Manu VII, 20.

16. Manu VII, 21, 24.

19. For 'intelligence' the Nepalese MS. has 'a royal edict.'

manifest in their speeches ; whatever sentence they may pass, whether unjust or just, settles the law between litigant parties.

20. (Law) personified as a king, roams on earth visibly, with a thousand eyes. Mortals cannot live at all if they transgress his commandments.

21. Whatever a king does is right, that is a settled rule ; because the protection of the world is entrusted to him, and on account of his majesty and benignity towards living creatures.

22. As a husband though feeble must be constantly worshipped by his wives, in the same way a ruler though worthless must be (constantly) worshipped by his subjects.

23. In order that mortals, fearing the orders issued by kings, might not swerve from the path of duty, therefore royal orders are declared to arise from lawsuits.

24. It is for the establishment of order that various laws (*karitra*) have been proclaimed by kings. A royal order is declared to overrule such laws even.

25. A ruler has purchased his subjects through (the practice of) austerities ; therefore the king is their lord. For that reason, his bidding must be obeyed ; their livelihood even depends on the king.

26. Kings, endowed with immense power, appear (variously) in the five different forms of Agni, Indra, Soma, Yama, and the God of Riches.

24. *Karitra* seems to mean 'law' or 'custom' in this place. Regarding the comparative authority of *karitra* and *râgasâsana*, 'a royal order,' see p. 7, note. The Nepalese MS. omits 23, 24.

26. Read *rûpâni* in the text.

27. When a ruler is, either justly or without (sufficient) reason, ardent in wrath and burns (or torments) his subjects, he is called Agni (the god of fire).

28. When, relying on his regal power, the king attacks his foes, desirous of victory and upraising a weapon, he is termed Indra.

29. When, free from ardent wrath, he appears before his subjects with a cheerful countenance, he is denoted Soma (the Moon).

30. When the king having seated himself, full of majesty, on the throne of judgment, deals out punishment, equitable towards all creatures, he is called Vaivasvata (or Yama).

31. When a ruler gladdens with gifts petitioners, persons commanding respect, wise men, servants and others, he is called the God of Riches.

32. Therefore one must not treat him with contempt, and, particularly, not scold at him, and pay obedience to his bidding; to disobey him would bring on (instantaneous) death.

33. His duties are, the protection of his subjects, honouring the aged and wise, the trial of lawsuits, and to make (each caste) abide by the duties assigned to it.

34. Let a king be constantly intent on showing honour to the Brahmans. A field furnished with Brahmans is the root of the prosperity of the world.

35. A Brahman may command respect, and a

27. Manu IX, 310.

28. Manu IX, 304.

29. Manu IX, 309.

30. Manu IX, 307.

33. Manu VII, 35, 38; VIII, 3, &c.

34. Manu VII, 82, 83; Yâgyavalkya I, 314.

35. Manu VII, 37.

distinguished seat at the king's court. The king shall show his face in the morning before the Brahman first of all, and shall salute them all.

36. When nine or seven persons (of different rank) meet, they shall first make room for the Brahman to pass by. (Further privileges assigned to the Brahman caste are) free access to the houses of other people, for the purpose of begging alms,

37. The right to collect fuel, flowers, water, and the like, without its being regarded as theft, and to converse with other men's wives, without being restrained (in such intercourse) by others,

38. And the right to cross rivers without paying any fare, and to be conveyed (to the other bank) before other people. When engaged in trading and using a ferry-boat, they shall have to pay no toll.

36. That privilege of the Brahman caste, which is referred to in the first part of this paragraph, finds its explanation in a well-known rule of the Dharmaśāstra regarding persons for whom way must be made, on meeting them in a road. Thus it is ruled by Gautama (VI, 24) that way must be made for a man seated in a carriage, for one who is in his tenth (decade), for one requiring consideration, for a woman, for a Snātaka, and for a king; but that a king himself must make way for a Srottriya (learned Brahman). This makes in all seven persons for whom way should be made. Manu (II, 138), Yāgñavalkya (I, 117), Baudhāyana (II, 6, 30), and Vishṇu (LXIII, 51) agree in enumerating eight persons of this sort. Vasishṭha (XIV, 57-60) mentions nine. See, too, Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 5-7.

37. Manu VIII, 339; Âpastamba I, 10, 28, 3; Gautama XII, 28; Yāgñavalkya II, 166.

38. Manu VIII, 407; Vishṇu V, 132. The last clause is thus given in the Nepalese MS.: 'They shall have to pay no toll on being carried across a river in a ferry, unless (they should cross it) for trading purposes.'

39. A Brahman engaged in travelling, who is tired and has nothing to eat, commits no wrong by taking himself two canes of sugar or two esculent roots.

40. (No gift must be accepted) from one accused of a crime, an outcast, an enemy, an atheist, one in distress, without necessity, or after inflicting pain on the giver.

41. (Gifts shall be accepted) from industrious people on account of their wealth, and from generous people because it is proper to accept gifts from such; to accept gifts from kings is laudable; (they may be accepted) from all people excepting Brahmans.

42. Between a Brahman and a king, who are both devoted to their duty, there is no difference of any sort, when they protect mankind (acting) in accordance with the sacred law.

43. If a ruler, though severe, is mindful of his duty, correct in his conduct, and (quick to) punish the wicked, in order to protect (the virtuous), his wealth is declared to be pure.

44. When a man accepts a gift from a covetous king, who transgresses the precepts of the sacred books, he shall have to pass through the well-known twenty-one hells in succession.

45. As pure and impure waters become alike on their junction in the ocean, even so (all) property acquired by a king (becomes pure in his hands).

39. Gautama XII, 49, 50; Manu VIII, 341. Or 'five esculent roots,' according to the Nepalese MS.

40. Manu II, 185.

44. For a list of the twenty-one hells, see Manu IV, 88-90; Vishnu XLIII, 1-22. The Nepalese MS. omits this paragraph.

45. A different opinion has been enounced above, XV, 14.

46. As gold, on being thrown into blazing fire, acquires purity, even so all gains become pure in the hands of kings.

47. When any man gives any property of his to Brahmans, the king must give his consent to it; this is an eternal law.

48. Both the other customary receipts of a king and what is called the sixth of the produce of the soil, form the royal revenue, the reward (of a king) for the protection of his subjects.

49. Whatever has been bestowed on others than Brahmans may be resumed; but that which has been given to Brahmans can never be taken back again.

50. To give, to read, and to sacrifice (on his own account) are the three duties of a Brahman. To sacrifice for others, to teach, and, thirdly, to collect alms are his (three) means of subsistence.

51. Let a Brahman be devoted to his duty and take a livelihood from the king, and let him not accept gifts from persons of vile origin, if he is anxious to observe the law.

52. How should a king be inferior to a deity, as it is through his word that an offender may become innocent, and an innocent man an offender in due course?

53. Those who being acquainted with the divine nature of a king, endowed with majestic dignity as he is, accept gifts from him, do not in the least disgrace themselves (by doing so).

54. In this world, there are eight sacred objects :

48. Manu VII, 130-132 ; Gautama X, 24-27 ; Vasishtha XIX, 26, 27 ; Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 9 ; Vishnu III, 22-25 ; Baudhâyana I, 10, 18, 1.

50. Manu I, 88, &c.

a Brahman, a cow, fire, gold, clarified butter, the sun, the waters, and a king as the eighth.

55. These one must always look up to, worship and honour them personally, and turn the right side towards them, in order that one's existence may be prolonged.

APPENDIX.

THEFT¹.

1. Two kinds of robbers who steal the goods of others have to be distinguished, the one kind open, and the other kind concealed. Let a prudent king try to find them out.

*2. Open rogues are those who forge measures and weights, receivers of bribes, robbers, gamblers, public prostitutes,

*3. Those who walk in disguise, those who live by teaching the performance of auspicious ceremonies, these and such like persons are considered open rogues.

*4. Rogues acting in secret are those who roam in the wood, or lie concealed, as well as those who make a profession of stealing. They attack and rob (those who do not beware of them).

5. Those who infest a country, a village, or a house, or disturb a sacrificial act, cut-purses, and

¹ This section is found in the Nepalese MS. only. See Introduction. The reading of several passages is uncertain, and this circumstance, taken together with the want of a Commentary, renders my translation less reliable than could be desired.

Appendix. Theft. 1-4. Manu IX, 256-260. The technical terms have been translated in accordance with the glosses of Manu's commentators, as given in the notes to Professor Bühler's translation. In par. 4, *mushyām* seems to stand for *mushyām*.

other persons of this sort have to be considered as concealed rogues also.

*6. Blameless persons with whom the stolen goods are not found must not be chastised as robbers by the king; but let him quickly punish those robbers as guilty of theft with whom the stolen goods have been found.

*7. Those (rogues) who ravage in their own country, and those who disturb sacrificial acts, he shall strip of their entire wealth and rebuke them severely.

*8. Those on whom the stolen goods have not been seized he must examine, when they have been arrested from suspicion. Their fear having been excited, they will give evidence, through anxiety, in accordance with the facts of the case.

*9. Questions shall be proposed to them antithetically with regard to place, time, region, their caste, their name, their dwelling, and their occupation, in case they happen to be workmen.

*10. When the face changes colour or the voice falters, or the features look suspicious, when they do not give evidence in public, when they make impossible statements as to place and time, when there exists a doubt as to their place of residence,

*11. When they indulge in expense for bad purposes, when they have been previously convicted of larceny, when they keep bad company, or when documents speak against them, (by all such circum-

9. 'Antithetically' (vinigrahe), or 'when they have been arrested.'

10, 11. A somewhat analogous description of the signs by which a false witness may be found out, has been given previously: I, 193-196.

stances) they may be discovered (to be thieves), not by the possession of the stolen goods alone.

*12. When a ruffian or robber becomes suspected, and (the judge) has found out circumstantial evidence (which speaks against him), he shall be caused to make an oath.

*13. Those who give food to thieves, as well as those who supply them with fire or water, or who give shelter, or show the way to them, or make their defence,

*14. Or who buy their goods, or receive (their goods), are held to be equally punishable as they, and so are those who conceal them.

15. Those who in a principality are the governors of that principality, and the neighbours called in (to watch over the safety of life and property) are (reckoned as) equal to thieves, when they stand neutral during the attack (of robbers).

*16. He on whose ground a robbery has been committed, must trace the thieves to the best of his power, or else he must make good what has been stolen, unless the footmarks can be traced from that ground (into another man's ground).

*17. When the footmarks, after leaving that ground, are lost and cannot be traced any further, the neighbours, inspectors of the road, and governors of that region shall be made responsible for the loss.

12. The term *lesa* has been rendered by 'circumstantial evidence,' because it seems to be synonymous with *yuktilesa*, I, 236.

13, 14. *Manu* IX, 271, 278.

15. Nearly identical with *Manu* IX, 272.

16. The term *goḥara*, translated 'ground,' may denote the landed property or pasture ground of a whole village. See above, XIV, 22, 23.

17. See XIV, 24.

18. When a house has been plundered, the king shall cause the thief-catchers, the guards, and the inhabitants of that kingdom to make good the loss, when the thief is not caught.

19. Or, if he is a wicked man and there exists a doubt as to (whether) the robbery (was actually committed or not), the person (alleged to have been) robbed shall be caused to make an oath regarding the robbery, to clear himself (from suspicion).

20. When another person than the thief has been accused of robbery and has been declared thief, because he is unable to prove his innocence, he shall be paid twice as much (as has been stolen), after the (real) thief has been detected.

21. When a man has obtained property stolen by a thief, he must restore it in its pristine shape ; if it be no longer in existence, he must make good its value, and must be made to pay a fine to the same amount.

*22. For stealing wood, cane, grass and the like, (utensils) made of clay, bamboo, utensils made of bamboo, rattan, bone, leather,

*23. Vegetables, green roots, grass or flowers, cow-milk, molasses, salt, or oil,

*24. Cooked food (and other) prepared food, spirituous liquor, flesh, and every sort of objects of small value—(for stealing any of these) a fine five times the value (of the article stolen should be paid).

*25. (For stealing) any articles sold by weight or measure or tale, the fine shall be eight times their amount, in case they are very valuable.

19. The senseless reading of the MS., *dâpyaka teshâm*, has been conjecturally altered into *doshakartaisha*.

22-24. *Manu VIII, 326-329.*

25. *Manu VIII, 321.*

26. Corporal punishment (or death) shall be inflicted on him who steals more than ten Kumbhas of grain; where the amount is less, he shall be made to pay eleven times as much. Thus Manu has declared.

*27. (For stealing) more than a hundred (Palas' worth) of gold, silver, or other (precious metals), or the finest clothes, or very precious gems, corporal punishment (or death shall be inflicted).

28. He who steals a man shall have to pay the highest fine; he who steals a woman (shall be stripped) of his entire wealth; and he who steals a maiden (shall suffer) corporal punishment.

*29. On him who forcibly seizes large domestic animals, the highest fine shall be inflicted; the middlemost amercement on him who takes cattle of middle size; and the smallest fine on him who steals small cattle.

30. The first (or lowest) fine to be inflicted on a guilty person shall amount to neither more nor less than twenty-four (Panas). The middlemost fine shall consist of not more than four hundred, and not less than two hundred (Panas).

31. The highest fine should be known to consist of not more than a thousand, and not less than five hundred (Panas). This is the threefold gradation of punishment, which has been proposed by the Self-Existent for robberies.

26. Manu VIII, 320.

27, 28. Manu VIII, 321, 323.

29. Manu VIII, 325.

30, 31. The reading of these two paragraphs is quite uncertain. The rules laid down here apparently differ considerably from the analogous rules of Manu (VIII, 158) and other legislators.

*32. (When the offence has been committed) for the first time, cut-purses shall have their (little) finger and thumb cut off. (When it has been committed) for the second time, the first fine shall be levied on them.

*33. For (stealing) cows belonging to a Brahman, for piercing (the nostrils of) a barren cow, and for stealing a female slave, (the thief) shall in every case lose half his feet.

34. With whatever limb a thief acts among men, that very (limb) shall be taken from him, this is a law enacted by Manu.

35. Let him inflict a specially heavy punishment on a specially criminal thief, or (a lighter one) on one whose offence is less heavy. But let him not (punish an habitual thief) in the same way as for the first offence.

36. Manu, the son of the Self-Existent, has declared ten places of punishment, which should be (selected) in (punishing members of the) three (lower) castes ; a Brahman should remain uninjured always.

37. (Those places are) the privy parts, the belly, the tongue, the two hands, and, fifthly, the two feet ; as well as the eye, the nose, the two ears, the property, and the body.

32. Manu IX, 277.

33. The parallel passage of Manu (VIII, 325) shows that *sthû-râyâs khedanam* is the correct reading. For the three different explanations of this term, which have been proposed by the commentators of Manu, see the note to Professor Bühler's translation. The translation follows the interpretation proposed by Kullûka, Govindarâga, and Râghavânanda, which appears to be preferable to the others.

34. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 334.

36, 37. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 124, 125.

38. After carefully considering the (nature of the) offence, the place and time, and after examining the ability (of the offender), and the motive (by which he was actuated), he shall inflict these punishments.

39. Neither for the purpose of gaining a friend (in him), nor for the acquisition of large wealth, must a wicked criminal be suffered to go free by the king. Thus Manu has declared.

40. By pardoning an offender, a king commits the same offence as by punishing an innocent man. Religious merit accrues to him from punishing (the wicked).

41. Let him not on any account kill a Brahman, though convicted of all possible crimes. He may at pleasure cause him to be banished, thus has the law been settled.

42. Let the king take his entire wealth from him or leave him a fourth part of it (only he must not take his life), remembering the law promulgated by the Creator. This is just.

43. For four offences of a Brahman, branding him is ordained (as punishment): for violating the bed of a Guru, for drinking spirituous liquor, for theft, and for hurting another Brahman.

*44. For violating the bed of a Guru, (the brand of) a female part should be made; for drinking

38. Manu VIII, 126.

39. Manu VIII, 347.

40. Nearly identical with Manu IX, 249.

41. Manu VIII, 380.

42. The third Pâda of this paragraph has been conjecturally altered, as it cannot be made out in the MS.

43. Manu IX, 236.

44, 45. Manu IX, 237. The last Pâda in paragraph 44 cannot be made out in the MS.

spirituous liquor, (the brand of) a liquor sign is ordained; for theft, he shall make (the brand of) a dog's foot (on his forehead).

45. The slayer of a Brahman shall have (the brand of) a headless man stamped on his forehead, and it is forbidden to speak to him. This is a law enacted by Manu.

46. A thief must approach the king with flying hair, running, and proclaiming his theft (with the words): 'Thus have I acted. Chastise me.'

47. By so doing he is cleared from guilt, because he has confessed his deed; the king, thereupon, shall touch him (with a club), or dismiss him, if he is innocent.

48. Those men who have received a punishment from the king for an offence committed by them, proceed to heaven, free from sin, as (if they were) virtuous men who had acted well.

49. Whether he be punished or released, the thief is freed from his crime; if, however, the king does not punish him, the crime committed by the thief falls on (the king) himself.

50. Self-possessed men are corrected by their Guru; wicked men are corrected (or punished) by the king; but those who have sinned in secret are corrected by Yama, the son of Vivasvat.

51. The crime of a Sûdra in theft is eightfold (that of a man of the lowest caste); of a Vaisya, sixteenfold; and of a Kshatriya, thirty-twofold.

46. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 314.

48. Identical with Manu VIII, 318.

49. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 316.

51. Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 337.

52. Of a Brahman, sixty-fourfold; thus the son of the Self-Existent has declared. Knowledge makes a difference also. For knowing persons, (the punishment) is specially severe.

*53. Punishment is pronounced to be twofold: corporal punishment and fines. Corporal punishment is again declared to be of ten sorts; fines are (also) of more than one kind.

*54. Fines begin with a *Kākaṇī*, and the highest amount of a fine is one's entire property. Corporal punishment begins with confinement and ends with capital punishment.

*55. 'Fines beginning with a *Kākaṇī*' are declared to amount to no less than one *Māsha*. Those are called 'fines amounting to no less than a *Māsha*' which amount to one *Kārshāpana* at most.

*56. 'Fines beginning with no less than a *Kārshāpana*' are those amounting to no less than four *Kārshāpanas*; or which begin with two, and end with eight (*Kārshāpanas*); or which begin with three, and end with twelve (*Kārshāpanas*).

*57. A *Kārshāpana* is a silver coin in the southern country; in the east, it is an equivalent for (a certain number of) *Panas*, and is equal to twenty *Panas*.

52. Manu VIII, 338.

53. Manu VIII, 129. See too, above, paragraphs 36, 37.

54. *Kākaṇī* or *Kākinī* is the name of a small coin. See par. 58.

53-56. This passage is quoted in the *Smṛitīkandrikā*, with several different readings. One of them, in par. 55, deserves special notice. For *māshāvaraḥ smataḥ* (read *smṛitaḥ*), the *Smṛitīk.* reads *māshaparaḥ smṛitaḥ*, 'are declared to amount to no more than one *Māsha*.' This is probably the correct reading.

57. According to Manu (VIII, 136), the *Kārshāpana* is a copper coin. The reading of the second half of this paragraph is quite uncertain.

* 58. A Mâsha should be known to be the twentieth part of a Kârshâpana. A Kâkanî is the fourth part of a Mâsha or Pala.

59. By that appellation which is in general use in the region of the Punjaub, the value of a Kârshâpana is not circumscribed here.

* 60. A Kârshâpana has to be taken as equal to an *Anāikā*; four of these are a Dhânaka; twelve of the latter are a Suvarṇa, which is called Dînâra otherwise.

61. Let the king practise the duties of his office, and (follow) the rule of inflicting punishment, faithful to the tenets (of the sacred law). Let him destroy accordingly, as governor, the evil-doers, after having traced them by the application of cunning stratagems and arrested them.

59. The term *iha*, 'here,' may be either referred to the place of residence of the author of the *Nârada-smṛiti*, or it may mean 'in this work.'

60. An *Anāikā* is elsewhere reckoned at four Yavas. In the *Vîramitrodaya* and other works, this text is attributed to *Brîhaspati*. The coin called Dînâra is the Roman denarius.

QUOTATIONS FROM NÂRADA.

I. JUDICIAL PROCEDURE.

1, 2. He is called a (Prâḍvivâka or) chief judge who—fully acquainted with the eighteen titles (of law) and with the eight thousand subdivisions thereof, skilled in logic and other branches of science, and thoroughly versed in revealed and traditional lore—investigates the law relative to the case in hand by putting questions (prât) and passing a decision (vivekayati) according to what was heard or understood by him.

3. Let not a king actuated by arrogance or avarice promote litigation among persons not engaged in a controversy.

4. The king shall examine judicial quarrels between two litigant parties in a proper way, acting on principles of equity and discarding both love and hatred.

5. (In disputes) among merchants, artisans, or the like persons, and in (disputes concerning) persons subsisting by agriculture or as dyers, it is impossible for outsiders to pass a sentence; and the passing of

I, 1, 2. Smṛitiḥ. aśvâdarapadâbhiḡñas tadbhedâśvâsahasravat |
ânvikshikyâdikusalaḥ śrutismṛitiparâyanaḥ || vivâdasamsṛitam dhar-
mam prikkhati prât śrutam matam | vivekayati yas tasmât prâḍvivâkas
tu sa smṛitaḥ ||

3. Vîram. p. 48.

4. Vy. K. râgâ dharmaśahâyas tu dvayor vivadamânayoḥ sam-
yak kâryâny aveksheta râgadveshavivargitaḥ ||

5. Vy. K.; May. p. 6 ('Vyâsa').

the sentence must, therefore, be entrusted to persons acquainted with such matters (in a cause of this sort).

6. A lawsuit cannot be instituted mutually between a teacher and his pupil, or between father and son, or man and wife, or master and servant.

7. A plaint is declared (inadmissible) likewise by the learned in law, when it has been raised by one against many, or by women, or by menials.

8. He shall be admitted as plaintiff whose grievance is the greater, or whose affair is the more important of the two, and not he who was the first to go to law.

9. Half of the (ordinary) punishment is declared for him who either confesses his deed, after having committed an illicit act of violence, or says of his own accord, 'It is true.'

10. When (an assessor of the court) has recognised the royal mind to swerve from the path of duty, he must not pronounce an opinion which is agreeable to the king. (It is only by declaring what is just that) he becomes free from sin.

11. Transgression of (the king's) commands, killing a female, mixture of castes, illicit intercourse with another man's wife, robbery, pregnancy caused by another man than the husband,

6. Vy. K.; Vîram. p. 46 ('Brîhaspati').

7. Vy. K.; Vîram. p. 47.

8. Vîram. p. 60.

9. Smṛitiḥ ayuktam sāhasam kṛtvâ pratyâpattim vraget tu yaḥ |
brūyât svayam vâ sad iti tasya kârthadamaḥ smṛitaḥ ||

10. Vîram. p. 15. 'He must not pronounce an opinion which is agreeable to the king,' i. e. he must not endeavour to please him by what he declares, but must deliver an equitable opinion. By acting thus, he becomes free from sin. Vîram.

11, 12. Vîram. p. 50.

12. Abuse, insulting language, assault, and procuring abortion, are the ten (principal) crimes.

13. He who arrests (his adversary) by illegal means, such as by stopping his speech (through gagging the mouth), or by preventing him from breathing, and the like practices, is liable to punishment; but one who breaks (such arrest) is not (punishable). -

14. When a lawsuit has been judged without any previous examination of witnesses (or other evidence), or when it has been decided in an improper manner, or when it has been judged by unauthorized persons, the trial has to be renewed.

15. Whatever property, whether movable or immovable, has been kept (under the care of the judge, after having become the subject of a dispute), must be handed over afterwards to the victorious party together with the interest (accruing on it) and with a document (attesting his victory).

II. THE PLAINT.

1. The defects of a plaint have been declared as follows. (It is defective, if it) relates to the property of a stranger; if it is without an object; if it does not state any quantity; if the mode of acquisition is not referred to in it; if too little or too much is written in it; and if it is unmeaning.

13. May. p. 2. See above, pp. 12-19. This text shows very clearly what is meant by the technical term 'arrest' (âsedha).

14. Vy. *K. asâkshikam tu yad drish'am vimârgena ka tîritam | asammata matair drish'am punardarsanam arhati ||*

15. *Smṛitīk. madhye yat sthâpitam dravyam kalam vâ yadi vâ sthiram | paskât tat sodayam dâpyam gayine pattrasamyutam ||*

II, 1-8. Vîram. pp. 65, 66.

2. That plaint is declared by the wise to 'relate to the property of a stranger' in which joint property is referred to in a claim raised by one man alone who has no right to it, or without authorization from the other joint proprietors.

3. A plaint is said to be 'without an object' when a man, actuated by hatred or anger, taxes another with the murder of a Brahman (or some other deadly sin) and revokes his own charge afterwards on being required to prove it.

4. That plaint 'does not state any quantity' in which no figure is given with regard to a certain quantity, writing, measure, field, house, or other (object).

5. That plaint 'contains no reference to the mode of acquisition' which does not say whether (the property in dispute) has been acquired by learning, or gained as profit (or interest), or purchased, or obtained by inheritance.

6. 'Too little' is said to be written in that plaint in which the year, month, fortnight, lunar day, and day of the week is not referred to.

7. 'Too much' may be said to be written in that plaint in which (the plaintiff) after having caused the plaint to be written goes on to mention the witnesses at once, without waiting for the answer (of the defendant) to be delivered.

8. That plaint is declared to be 'unmeaning'

2. That plaint is meant in which a stranger or one not authorized by his partners claims the property of a fellowship. *Vîram.*

3. That plaint is said to be without an object which is dropped afterwards by the claimant himself. *Vîram.*

7. 'Witnesses,' or evidence generally. *Vîram.*

8. There is another reading, *ubhayaṃ pûrvam*, under which the

which is rendered unclear by the mode of writing (exhibited in it), though the claimant's previous statements be (duly) entered in it.

9. Let him avoid, as a mere semblance of a declaration, (a plaint the tenour of) which is unnatural, not connected with an injury, senseless, purposeless, incapable of being proved, or at variance (with possibility, or with justice).

10. That suit which is prohibited by the king, or opposed to the interests of the citizens, or of the whole kingdom, or of the constituent elements of the state,

11. As well as (those suits) which are opposed to the interests of a town or village, or of eminent persons: all such suits are declared to be inadmissible.

12. A plaint in which several different subjects are mixed up together can have no effect.

claimant is stated to have proffered both the accusation and the answer. *Vīram*.

9. *Vy. K.*; *M. Macn. I, 4, 10* (uncertain). 'Unnatural,' such as e.g. That person has taken my rabbit's horn and refuses to restore it. 'Not connected with an injury,' as, That man is doing his business in his own house by the light of a lamp which is burning in mine. 'Senseless' (a number of syllables strung together), without any intelligible meaning, as, e.g. *kaṭaṭapam* or *gaḍaḍagavam*. 'Purposeless,' as, This man, *Dedavatta*, is warbling a melodious song before my house. 'Incapable of being proved,' as, *Devadatta* mocks me by a frown. Such an assertion as this is incapable of being proved, because it does not admit of proof. Owing to the transient nature of the act, witnesses are not available, much less can documentary evidence be resorted to; nor would it be proper to perform an ordeal, on account of the trifling nature of the charge. 'At variance' (with possibility), as, A dumb man has cursed me. Or, 'at variance' with the interests of a town or kingdom, *M*.

10, 11. *Vy. K.*; *M. Macn. I, 4, 11* and *May. p. 10* (uncertain).

12. *V. T.*; *M. Macn. I, 4, 12, &c.* (uncertain). Each subject shall

13. That plaint is declared to be inadmissible in which the order (of the words) is inverted, or the arrangement confused, or scattered what belongs together, or which is meaningless, or relative to bygone times, or unapproved.

14. The order (of the words) is said to be inverted in that plaint the meaning of which is rendered unclear by the omission (of certain words) in their proper place, and which is not accepted (in consequence).

15. When the original claim is forsaken and replaced by a different proposition, the plaint is declared to be meaningless, and the previous claim is not carried.

16. When a claim is raised in regard to certain property long after the expiration of the proper time, the plaint is said to relate to bygone times, though evidence be forthcoming.

17. That suit in which the claim relates to one thing, and the judicial investigation to another, is declared to be unapproved, because the trial is inconsistent.

18. When the plaintiff in his written claim con-

be examined in its turn, not all subjects at the same time. A plaint referring to many distinct articles or to several different accusations is not faulty under this rule. M.

13-20. *Vîram*. pp. 67, 68.

13, 14. 'The order is inverted,' i. e. several syllables are inverted in position in the written charge. *Vîram.*, *Smṛitiḥ*.

13. 'The arrangement is confused,' when the natural order of the sentence is interrupted and the sense vitiated in consequence. *Vîram.*, *Smṛitiḥ*.

13. 'Scattered what belongs together,' i. e. the several parts of a proposition are not put together. *Ibid*.

17. 'Because the trial is inconsistent,' because the different parts of the suit do not agree. *Smṛitiḥ*.

finds the charge with the evidence, such a claim also cannot take effect, because the proper order of propositions is violated in it.

19. That plaint should be utterly rejected in which two claims are entered at once, one reasonable, and the other unreasonable.

20. Should a man make mutually conflicting statements in a plaint, his claim cannot succeed because of its being vitiated by inconsistent assertions.

21. When a man though capable (of proving his claim) omits to prove it for twenty or ten years, after the plaint has been lodged by him, his declaration becomes futile (in consequence).

22. (The plaintiff) may amend the plaint while the answer has not been delivered. When the plaint has been answered, the corrections must cease.

III. THE ANSWER.

1. When a plaint of this description has been tendered by the plaintiff, the defendant shall deliver an answer corresponding to such plaint.

2. That is called a (true) answer by those acquainted with the subject, which meets the plaint, and is concise, clear, consistent, and easily intelligible without an explanation.

3. If a man's courage fails him when he is about to make a statement in a lawsuit, a delay must be

21. *Smṛitiḥ*. upekshā yatra sādhyasya vimsatim dasa vā samāh |
saktenāpi kṛte vāde tasya paksho mrīṣhā bhavet ||

22. *Vīram*. p. 20.

III, 1. *Smṛitiḥ*.; Raghunandana, pp. 12, 16 ('*Bṛihaspati*').

2. *M. Macn.* I, 5, 3 (uncertain); *V. T.*, &c.

3. *Smṛitiḥ*. matir notsahate yasya vivāde vaktum iḥhātaḥ |
dātavya eva kālāḥ syād arthipratyarthinor api ||

granted to him (by the judge), whether he be plaintiff or defendant.

4. When the defendant contradicts the charge, such an answer is termed a denial in a cause.

5. When, the plaint having been reduced to writing by the plaintiff, the defendant admits it but adduces some special circumstance, it is called a (retort in the form) *pratyavaskandana* (special plea).

6. That (answer) is no (true) answer which is dubious, not to the point, too narrow, too extensive, or meeting one part only of the plaint.

7. An answer which treats of a different subject, or which is incomplete, or couched in obscure language, or confused, not intelligible without an explanation, or unreasonable, will never enable (the defendant) to gain his cause.

4. *Raghunandana*, p. 17; *M. Macn.* I, 5, 7, &c. ('*Kâtâyâna*').

5. *M. Macn.* I, 5, 9.

6, 7. *V. T.*; *M. Macn.* I, 5, 11. 'Dubious,' as when (the plaintiff) having declared: This man has received a hundred *Suvarṇas* from me, (the defendant replies): Yes, I have received a hundred *Suvarṇas* or a hundred *Māshas*. 'Not to the point,' as when a debtor being sued for a hundred *Suvarṇas*, replies that he has received a hundred *Paṇas*. 'Too narrow,' as when (a debtor) being sued for a hundred *Suvarṇas*, replies that he has received five. 'Too extensive,' as when (a debtor) being sued for a hundred *Suvarṇas*, replies that he has received two hundred. 'Meeting one part only of the plaint,' as when (a debtor) being sued for gold, clothes, and other objects, replies that he has received gold but nothing else. 'Which treats of a different subject,' as when an action for debt is answered by referring to a different title of law, e.g. when a man being sued for a debt of a hundred *Suvarṇas*, replies, He (the plaintiff) has struck me. 'Incomplete,' not containing any reference to the particulars of country, place, and so on, as when the plaint states a certain field situated in the central country (*Madhyadesa*) near Benares, towards the east of it, to have been seized by the defendant, and the defendant replies merely, 'I

8. In the case of a denial, the burden of proof rests with the plaintiff; in the case of a special plea, (it rests) with the defendant.

9. Let (the plaintiff) make an answer which corresponds to (the contents of) the plea. If he does not (make an answer), the king shall cause him to make one, by employing (any of) the (four) methods of conciliation, division, and the rest, till the matter has been cleared up.

10. When, in the case of a denial (on the part of the defendant) the plaintiff himself admits such (denial) as correct, it has to be considered as a confession, and one half of the (ordinary) fine shall be inflicted on the plaintiff.

11. In the case of a denial, the burden of proof rests with the plaintiff; in the case of a special plea,

have taken it.' 'Couched in obscure terms,' as when in a suit for a hundred *Suvarṇas* the defendant exclaims, 'Am I the only person indebted to this man?' implying by his speech that the chief judge, or assessors, or plaintiff, is indebted to another man. 'Confused,' inconsistent, as when in an action for a hundred *Suvarṇas* the defendant declares, 'Yes; I have received that sum, but I do not owe it.' 'Not intelligible without an explanation,' owing to the use of wrong inflections, compounds, or constructions, or to the employment of a foreign language. 'Unreasonable,' contrary to common sense, as when the plea runs as follows: The defendant has received a hundred *Suvarṇas* from me, repayable with interest, and has paid the interest only, and not the principal; and the defendant replies: 'Yes; I have paid' the interest, but have not received the principal.' M.

8. M. Macn. I, 5, 14 (uncertain); May. p. 11.

9. *Smṛitiḥ*. *yathārtham uttaram dadyān na ket tad dāpayen nripaḥ* | *sāmbhedādibhir mārgair yāvat so-rthaḥ samuddhṛtaḥ* || Bribery and force are the two remaining methods.

10. *Smṛitiḥ*. *nihnave tu yadā vādī svayam tat pratipadyate* | *gñeyā sampratipattis tu tasyārdho vinayaḥ smṛitaḥ* ||

11. M. Macn. II, 6, 5.

it rests with the defendant ; but in a plea of former judgment, all that is required in the shape of proof is to produce the previous decree.

12. The defendant is at liberty to delay his answer for three days, or for five days even.

IV. WRITINGS AND POSSESSION.

1. A writing (or document) should be signed by witnesses, the (natural) order of ideas and syllables should not be interrupted, local customs and general rules should be observed in it, and it should be complete in every respect.

2. A document signed by the king with his own hand, or sealed with his own seal, is declared to be a royal document, and is (considered as equal to) an attested document in all affairs.

3. A document suspected (to have a blemish) is valid, unless the debtor should have clearly indicated its blemish ; and so (is the validity of) a document which is more than twenty years old (established by mere lapse of time).

4. In the beginning, gift is a cause (of ownership);

12. Vy. *K.* pratyarthî labhate kâlam tryaham pañkâham eva vâ ।
IV, 1. *Smṛitiḥ.* lekhyam tu sâkshimat kâryam aviluptakramâ-
ksharam । desâkârasthitiyutam samagram sarvavastushu ॥

2. *Smṛitiḥ.* ; *Vîram.* p. 195 ('Vasishṭha').

3. *Smṛitiḥ.* ; *Vîram.* p. 200 ('Kâtyâyana'). The validity of a document having been called into doubt, because it either has a blemish or has been vitiated by the lapse of a considerable time, it becomes valid through proof by ordeal. This is the meaning, mere lapse of time being insufficient to produce validity. *Smṛitiḥ.* This interpretation can hardly be correct, as ordeals are not referred to in this text.

4. M. Macn. III, 6, 5. In the case of the first man (possessor)

in the middle, possession with a title ; but continued and hereditary possession by itself is also a good cause (of ownership).

5. There are six modes of acquiring wealth : by obtaining (property), what is declared to have been given or earned, (acquisition through) valour, (in the shape of) a marriage portion, and through inheritance from relations or others.

6. Having listened to the answer, (the plaintiff) at the trial shall produce a document as evidence, or he shall prove possession continued for a long time, and corroborated by (the statements of) the neighbours, or by (other) evidence.

7. Supposing a religious student were to perform some vow extending over a period of thirty-six years, or a man (engaged in trade or traffic) were to reside abroad for a long time in the pursuit of wealth :

possession proved by witnesses is superior to, or more decisive than, possession, excepting hereditary possession. Such hereditary possession, again, is superior in the case of the fourth in descent to a title proved by documents. In the case of an intermediate claimant (as e.g. the second or third in descent) a title coupled with possession of short duration even is more decisive than a title entirely destitute of possession. M.

5. *Smṛitīk.* *labdham dānakriyāproktam sauryam vaivāhikam tathā | bāndhavādipragāgātam shadvidhas tu dhanāgamaḥ ||* 'Obtaining,' by birth, paternal or other (inherited) wealth ; or, obtaining property by finding it, as in the case of treasure-trove. *Smṛitīk.*

6. *Smṛitīk.* *srutvottaram kriyāpade lekhyam sādhanam uddiset | sāmantalakshaṇopetā bhuktir vā kīrakālikī.* 'The term *sādhanam* a fortiori denotes witnesses in this place. Therefore the meaning is as follows. In a dispute regarding a house, field, or other (immovable property), the claimant must adduce a document or witnesses, or he must plead possession.' *Smṛitīk.*

7-10. *Smṛitīk.* *brahma-kārī kareṭ kimkid vratam shastrimsadāb-dikam | arthārthī kānyavishaye dīrghakālam vasen naraḥ || samā-*

8. If, then, the student after having completed his period of studentship (and returned from his preceptor) were to look after his property, possession (by a stranger) continued for fifty years would be capable of depriving him of his property.

9. Twelve years for (the study of) each Veda is the period ordained for those engaged in the pursuit of religious knowledge; for those engaged in the acquisition of mechanical (or manual) skill, the period (of apprenticeship) is declared to last till they have acquired their art.

10. What has been possessed against their wish by their friends or relations, and what has been possessed by persons offending against the king, is not lost by the lapse of (a long) time.

V. WITNESSES.

1. (By false evidence concerning land, a witness kills everything; beware, then, of giving false evidence concerning land.) In the case of (false evidence concerning) water, the consequence is said to be the same as for land, and so it is in the case of carnal connexion with a female, as well as (in the

vratito vratî kuryât svadhanânveshanam tatah | pañcâśadâbdiko bhogas taddhanasyâpahârakah || prativadam dvâdasâbdaḥ kâlo vidyârthinâm smṛitah | silpavidyârthinâm kaiva grahanântah prakîrtitah || suhrîdbhir bandhubhis kaishâm yat syâd bhuktam avasyatâm | nrîpâparâdhikâm kaiva na tat kâlêna hîyate || See Manu III, 1.

V, 1-3. *Vîram.* p. 171. See Nârada I, 17, 209 (above, p. 92), the text immediately preceding these texts in the *Vîramitrodaya*. 1, 3=Manu VIII, 100, 101. All these texts, up to 10, form part of the exhortation to be addressed to the witnesses by the judge. In 2, I have substituted *tathâśvavat*, the reading of the *Todarâ-nanda*, for *tathâpnuyât*.

case of false evidence) concerning gems produced in water, and everything consisting of stone.

2. In the case of honey or clarified butter (the consequence) is the same as (when false evidence has been given) with regard to small cattle. He incurs the same guilt as in the case of a horse (by giving false evidence) regarding a vehicle. The case of silver, clothes, grain, or the Veda is equal to the case of a cow.

3. Having considered all these evil consequences attending a false declaration, (a witness) must declare openly everything as (he has) heard or seen (it).

4. Kubera, Âditya, Varuna, Sakra (Indra), the son of Vivasvant (Yama), and the (other) guardian deities of the world are constantly looking on with divine eyes.

5. Let (the judge) ask a Brahman for his testimony by saying, 'Speak;' a Kshatriya by saying, 'Speak the truth;' a Vaisya, by referring to his kine, grain, and gold; but a Sûdra (by conjuring him) by all possible wicked deeds.

6. Whatever places (of torment) are assigned (in a future state) to the murderers of Brahmins, or to the slayers of women and children, and to him who betrays a friend, or shows ingratitude, those very places shall be thy home (after death) if thou speakest falsely.

7. All meritorious deeds which thou, O good man, hast done since thy birth, would go to the dogs, if thou shouldst speak falsely.

4. *Smṛitiḥ. kuberâdityavaruṇasakravaivasvatâdayaḥ | pasyanti lokapâlâs ka nityam divyena âkshushâ ||*

5-9. Vy. K. Identical with Manu VIII, 88-92.

8. Although, O virtuous man, thou thinkest of thyself, 'I am alone,' yet that says who sees the evil and the good ever resides in thy heart.

9. If thou art not at variance with the god Yama, the son of Vivasvant, who resides in thy heart, thou needest not go to the Ganges or to (the country of) the Kurus.

10. Perjured witnesses, as well as those who rob others of their property, and wicked kings, shall have to reside (hereafter) in a very dreadful hell for the time of a kalpa.

11. When (a calamity such as) an illness, or fire, or the death of a relative, happens to a witness within seven days after his evidence has been taken, he shall be made to pay the debt and a fine.

12. Learned Brahmans and other such persons (are incompetent witnesses) under a text of law; thieves and the like persons, on account of their notorious perversity; (the deposition of the witnesses is worthless) owing to mutual contradiction when the witnesses make mutually conflicting statements at the trial of a cause.

13. 'One who gives evidence of his own accord' is a witness who comes to make a deposition of his own accord, without being appointed (a witness). Such a man is termed a spy in the law-books, and he is not worthy to become a witness.

10. *Smṛitiḥ. atīvanarake kalpam vaseyuh kṛtasākshinaḥ | para-vittaharā ye ka rāgānas kâpyadhârmikâḥ ||* A kalpa is a fabulous period of time, the duration of which is reckoned in various ways.

11. *Tod.* Identical with Manu VIII, 108.

12-14. *Vîram.* p. 151. 12, 13 a, and 14 occur in the Minor Nârada as well (p. 34), where they come immediately after a text which is identical with Nârada I, 12, 157 (above, p. 82).

14. 'One rendered incompetent by intervening decease' is a witness (who comes) after the death of the claimant, unless he should have been instructed (by the claimant) on his deathbed.

VI. ORDEALS.

1. Let (the defendant) touch the heads of his sons, wife, or friends ; or else the (ordeal by) sacred libation (may be performed), whatever the nature of the charge may be.

2. It is on the claimant that the duty of declaring his readiness to take on himself the penalty (to be awarded to the losing party) devolves in every case. Or the ordeal may be performed by either party at pleasure, the other party consenting to give the penalty (to be awarded in case of defeat).

3. To persons suspected by the king, or denounced (as criminals) by (intercourse with) robbers, or intent on their own justification, an ordeal must be administered without binding (an opponent) to give the penalty.

4. (The performance of) an ordeal is ordained in

VI, 1. *Vîram*. p. 226 ; *M. Macn.* X, 1, 5 (uncertain).

2. *Vîram*. p. 228.

3. *V. T.* ; *M. Macn.* X, 1, 5 a (uncertain). The *Mitâksharâ* explains the term *siraś* or *śrisha*, which has been translated by 'penalty' in this paragraph and in the preceding text, as denoting the head, i.e. the fourth or principal division of a lawsuit, which involves defeat or success, and results in the awarding of a punishment or fine to the losing party. It appears more probable, however, that *siras*, 'head,' is an equivalent for 'life,' the accuser having to declare his readiness to risk his life, i.e. a heavy punishment, in case of defeat.

4. *Smṛitiś. kārane mahati proktam divyam vādārthinām nrinām | sirovartī yadā na syāt tadā divyam na dīyate ||* This is apparently the

important cases, when people are engaged in a controversy; an ordeal must not be administered when there is no one ready to take the punishment on himself.

5. Justice is based on truth, and litigation (depends) on witnesses. When a case admits of divine test, human evidence (the testimony of witnesses) or documents must not be resorted to.

6. The (ordeal by) sacred libation has been declared by the wise to be applicable to all (castes), and poison (to all castes), excepting the Brahman (caste). (Either the balance is reserved for Brahmins), or the balance may be administered to (members of) every caste.

7. The (ordeal by) sacred libation may be administered in every case. The (ordeal by) balance is admissible in every season.

8. Eunuchs, distressed or feeble persons, the severely afflicted, infants, old men, women, and the blind should be tested by the balance always.

9. (The ordeal by) poison is not destined for

correct reading of the text translated above, Nârada I, 19, 257 (pp. 101, 102).

5. M. Macn. X, 1, 7. In actions for debt and the like, though witnesses possessing the required qualifications (such as veracity, &c.) should have been adduced by the plaintiff, an ordeal may be administered, if the defendant proposes an ordeal and promises to give the fine or other penalty to be inflicted in case of his being defeated, because witnesses are subject to the fault of partiality, whereas an ordeal shows the true state of the case, as no fault can be found with it, and is an emblem of justice. M.

6. Vîram. p. 235. This text comes after Nârada I, 24, 335 (above, p. 117).

7. May. p. 18 (text).

8, 9. Vîram. p. 235. In the third Pâda of 8, I read *bâlavrid-dhâstriyo-ndhâmska* with *Smṛitiḥ*. for *bâlavriddhâturân stris ka*

women, nor is (the ordeal by) water fit to be administered to them; it is through (the ordeals by) balance, sacred libation, and others that (the judge) must explore the true state of their minds.

10. Let (the judge) test strong men by fire, water, or poison, and let him test infants, old or distressed men by the balance.

11. Let (the judge) avoid (the ordeal by) fire in the case of lepers, (the ordeal by) water in the case of the asthmatic, and (the ordeal by) poison in the case of bilious or phlegmatic persons.

12. In the season of the rains, let the (ordeal by) fire be administered; also in the cold and chilly seasons. In the summer season, the (ordeal by) water is the proper (kind of ordeal). Poison (is destined) for the cold weather.

13. The chilly, cold, and rainy seasons are declared to be (the proper seasons) for the (ordeal by) fire; the autumn and summer seasons, for the (ordeal by) water; the (ordeal by) poison, (is fit) for the cold and chilly seasons.

14. The months of *Kaitra* (March–April), *Mārgaśirsha* (November–December), and *Vaisākha* (April–

(*Vīram.*, *Tod.*), as the term *âtura* occurs twice under the latter reading.

9. *M. Macn.* X, 1, 12 (uncertain); Nepalese *Nārada*.

10, 11. *Minor Nārada* I, 5, 116, 118 (p. 46). For the Sanskrit, see *Nārada-smṛti*, p. 112, note. Nearly identical with a text usually attributed to *Pitāmaha*, *Vīram.* p. 237.

12. *Vīram.* pp. 239, 240. Nearly identical with *Nārada* I, 19, 254 (p. 101) and *Minor Nārada* I, 5, 113, 114 (p. 46).

13, 14 a. *V. T.*; *M. Macn.* X, 1, 10 (uncertain). These two texts are elsewhere attributed to *Pitāmaha*, and it is certainly difficult to reconcile them with 12.

14 b. *Vīram.* p. 240. In the quotations, this text comes after

May) are proper months for all (ordeals), and not adverse to any kind of ordeal. (Ordeals must) never (be administered) in the afternoon, nor in the twilight, nor at noon.

15. Ordeals administered at an improper place, or at an unsuitable time, or performed at a distance from human habitations, constitute a deviation from the proper course of a lawsuit, this is certain.

16. The chief judge must superintend the whole of the proceedings at an ordeal, fasting and obeying the king's instructions in the same way as an Adhvaryu (priest officiates) at a sacrifice.

17. The chief judge, who must be a Brahman, thoroughly versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, instructed in sacred learning and of religious conduct, tranquil-minded, unambitious,

18. Fond of veracity, pure, able, delighting in the welfare of all sentient beings, having kept a fast, clad in his moist garments (after a bath), having cleansed his teeth, should worship all deities according to rule.

19. With red perfumes and garlands, as well as

Nârada I, 19, 259 (above, p. 102). 'The prohibition to administer an ordeal at noon has reference to ordeals other than the ordeal by water.' Vîram.

15. Vîram. p. 241; May. p. 18 (text). I read *bahirvâsakṛitâni* in the second Pâda (*bahirvâdikṛitâni*, May.), and *vyabhiṭâram* *sadartheshu* in the third Pâda (*vyabhiṭâre sadartheshu*, Vîram.). 'At a distance from human habitations,' in solitude. Vîram.

16. M. Macn. X, 1, 8 a; 'Pitâmaha,' elsewhere.

17, 18. Vîram. p. 245; M. Macn. X, 2, 18 ('Pitâmaha'). I read *kuryâd* in 18, as in *Mitâksharâ*, *Vivâdatâṇḍava*, &c. (*krîtvâ*, Vîram.). These texts, although generally quoted in the section on the ordeal by balance, seem to contain a rule applicable to every ordeal.

19. M. Macn. X, 2, 17, &c. This text is supposed to apply to

with curds, cakes of flour, fried grain and other (offerings), he should first worship the balance, and then show honour to the others.

20. The balance and the other ordeals ordained by the sages should be administered by the king by consent of the claimant, but not otherwise.

21. When they are performed otherwise (the claimant not giving his consent), he incurs the same guilt as a thief.

22. I will state next the excellent rule regarding the (ordeal by) balance, as the king and the chief judge should administer that ordeal to a man (arraigned in a cause).

23. The two posts supporting the beam of the balance should measure four Hastas above ground, their (entire) length should be six Hastas.

24. The king should cause a wooden beam of the balance to be made, which must be four Hastas long,

a judge who is about to administer the ordeal by balance to one arraigned in a cause. The term 'the others' is said to relate to Indra and the other deities.

20, 21. Minor Nârada I, 5, 112, 113 (pp. 45, 46). The second half occurs in the Nepalese Nârada as well, where the chapter on the ordeal by balance commences with it. For the Sanskrit, see Nârada-smṛiti, loc. cit.

22. Minor Nârada I, 5, 119 (p. 46). *atañ param pravakshyâmi dhañasya vidhim uttamam | râgâ ka prâdvivâkas ka yathâ tam kârayen naram ||*

23. Nepalese Nârada. *Āaturhastau tulâpâdâv ukñhrayena prakîrtitau | shaddhastam tu taylor bhavet pramânam parimânatañ ||* The Minor Nârada has the following text instead of this: *dhañasya pâdâv (pâdâd) ūrdhvam tu āaturhastau prakîrtitau | paññahastâ tulâ kâryâ dvihastâ kârgalâ smṛitâ ||* Under this reading, the beam of the balance would have to be five Hastas long, whereas the following text (24) states its length at four Hastas.

24-26. Minor Nârada I, 5, 121, 122 (p. 47 and Addenda, pp. xxxii, xxxiii). *kârayeta āaturhastâṃ samâṃ lakṣhanalakṣhitâṃ |*

polished, furnished with the required characteristics, and having the two scales suspended by both extremities.

25. After having caused two posts to be erected, on even ground, which must be placed from north to south, and must be arranged both in one line, he shall cause the beam of the balance to be fastened across (the transverse beam which connects) them.

26. With an iron cord let a virtuous man surround the beam in the middle and fasten it in an east-western direction, after having carefully connected it (with the transverse beam).

27. The (appointed) examiners have to take care always that the two perpendiculars of the balance should be equal in length. Water must be poured out on (the beam of) the balance by skilled persons.

28. If the water does not trickle down (from the balance), the balance may be considered as being level.

29. With red perfumes and garlands, as well as with curds, cakes of flour, fried grain and other (offerings, the judge) should first worship the balance, and then show honour to the others.

tulâm kâsh/hamayîm râgâ sikyaprântâvalambinîm || dakshinottara-samsthânâv ubhâv ekatrasamyatau | stambhau krîtvâ same dese tayo/ samsthâpayet tulâm || âyasena tu pâsena madhye samgrîhya dharmavit | yogayet tâm susamyuktâm tulâm prâgaparâyatâm ||

27, 28. May. p. 20 (text); M. Macn. X, 2, 6 (uncertain). These two texts are elsewhere attributed to Pitâmaha, and this is probably the correct view, as the fastening of the two perpendiculars by the two arches in which the balance moves up and down is described in another text of Pitâmaha.

29. M. Macn. X, 2, 17. 'The injunction contained in this text concerns a judge who is about to administer the ordeal by balance to one arraigned in a cause. The others,' i.e. Indra and the other deities. Viram. p. 251. See 19.

30. (The person accused being about to be placed in the scale for the second time, the judge should address the balance as follows): 'Thou, O Balance, hast been created by Brahman, to test the wicked. On account of the syllable *dha* thou art the image of Dharma (Justice), on account of the syllable *ta*, thou

31. Being used for balancing (*dhṛita*, in this ordeal) discoverest the vicious. Therefore thou art called *dhaṭa* (balance).'

32. If (the person) remains level (*sama*), he is considered to be in a middling position (*samatâ*). If he comes down, he loses his cause. He who goes down is not innocent; he is innocent who goes up.

33. He who remains level is also not acquitted. These are the three possible cases in the (ordeal by) balance. Thus has been declared the never-failing acquittal (obtainable) through the test by balance.

34. When (the scales fixed) at the two extremities of the beam have been moved, when the mark which had been made has come off, when (the balance) is going up and down, being agitated by wind,

35. Or when (the man appointed to hold it) lets it

30, 31. *Vīram.* p. 251; *M. Macn.* X, 2, 23 (uncertain).

32, 33. Nepalese *Nārada*. *samena samatām eti hīyamānas tu hīyate | adhogatir na sudhyeta sudhyetordhvagatis tathā || samo-pi na (hi MS.) visuddhaḥ syād ity eshā trividhā tulā | eshoditā tulākālpe (tulākālpaḥ MS.) suddhir avyabhikārinḥ ||* 32b, 33a are attributed to Vyāsa in the *Vivādatāṇḍava*. The reading *na* for *hi* has been taken from the same compilation. It appears from *Nārada I*, 20, 283 (above, pp. 107, 108) that an equal result of the first and second weighing was not considered as a proof of innocence. According to others, such a result proves the person balanced to be guilty in some degree; or the proceeding has to be repeated.

34, 35. *Vīram.* p. 254; *Smṛtiḥ*; V. T. I read with *Smṛtiḥ*.

go all of a sudden : (in all these cases) the matter in dispute must not be decided either way.

36. Now then I will proclaim the excellent rule regarding the (ordeal by) fire, as it has been declared (by the sages). The intermediate space between two circles is ordained to measure thirty-two *Āṅgulas*.

37. The seven circles are thus declared by persons thoroughly conversant with the art of computation to cover a space of two hundred and twenty-four *Āṅgulas*.

38. Let the peculiar signs be marked which he has on both hands, both visible and invisible ones, whether caused by a scar or not caused by a scar.

39. After having first marked in this way the hands of the person accused, he should offer clarified butter in fire according to rule, as a propitiatory rite, reciting *Mantras* (at the same time).

tulāsirobhyām udbhrāntam vikālam nyastalakṣaṇam । *yadi vāyupranunno vā dhāvaty ūrdhvam adhoḥpi vā* ॥ *nirmuktaḥ sahasā vāpi tadā naikataram vṛget* ॥ 'The mark,' i.e. 'the water or whatever else has been used to mark the even position of the scales' (*Smṛitiḥ*, *Vīram.*), or 'the bill recounting the charge which has been fixed on the head of the person balanced' (*V. T.*).

36. *Vīram.* p. 256.

37. *Nepalese Nārada* ; *Minor Nārada* I, 6, 3 (p. 49). I read : *saptabhir maṇḍalair evaṃ āṅgulānām satadvayam* । *śakaturvimsati proktaṃ samkhyātattvārthadarsibhiḥ* ॥ The quotations agree with *Nārada* I, 21, 286 in referring to eight, instead of seven, circles.

38. *Vīram.* p. 259. The marking of the hands serves the purpose of marking the difference between the previously extant sores and those eventually caused by the hot iron ball.

39-45. *Smṛitiḥ*. *kṛitvaivam abhīrastasya prathamam hastalakṣaṇam* । *sāntyartham gūhuyān mantrair ghrītam agnau yathāvidhi* ॥ *tarpiteshv atha deveshu lokapāleshu kaiva hi* । *ādityābhīmukho bhūtvā imam mantram udīrayet* ॥ *tvam agne sarvadevānām antas kṛasi pāvakaḥ* । *havyam vahasī devānām antaḥsāntim prayakṣasi* ॥ *prakṣhaṇāni manushyānām pāpāni sukrītāni ka* । *tvam eva*

40. The gods and the guardian deities of the world having been hospitably entertained, let (the person accused) utter the following prayer, facing the sun.

41. 'Thou, O fire, dwellest in the interior of all deities as a flame. Thou conveyest burnt-oblations to the gods, and givest peace of mind.

42. 'Thou, O God, knowest the secret offences and merits of men. Thou, O deity, knowest whatever mortals do not comprehend.

43. 'Arraigned in a cause, I am about to be tested by fire. Therefore deign to deliver me lawfully from the perplexity in which I am involved.'

44. The man (about to be examined) having made this speech, facing the east, with firmness, his joined hands should be covered with seven equal leaves of the holy fig-tree,

45. And both hands should be tied with seven strings of light-coloured thread.

46. (Then the man) should take a smooth ball of red-hot iron, fifty Palas in weight, in both hands, and step gradually across the seven circles.

47. When a man has carefully stepped through

deva gānīshe na vidur yāni mánushāḥ || vyavahārābhisasto'yam
vahnau tish/hāmi samsaye | tasmān mām samsayārūḍham dharmatas
trātum arhasi || evam uktavatas tasya prāṇmukhasya tu dhīmataḥ |
pattrair aṅgalim āpūrya asvatthaiḥ saptabhiḥ samaiḥ || veshṭayīta
sitair hastau saptabhiḥ sūtratantubhiḥ || For similar prayers, which
are put in the mouth of the judge however, see Nārada I, 21, 290–
294 (above, pp. 109, 110); Minor Nārada I, 6, 10, 11 (p. 41).

45. M. Macn. X, 3, 2.

46. Minor Nārada I, 6, 6, 7 (p. 49). hutāsataptalohasya
pañkāsātpalikam samam | hastābhyām pindam ādāya mandalāni
sanair vraget ||

47. Nepalese Nārada. tīrtvānena vidhānena mandalāni samāhitaḥ |

the (seven) circles in this way, without having burnt himself in the least, he is acquitted.

48. When he has dropped the ball, his hands should be inspected. If the marks have retained their previous appearance, he should examine (the hands) elsewhere as well.

49. When a bloodshot round stain or any other sore caused by fire is seen, the man has to be considered as guilty, because truth and virtue are not found in him.

50. I will proclaim next the excellent rule regarding the (ordeal by) water. Let a king who is desirous of establishing perfect truth refrain from administering (this ordeal) in winter.

51. With perfumes, garlands, sweet-smelling substances, honey, milk, clarified butter, and the like, let (the judge) perform the worship of Varuṇa (the deity of water) first of all.

52. Let (the judge) cause this ordeal to be per-

adagdhāḥ sarvathā yas tu sa viśuddho bhaven naraḥ || Nearly identical with Minor Nârada I, 6, 7a, 8b.

48, 49. *Tod.*; *Smṛitīk.*; *Vîram.* p. 264 ('Kâlikâpurâṇa'). 48b according to the Nepalese Nârada. tasyaiva muktapindasya kuryât karanirīkṣaṇam | pûrvarûpesu kîhnesu tato =nyatrâpi lakṣayet || mandalam raktasamkâsam yaḥ kânyad vâgnisambhavam | so =viśuddhas tu viġñeyo =satyadharmavyavasthitaḥ || 'If a boil or other (tumour) caused by fire should be discovered on the palms of his hands, he has to be considered as guilty. If nothing of the kind is discovered, he is innocent.' *Smṛitīk.*, *Vîram.*

50-79. The ordeals by water and poison are omitted in the *Smṛitīkandrikâ*, 'because they are obsolete now-a-days.'

50. Nepalese Nârada. ataḥ param pravakṣyâmi toyasya vidhim uttamam | hemante varḡayed râgâ ya ikkheḥ kḥuddhim uttamâm ||

51. *M. Macn.* X, 4, 3 (uncertain); *Vîram.* p. 269.

52. Minor Nârada I, 7, 2 (p. 50). svakkhe gale susîtale galaukaḥpaṇkavargite | vipule nâtigâdhe ka kuryâd divyasya nirṇayam ||

formed in transparent and very cool water, which does not contain aquatic animals or mud, and is abundant and not too shallow.

53. Let (a man) go near the bank of the water (in which the accused is to be immersed) and erect an arch as high as the ear (of the person) on the edge (of that water), on level and purified ground.

54. A strong bow should be known to have seven hundred; one not particularly strong, six hundred; a weak bow, five hundred. Thus has the rule regarding the bow been declared.

55. From a bow of a middling quality let a skilful (archer) discharge three arrows, after having made a target one hundred and fifty Hastas distant.

56. (The archer) is blameable if the arrows discharged by him fall short of or go beyond the target. (The person accused) obtains acquittal if his body continues immersed in water after the middling arrow has been (discharged and) brought back.

53. M. Macn. X, 4, 13.

54. Nepalese Nārada. *krūram dhanuḥ saptasatam nātīkrūram tu shaśatam | mandam paññasatam gñeyam esha prokto dhanurvidhiḥ ||* Nearly identical with Minor Nārada I, 7, 4 (p. 50); Nārada I, 22, 307 (above, p. 112); Vīram. p. 268, &c. The translation of this text is based on the interpretation given in *Tod*. 'That bow which bends sufficiently to admit of discharging an arrow from it, when a weight of seven hundred Palas is fastened by the string, is said to have seven hundred. The terms "six hundred" and "five hundred" have to be understood in the same way.' See too, above, p. 112, 307 note.

55, 56a. M. Macn. X, 4, 15. The rule regarding the distance of the target, which renders the arrows entirely superfluous, seems to belong to a more recent period than the other rules. See Prof. Stenzler's Essay on Indian Ordeals.

56b. *Tod*. *ānīte madhyame vāne magnāṅgaḥ sukītām iyāt |*

57. Among fifty runners, those two who are the quickest runners should be appointed to fetch the arrow.

58. Let a strong man, who may be a Brahman, Kshatriya or Vaisya, and must be free from affection and hatred, be placed in water reaching his navel, (standing erect) like a pillar.

59. (The accused), thoroughly controlled in mind, shall seize the thighs of that man under water, and stand in it composed all the time till the (runner) appointed to fetch (the arrow) has returned.

60. Then let men strictly devoted to veracity and virtue, acquainted with the application of legal rules, and free from affection and hatred, see that everything is fair.

61. An intelligent, pious-minded man should descend into the water and duly address (the deity of water) with the following auspicious texts.

61 b. The sacred prayer (runs as follows). 'Om, adoration to Justice.

62. 'Thou, O lord of waters, who art so pleasantly

57. M. Macn. X, 4, 12.

58. Vîram. p. 269.

59. Nepalese Nârada. *toyam adho manushyasya grîhîtvorî susamyatah | tâvat tish/heta niyato yâvat prâptaḥ samâpakî ||*

60. Minor Nârada I, 7, 8 (p. 51). *dharmasthânâṁ tataḥ kuryuḥ satyadharmaparâyanaḥ | dharmasâstravidhânagñâ râgadveshavivar-gitâḥ ||*

61. Nepalese Nârada. *avatîrya gale vidvân snâtaḥ prayatamâ-nasaḥ | srâvayeta yathânyâyam ebhir mantrapadaiḥ subhaiḥ ||* The correctness of this reading seems doubtful. According to the other authorities, the prayer is to be recited by the judge or by the accused.

61 b. Nepalese Nârada. *dharmamantraḥ | omḥ namo dharmâya |*

62. Nepalese Nârada. *yonis tvam asi (yatas tvam asti MS.) bhûtânâṁ galeṣa sukhasîṭala | trâyasvainam naram pâpât paryasi tvam subhâsubham ||*

cool, art the source of (all) beings. Save this man from guilt, thou knowest both good and evil.

63. 'Thou art the first of the gods and the great comforter of the world. Thou, O water, dwellest in the interior of all beings, like a witness.

64. 'Thou, O deity, alone knowest what mortals do not understand. This man, being arraigned in a cause, is going to dive in thee. Therefore deign to deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

65. Then (the accused) should submerge all his limbs in water so as to become invisible.

66. A prudent man should leave the water, after having seen the arrow brought back, and should approach the king and all the assessors of the court, after saluting them reverentially.

67. Though only his ear, eye, mouth or nose should become visible while he is in water, he cannot be acquitted. If he remains invisible, he obtains acquittal.

63a occurs in the Minor Nārada and Nepalese Nārada (Minor Nārada I, 7, 15 a). *ādidevo'si devānām (bhūtānām Nep. Nār.) lokasyāpyāyanam mahat* | After this, the Nepalese Nārada has two texts, which are identical with Nārada I, 22, 316, 317.

63b. Minor Nārada I, 7, 16 a. *tvam ambhaḥ sarvabhūtānām antar karasi sākshivat* | Identical with Vishṇu XII, 7a.

64a, b. Minor Nārada I, 7, 16b, 17a. *tvam eva deva gānīshe na vidur yāni mānavāḥ | vyavahārābhisasto'yam mānushas tvayi maggati* || Nearly identical with Vishṇu XII, 7b, 8a.

64c. Minor Nārada I, 7, 17b. *tad enam samsayād asmād dhar-matas trātum arhasi* | Identical with Vishṇu XII, 8b.

65. Nepalese Nārada. *tato nimagget salile sarvāny āngāny adarsanāt* ||

66. Nepalese Nārada. *prāptam tu sâyakam drishtvā galād uttīrya buddhimān | pranipatya nrīpam gakkhet sarvāms kaiva sabhāsadaḥ* ||

67. Minor Nārada I, 7, 12. *karnākshimukhanâsânām yasya toye vyavasthitam | drisyate na visuddhaḥ syād adriśyaḥ suddhim āpnuyāt* ||

68. Now then I will proclaim the excellent rule regarding the (ordeal by) poison, (stating) how the king should give poison, the best means of purification for a man.

69. Let him give the poison in the presence of (images of) the deities and Brahmans, after having kept a fast and worshipped Mahesvara with incense, offerings, and sacred texts.

70. (The judge) should give the poison with fixed attention, facing the north or the east, in the presence of Brahmans, (while the accused) is facing the south.

71. Let seven Yavas be given, as a test of innocence, without doubt, of poison from the *Sringa* tree or Vatsanâbha (poison) or Himaga poison.

72. In the morning and in a cool place let the poison be given to all persons, after it has been finely ground, and mixed with clarified butter thirty times the quantity.

73. He must not give poison to infants, disabled or superannuated persons, or to those who have committed a very light offence only, or to a madman, to one severely afflicted, to a cripple, or to ascetics.

74. If the person (examined) undergoes no change

68. Minor Nârada I, 8, 1 (p. 52). *atah param pravakshyâmi vishasya vidhim uttamam | yathâ dadyâd visham râgâ rodhanam paramam nrinâm ||*

69. M. Macn. X, 5, 4.

70. M. Macn. X, 5, 6.

71. *Tod.*; Vîram. p. 273 ('Pitâmaha'). Himaga poison is no doubt the poison elsewhere called Haimavata, 'coming from the Himalayas.'

72. Vîram. p. 275; M. Macn. X, 5, 13 ('Kâtâyâna').

73. Nepalese Nârada. na bâlâturavṛddheshu naiva svalpâparâdhishu | nonmattârte tathâ vyañge na ka dadyât tapasvishu ||

74. M. Macn. X, 5, 16.

of appearance during the time occupied by clapping the hands five hundred times, he is acquitted, and should be cured (by giving him antidotes of poison).

75. 'On account of thy poisonous and dangerous nature thou art hard on all persons. Thou art appointed to show the difference between good and evil like a witness.

76. 'Thou, O deity, knowest the sacred ordinances and the conduct of men, both good and evil actions, (in short) whatever men do not comprehend.

77. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, wishes to obtain acquittal. Therefore deign to deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

78. This prayer should be pronounced according to rule, while the poison is being swallowed (by the person).

79. The king having known the man to be innocent should honourably dismiss him, and proclaim him (innocent) with a loud voice. Thus has the law been laid down.

80. (Let the ordeal by sacred libation be administered) to one who consents to it and puts faith (in

75. Minor Nārada I, 8, 7. *vishatvād vishamatvâk ka krûram tvam sarvadehinām | subhâsubhavivekârtham niyukto hyasi sâkshivat ||* The first half is identical with Vishnu XIII, 6a.

76. Minor Nārada I, 8, 8. *dharmâni karitam pumsâm asubhâni subhâni ka | tvam eva deva gânishe na vidur yâni mânavâh ||*

76 b is identical with Vishnu XIII, 6 b.

77. Identical with Vishnu XIII, 7.

78. Nepalese Nārada. *iti mantram pathet tatra vidhinâ vishabhakshane* (vibhakshane MS.).

79. *Tod. tam visuddham iti gñâtvâ râgâ satkrîtya mokayet | ukkaiḥ prakâsayek kainam esha dharmo vyavasthitaḥ ||*

80. Vîram. p. 278, where this text is preceded by two texts identical with Nārada I, 24, 327, 328 (above, p. 116).

religion) in the presence of the deities and Brahmanas.

81. Having called near the person accused, (the judge) should place him inside the circle and cause him to swallow three handful of water, after having caused him to face the sun.

82. After having worshipped that deity (to which the accused is devoted, the judge) should wash (the image of that deity) with water, proclaim his crime, and cause him to swallow the three handful of water.

83. When some one drinks consecrated water of his own accord, after having been charged with a crime, and does not confess his guilt, actuated by avarice, such a wicked man will become a leper (in a future birth).

84. When a man tells a lie knowingly and intentionally, after having drunk consecrated water, he is born as a poor, sick, or foolish person in seven (successive) existences.

85. When a man administers the (ordeal by) sacred libation by force to procure some advantage to himself, it will destroy himself, nor will his affairs prosper.

86. When a man has been convicted (by this

81. M. Macn. X, 6, 8 (uncertain); V. T. The circle has to be made with cowdung. M.

82. Vîram. p. 279.

83. Vîram. p. 279; Smṛitiḥ. I read, with the latter work, *yaḥ karkid dūshito naraḥ*, 'after having been charged with a crime,' instead of *na kvaḥid dūshito naraḥ*, 'without having been charged with a crime' (Vîram.).

84, 85. Ibid.

86. Minor Nârada I, 9, 5. *vibhâvitam sa dâpyaḥ syâd dhaninâ tu svayam dhanam | rinâk ka dvigunam dandam râgâ dharmena dâpayet ||*

ordeal) he may be compelled by his creditor himself to repay the debt proved against him, and the king may exact from him with justice a fine amounting to twice as much as the debt.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS LAWS.

1. (Because fathers desire offspring, to be released from debt by their sons), therefore should a son begotten (by his father) give up his own property and assiduously redeem his father from debt, lest he should go to hell.

2. The interest is unlimited on thread, cotton, substances from which spirits may be extracted, tin, lead, weapons of all sorts, skins, copper, iron,

3. And all other articles of this kind, as well as bricks. This has been declared by Manu Praṣāpati.

4. On oil of every sort, on intoxicating drinks, on honey, on butter, on sugar, and on salt, the interest shall cease when it reaches eight times the original amount.

5. The debts of sick, mad, overaged, or long absent persons : such debts should be discharged by their sons even while such persons are alive.

6. A wife, a daughter-in-law, a grandson's wife, and the presents bestowed on a wife (which constitute her separate property) : if a man takes any of these, he shall be made to pay the debts (of such

VII, 1. Viram. p. 340; Minor Nārada I, 3, 5. See Nārada-smṛiti, p. 47, note.

2-4. Minor Nārada I, 4, 34, 35. See Nārada-smṛiti, p. 77, note.

5. Minor Nārada I, 3, 15. See Nārada-smṛiti, p. 50, note.

6, 7. Minor Nārada I, 3, 22, 23. See Nārada-smṛiti, pp. 53, 54, note.

women); and so shall he who lives on the landed property (of a stranger).

7. It is on the wife that the performance of religious acts depends in all (four) castes, one after the other. He who takes the wife of a man, takes his property (and debts) as well.

8. Females are not entitled to bestow gifts, or to sell property. It is only while she is living together (with her family), that a woman may enjoy (the family property).

9. It is by permission (of the owner) only that a female slave, cattle, or an estate may be enjoyed (by a stranger). He who enjoys that which had not been given up to him (by the owner), must pay for the (illegitimate) enjoyment of what he had been enjoying.

10. When a man forcibly enjoys property, such as a house, field, cow or the like, without authorization (from the owner), he deserves the same punishment as a thief.

11. He who uses a bull, or a milch-cow, or a boat, or a female slave, without authorization (from the owner), shall pay four *Panas* (as a fine).

8. Minor Nârada I, 3, 28. See Nârada-smṛiti, p. 56, note.

9-15. Smṛitik. *uddishṭam eva bhoktavyam strī pasur vasudhâpi vâ | anarpitam tu yo bhuñkte bhuktabhogam pradâpayet || anuddishṭam tu yad dravyam vâsakshetragavâdikam | svabaleñaiva bhuñgânas koravad dandam arhati || anadvâham tathâ dhenum nâvam dâsīm tathaiva ka | anuddishṭam tu bhuñgâno dadyât panakatu-shṭayam || dâsī naukâ tathâ dhuryo bandhakam nopabhugyate | upabhoktâ tu tad dravyam panair eva visodhayet || divase dvipanam dâsīm dhenum ashāpanam tathâ | trayodasam anadvâham arsam bhûmim ka shodasa || naukâm arsam ka dhenum ka lāngalam kârmikasya ka | balâtkâreṇa yo bhuñkte dâpyas kâshṭagunam dine || ulûkhale panârdham tu musalasya panadvayam | sūrpasya ka panârdham tu gaiminir munir abravît ||*

12. A female slave, a boat, a beast of burden, and a pledge is not lost (to the owner) by adverse possession. The possessor is bound to give a compensation in money for his enjoyment of them.

13. (Let him give) two *Panas* a day for the use of a female slave; eight *Panas* for the use of a milch-cow; thirteen for the use of a bull; sixteen for the use of a horse or of an estate.

14. He who forcibly enjoys a boat, a horse, a milch-cow, or the plough of an agriculturist, shall be made to pay eight times (their value) each day.

15. (For the use) of a mortar, half a *Pana*; for the use of a pestle, two *Panas*; for the use of a winnowing basket, half a *Pana*. Thus has the sage Gaimini declared.

16. A deposit which has been entrusted to a friend, is called a deposit based on confidence.

17. Should a man, after entering the order of religious ascetics, violate the duties of his order, the king should cause him to be branded with a dog's foot and banish him quickly (from his realm).

18. These two persons are (as contemptible as) *Kandālas* for their acts, and should be kept entirely apart from the world: one who has forsaken the order of religious ascetics, and one who has entered an order prohibited in law.

19. He is called Guru (a teacher) who instructs his pupil, duly addressing him in *Prākṛit* or *Samskr̥it*, or employing a local or other dialect.

16, 17. *Vīram*. pp. 406, 407.

18. *Smṛitīk*. dvāv eva karmatandālau loke dūrabahishkr̥itau | pravragyopanivṛttas ka vr̥thā pravragitas ka yaś ||

19. *Vīram*. p. 72.

20. When a quarrel has arisen between prostitutes and the lovers frequenting their house, the principal prostitutes and the lovers shall decide the dispute in common.

21. If other persons (than the neighbours) should give false evidence in a dispute concerning land, such low persons shall be condemned to pay the first fine each in his turn.

22. A boundary is declared to be of five sorts, as it may be either marked by signs (such as trees), or by water (of a river), or by articles deposited underground, or subject to no quarrel (being determined by consent of both parties), or fixed by royal command.

23. After having traced those (robbers) with the aid of able spies acquainted with their habits, he shall avoid frightening them, and shall cause them to be arrested by officials secretly set upon them.

24. It is not from the air, from the sky, from the sea, or from other (such parts) that robbers will come; therefore one should act thus.

25. (The king) shall endeavour to inveigle (thieves and robbers) through cunning spies who are anxious to catch thieves. Other skilful and reliable persons also, artful talkers and former thieves, shall (be appointed to) detect the thieves.

26. By giving them wealth and valuable presents,

20. Viv. p. 102; Col. Dig. III, 1, 98; Ratn. p. 167.

21. Vîram. p. 459; Ratn. p. 212. 'Other persons,' i. e. hunters, foresters, and so forth. This text comes in between Nârada XI, 7 and 8.

22. Ratn. p. 214; Vîram. p. 452.

23. Ratn. p. 292.

24. Ratn. p. 335. This text should come in immediately after Nârada XIV, 25.

25-29. Ratn. p. 337. Read *kauryâpadesais ka* in 26.

by causing them to attend at public shows and festivals, and by pretending intended robberies, they shall cause (the thieves) to assemble together.

27. Those who fail to make their appearance on such occasions, though skilful spies have been set on them, shall be arrested together with their sons, kinsmen, and relatives.

28. He shall then arrest the thieves after having convicted and enticed them (to make their appearance), and shall inflict capital punishment on them in various ways, after having proclaimed (their deeds) everywhere.

29. Innocent persons also are seen to mingle with thieves (occasionally); let not the king inflict punishments indiscriminately on such.

BR/HASPATI.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FRAGMENTS OF *BRĪHASPATI*.

THE fragments of *Brīhaspati* are among the most precious relics of the early legal literature of India. Apart from their intrinsic value and interest, as containing a very full exposition of the whole range of the Hindu law, their close connexion with the Code of Manu gives them a special claim to consideration, and renders them a valuable link in the chain of evidence¹ by which the date of the most authoritative code of ancient India has been approximately determined².

The connexion between the Manu and *Brīhaspati Smṛitis* appears first from the way in which *Brīhaspati* refers to, and quotes from, the Code of Manu. In the chapter on Gambling and Betting, *Brīhaspati* says (XXVI, 1), 'Gambling has been prohibited by Manu, because it destroys truth, honesty, and wealth. It has been permitted by others, when conducted so as to allow the king a share (of every stake).' The observation that Manu disagrees with the other legislators as to the permissibility of gambling is perfectly just. See Manu IX, 221-228; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 199-203; *Āpastamba* II, 25, 12, 13; *Nārada* XVII, 1-8; *Kātyāyana* XXV, 1. *Brīhaspati* goes on to say (XXVI, 2) that 'Gambling shall take place under the superintendence of keepers of gaming-houses, for the purpose of discovering thieves.' This rule agrees almost literally with *Yāgñavalkya* II, 203, and the fact that *Brīhaspati* does not refer to *Yāgñavalkya* by name, although he names Manu, can only be accounted for by his very particular veneration for the latter, as the fountain-head of Sacred Law.—On the

¹ Bühler, *The Laws of Manu* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxv), pp. cviii-cx.

² What follows up to p. 275 has been reprinted, with modifications and additions, from a paper on 'Manu and *Brīhaspati*,' in the first volume of the *Vienna Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, pp. 275-280.

subject of weights or coins, Brīhaspati says (X, 10), 'The quantities beginning with a floating particle of dust and ending with a Kārshāpāna have been declared by Manu.' The statements of Manu which are thus referred to by Brīhaspati may be found, Manu VIII, 132-137.—In speaking of the Niyoga or appointment of a widow to raise offspring to her deceased husband, Brīhaspati says (XXIV, 12), 'The Niyoga has been declared by Manu, and again prohibited by the same; on account of the successive deterioration of the (four) ages of the world, it must not take place (in the present or Kali age).' This text shows that the conflicting statements of Manu (IX, 57-68) with regard to the Niyoga, which have been the matter of so much comment among European philologists, had already struck his follower Brīhaspati, and were ingeniously explained by him, in accordance with the practice of his own times.—In the chapter on Inheritance (XXV, 33), Brīhaspati observes that out of the thirteen sons declared by Manu, a legitimate son of the body (aurasa) and an appointed daughter (putrikā) are the only ones that represent real issue. It is true that Manu (IX, 158, 180) speaks emphatically of twelve sons only, but the appointed daughter or her son is not among these, and he advocates in strong terms the rights of an appointed daughter's son (IX, 127-140), and cuts down very much the rights of all the other substitutes for a son (IX, 180, 181). This shows that Brīhaspati's rules on this head are perfectly in keeping with the teaching of Manu.—In the chapter on Sale without Ownership (XIII, 1) he refers to Manu (VIII, 197) by the name of Bhṛigu.

Secondly, in a number of other instances, the Code of Manu, though not appealed to by name, is nevertheless distinctly referred to by Brīhaspati. Thus, in the chapter on Inheritance (XXV, 79), he observes that 'those by whom clothes and so forth have been declared impartible have not decided properly.' The well-known *versus memorialis* concerning impartible property, the contents of which are further discussed in the sequel by Brīhaspati, occurs both in the Code of Manu (IX, 219) and

Indirect
references.

in the *Vishnu-smṛiti* ; and it may be presumed either that the authors of these two works are the authorities referred to by *Bṛihaspati*, or that *Manu* is referred to in the pluralis majestatis, as is often the case with teachers. The reason why *Manu* is not referred to by name may be sought in the fact that *Bṛihaspati* does not care to openly avow his dissent from so eminent an authority.—In the chapter on Debts, *Bṛihaspati* remarks (XI, 4) that interest is divided into four species by some, into five by others, and by others again into six sorts. Four sorts of interest are mentioned by *Manu*, VIII, 153.—In the chapter on Inheritance (XXV, 35), he declares that an appointed daughter or her son has been pronounced equal to a legitimate son of the body. The rights of an appointed daughter, as shown before, are laid great stress upon by *Manu*, and he actually states that an (appointed) daughter is equal to a son (IX, 130).

Thirdly, *Bṛihaspati*, even when not expressly referring to *Manu*, presupposes throughout an acquaintance with his Code, and a very large portion of his *Smṛiti* is devoted to the interpretation of technical terms or to the elucidation or amplification of the somewhat laconic enunciations of *Manu*. Thus, for example, in the chapter on Debts (XI, 5–11), he explains, comments on, and amplifies the four sorts of interest mentioned by *Manu* (VIII, 153). In the same chapter (XI, 55–58) he interprets the curious terms used by *Manu* (VIII, 49) to denote the various modes of recovering an outstanding debt. In the chapter on Sale without Ownership (XIII, 2), he explains the technical term *asvâmin*, ‘another person than the owner,’ which had been first used by *Manu*. From the general maxim of *Manu* (VIII, 2, 11) that the allotment of shares among partners in any undertaking shall be arranged in the same way as for a company of officiating priests, *Bṛihaspati* (XIV, 20–32) has developed a series of elaborate rules regarding partnership in tillage, workmanship, trade, musical performances, and robbery. In the same way, the threefold law of breach of promised obedience, non-payment of wages, and disputes between the owner of cattle and his servants has been

developed by *Brīhaspati* (XVI, 1, 2) from Manu's two titles of non-payment of wages and disputes between master and servant. An analogous course of development may be observed in the chapters on Ordeals, Resumption of Gift, and Violation of Agreements, as compared to the scanty provisions of Manu (VIII, 114-116, 212-214, 218-221) on the same subjects. In the chapter on Boundary Disputes, Manu's technical term *maula*, 'an original inhabitant of a place,' is interpreted by *Brīhaspati* (XIX, 12). It would be easy to multiply examples. One more analogy between the Manu and *Brīhaspati Smṛitis* seems to be specially deserving of notice. Both agree in arranging the whole field of legal controversies under eighteen heads, and it appears from the introductory verses to several chapters (XII, 1; XIII, 1; XV, 1; XVI, 1; XVII, 1, &c.) that *Brīhaspati* was anxious to discuss the eighteen titles of law in the same order as Manu. Nevertheless, he applies an interesting new principle of division to the eighteen titles of law by distinguishing fourteen titles relating to civil law, and four titles relating to criminal law (II, 3-9), and introduces a number of subdivisions (II, 2, 10; XVI, 1-3; XXII, 1, 2).

Fourthly, *Brīhaspati* declares emphatically that any *Smṛiti* text opposed to the teaching of Manu has no validity (XXVII, 4).

Under these circumstances the tradition preserved in the *Skanda-purāṇa* that there are four versions of the Code of

Result. Manu, by *Bhrigu*, *Nārada*, *Brīhaspati*, and *Āṅgiras*, acquires a peculiar significance.

Taking the version attributed to *Bhrigu* to be identical with the Code of Manu, the *soi-disant* composition of *Bhrigu*, it is impossible to doubt its connexion with the *Nārada*¹ and *Brīhaspati Smṛitis*. It is but natural to find, therefore, that *Nārada* and *Brīhaspati* agree very closely inter se, as e.g. in adding a title called 'Miscellaneous' to Manu's eighteen titles of law (*Brīhaspati* XXVII, 1), in enumerating and describing three sorts of proof, eleven or twelve kinds of witnesses, eight or ten 'members of a lawsuit,' four parts of a judicial proceeding, four sorts of answer in a suit,

¹ See above, Introduction to *Nārada*.

various 'defects of a plaint,' three kinds of officiating priests, four species of gifts, four divisions of violence (*sâhasa*), five modes of recovery of a debt, &c. Many other analogies between the two works may be gathered from a mere cursory comparison of their contents; they agree particularly in the use of many technical terms. One of these, the designation of a gold coin by the Roman or Greek term *dînâra*, i. e. *denarius* (X, 15), is an important test for the date of both works, and compels us to refer the earlier date of the composition of *Brîhaspati's* law-book to the first century A. D., the period to which belong the earliest Indian coins corresponding in weight to the gold *denarius* of the Romans¹. As regards the lower limit, one might feel inclined to assign an earlier date to *Brîhaspati* than to *Nârada*, on the ground of his being a faithful follower of *Manu* in a far higher degree than is *Nârada*, who differs from *Manu* on such important points as the names and order of several titles of law, the legitimacy of the *Niyoga*, &c.² Nevertheless, the enlightened views of *Brîhaspati* on the subject of women's rights³, and the advanced character of his teaching generally, render it probable that his learned composition belongs to a somewhat more recent period than the *Nârada-smṛiti*.

The fact that *Brîhaspati* was considered an inspired writer by the very earliest commentators of law-books, such as e.g. by *Medhâtithi* (ninth century), proves him to have preceded those commentators by several centuries. An analogous result may be obtained by comparing the laws of *Brîhaspati* with the corresponding portions of the Burmese *Dhammathats*, the Buddhist Indian originals of which, according to Dr. Forchhammer, were composed in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. The coincidences between *Brîhaspati* and the *Dhammathats* are both numerous and striking⁴. It may be added that

¹ West and Bühler, *Digest of the Hindu Law*, I, p. 48; Jolly, *Tagore Lect.* p. 56.

² See above, *Introduction to Nârada*. ³ Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, pp. 193, 241.

⁴ Several coincidences between *Brîhaspati* and the *Wagaru*, the earliest law-book of Burma, have been collected by Dr. Forchhammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 55, 57, 58. For other examples, see Dr. Forchhammer's edition of the *Wagaru*, pp. 12 (gifts), 36 (twelve witnesses), &c.

the judicial proceeding described in the well-known drama *Mṛikkhakatika* corresponds to the rules laid down by *Bṛihaspati*, as has been shown elsewhere. For all these reasons, the composition of the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* cannot be referred to a later period than the sixth or seventh century A.D.

Hitherto, those texts of *Bṛihaspati* have been entirely left aside which relate to other parts of the sacred law than Civil and Criminal Law and Procedure. Hemādri's *Katurvarga-kintāmani*, Devāṇḍabhaṭṭa's *Smṛitīkandrikā*, and most other standard Dharmanibandhas contain a number of texts of *Bṛihaspati* on Dāna, Vrata, Prāyaskitta, and all other parts of the religious law. However, an examination of these texts has yielded no definite result, and they are not sufficiently numerous by far to admit of reconstructing the purely religious portion of the ancient *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* from them. Nor is it at all improbable that the legal texts of *Bṛihaspati* may have formed an independent work from the outset, just like the *Nārada-smṛiti*, or like the Burmese Dhammathats, in which forensic law was treated by itself, without any admixture of religious elements.

The legal texts attributed to *Bṛihaspati* are so numerous as to make up in their entirety a law-book which contains a

Arrangement. full exposition of forensic law, hardly inferior in size to the *Nārada-smṛiti*. The principles on which the texts have been collected and arranged are the same as in the case of the Quotations from *Nārada*. The preservation of the introductory texts to several titles of law, and the occurrence of many long series of consecutive texts of *Bṛihaspati* in the Dharmanibandhas, facilitate considerably the task of arrangement, though the original position of many texts in *Bṛihaspati*'s Dharmaśāstra must needs remain doubtful. For the chapter on Inheritance the following other works have been used, besides those consulted for the Quotations from *Nārada*: G. Sarkar's translation of the *Vīramitrodaya* on Inheritance (V.); Dr. Burnell's *Mādhaviya* and *Varadarāga*; Professor Bühler's edition of the *Ugvalā* of Haradatta; Haradatta's *Gautamiyā Mitāksharā* (MS.); Nandapāṇḍita's *Vaigayanti* (MS.).

BRĪHASPATI.

I. CONSTITUTION OF A COURT OF JUSTICE.

1. In former ages men were strictly virtuous and devoid of mischievous propensities. Now that avarice and malice have taken possession of them, judicial proceedings have been established.

2. A judicial assembly is declared to be of four sorts : stationary, not stationary, furnished with (the king's) signet-ring, and directed (by the king). The judges are of as many sorts.

3. A stationary (court meets) in a town or village; one not stationary is called movable ; one furnished with (the king's) signet-ring is superintended by the chief judge ; one directed (by the king) is held in the king's presence.

4. The king, his chosen representative (the chief judge), the judges, the law (*Smṛiti*), the accountant and scribe, gold, fire, water, and the king's own officer are ten members of legal procedure.

5. A court of justice is composed of these ten members ; and a judicial assembly of this sort, in which the king examines causes attentively, is comparable to an act of religion.

I, 1. *Vīram*. p. 5.

2-10. *Smṛitīk*.

2, 3. *Aparārka*. *pratish/hitāpratish/hitā mudritā sāsītā tathā* । *āturvidhā sabhā proktā sabhyās kaiva tathāvidhā* ॥ *pratish/hitā pure grāme kalā nāmāpratish/hitā* । *mudritādhyakshasamyutā rāga-yuktā ka sāsītā* ॥ The *Smṛitīkandrikā* reads *sāstritā*, 'governed by the science of law,' for *sāsītā*, 'directed.'

4-10. *Vīram*. pp. 41, 42.

6. The office of these ten (members) is separately declared for each. The chief judge decides causes; the king inflicts punishments; the judges investigate the merits of the case.

7. The law furnishes the decree, whether victory or defeat; gold and fire serve the purpose of administering ordeals; water is required for persons suffering from thirst or hunger.

8. The accountant should compute the sum (in dispute); the scribe should record the proceedings; the king's own officer should compel the attendance of the defendant, assessors, and witnesses.

9. And he should constantly keep both the plaintiff and defendant in custody, if they have given no sureties. Of these members (of a court of justice) the king is the head; the chief judge is the mouth;

10. The judges are both arms; the law is both hands; the accountant and the scribe are the legs; gold, fire, and water are the eyes and the heart; and the king's own officer is the feet.

11. That judicial assembly is equal (in sanctity) to a sacrificial meeting in which there sit seven or five or three Brahmans, who are acquainted with the world, with (the contents of) the Veda, and with law.

12. In a controversy he examines the (plaint in) question and the answer; he speaks gently at first

11. M. Macn. I, 1, 11.

12. Vîram. p. 37. If the reading be correct, a double etymology of the term *prâdvivâka*, 'a judge,' is propounded in this text: (1) he who asks or examines (*prikkhati*) and afterwards decides (*vadati*); (2) he who speaks gently at first (*prâg vadati*). There is another reading, *pravadati* for *prâg vadati*, under which the former etymology is the only one propounded in this text. It is beyond doubt the true etymology.

(prâg vadati). Therefore he is called Prâdvivâka (judge).

13. Men qualified by the performance of devotional acts, strictly veracious and virtuous, void of wrath and covetousness, and familiar with (legal) lore, should be appointed by the ruler as judges (or assessors of the court).

14. Two persons thoroughly familiar with grammar and vocabulary, skilled in (the art of) computation, honest, and acquainted with various modes of writing, should be appointed by the king as accountant and scribe (respectively).

15. A veracious man, who pays obedience to the judges, should be appointed (by the king) as his own officer, to summon and to keep in custody the witnesses, plaintiff, and defendant.

16. The king should sit facing the east; the judges, facing the north; the accountant, facing the west; and the scribe, facing the south.

17. The king should cause gold, fire, water, and codes of the sacred law to be placed in the midst of them, also (other) holy and auspicious things.

18. In the middle of his fortress, he should build a house, with water and trees adjacent to it, apart (from other buildings), and let him use as court of justice (a room situated) on the eastern side of it, properly constituted and facing the east,

19. Furnished with garlands and with a throne,

13. Aparârka. sâdhukarmakriyâyuktâḥ satyadharmaparâyanâḥ | akrodhalobhâḥ sâstragñâḥ sabhyâḥ kâr्या mahibhugâ ||

14, 15. Vîram. p. 42.

15, 16. May. p. 4 (Mandlik).^c

17. Smṛitiḥ. hiranyam agnim udakam dharmasâstrâni kaiva hi | tanmadhye sthâpayed râgâḥ puṇyâni ka hitâni ka ||

18, 19. Vîram. p. 10. The epithet lakṣhanyâm, 'properly con-

supplied with grain, (decorated) with jewels, adorned with statues, pictures, and images of deities, and (provided) with fire and water.

20. Let the king try causes, attended by three judges, after having entered the excellent judicial assembly, in a sitting or standing posture.

21. The king having risen early in the morning and performed ablutions according to rule, and having shown due honour to Gurus (persons entitled to respect), astronomers, physicians, deities, Brahmans, and domestic priests,

22. And having saluted the Gurus and the rest, should enter the court-room, decorated with flowers, ornaments, and (fine) clothes, with a cheerful countenance.

23. Having entered the judicial assembly in the forenoon, together with the seniors, ministers, and attendants, he should try causes and should listen to (the expositions of) the *Purāṇas*, codes of law, and rules of polity.

24. Let the king or a member of a twice-born caste officiating as chief judge try causes, acting on principles of equity, and abiding by the opinion of the judges, and by the doctrine of the sacred law.

stituted,' means 'constructed according to the rules of architecture.' Vîram.

20. *Smṛitiḥ. rāgā kāryāni sampasyet sabhyair eva tribhir vṛitaḥ | sabhām eva pravisyāgryām āsīnaḥ sthita eva vā ||* Nearly identical with Manu VIII, 10.

21, 22. *Smṛitiḥ. prātar utthāya nrīpatiḥ sauḥam kr̥tvā vidhānataḥ | gurūñ gyoṭirvido vaidyān devān viprān purohitān || yathāham etān sampūgya sapuṣhpābharanāmbaraḥ | abhivādya ka gurvādīn sumukhaḥ praviset sabhām ||*

23. May. p. 5.

24. *Smṛitiḥ. rāgā kāryāni sampasyet prādvivākoṭhavā dvigaḥ | nyāyāṅgāny agrataḥ kr̥tvā sabhyarāstramate sthitaḥ ||*

25. For persons roaming the forest, a court should be held in the forest ; for warriors, in the camp ; and for merchants, in the caravan.

26. Cultivators, artizans (such as carpenters or others), artists, money-lenders, companies (of tradesmen), dancers, persons wearing the token of a religious order (such as Pâsupatas), and robbers should adjust their disputes according to the rules of their own profession.

27. (The king) should cause the disputes of ascetics and of persons versed in sorcery and witchcraft to be settled by persons familiar with the three Vedas only, and not (decide them) himself, for fear of rousing their resentment.

28. Relatives, companies (of artizans), assemblies (of co-habitants) and other persons duly authorized by the king, should decide lawsuits among men, excepting causes concerning violent crimes (sâhasa).

29. (Meetings of) kindred, companies (of artizans), assemblies (of co-habitants), and chief judges, are declared to be resorts for the passing of a sentence, to whom he whose cause has been previously tried may appeal in succession.

30. When a cause has not been (duly) investigated by (meetings of) kindred, it should be decided after due deliberation by companies (of artizans); when it has not been (duly) examined by companies (of artizans, it should be decided) by assemblies (of co-habitants) ; and when it has not been (sufficiently) made out by such assemblies, (it should be tried) by appointed (judges).

25. May. p. 4.
28-32. Vîram. p. 40.

26, 27. Vîram. p. 30.

31. Judges are superior in authority to (meetings of) kindred and the rest; the chief judge is placed above them; and the king is superior to all, because he passes just sentences.

32. The insight of princes surpasses by far the understandings (of other persons), in the decision of the highest, lowest, and middling controversies.

33. They who are ignorant of the customs of the country, unbelievers, despisers of the sacred books, insane, irate, avaricious, or troubled (by pain or illness) should not be consulted in the decision of a cause.

34. A Brahman is the root of the tree of justice; the sovereign prince is its stem and branches; the ministers are its leaves and blossoms; just government is its fruit.

35. Renown and wealth are the sap of its fruit; a dignified station, invincibility, esteem among men, and an eternal residence in paradise is enjoying its fruit.

36. Having recognised these advantages in (the pursuit of) justice, a king should be equitable towards litigants, and should pass a just sentence, discarding avarice and other (evil propensities).

II. GENERAL RULES OF PROCEDURE.

1. This legal procedure is declared, however, to be divided into a number of branches. Hear, now,

33. *Smṛitiḥ. darākārānabhiḡñā ye nāstikāḥ sāstravargitāḥ | unmattakruddhalubdhārtā na prashavyā vinirṇaye ||*

34-36. *Vīram. p. 14. Read bhogoṣṭha grahapūganam in 35; vivādinām | tyaktvā lobhādikam rāgā dharmyam in 36.*

II, 1, 2. Vīram. p. 292.

its various divisions which may become the causes of lawsuits.

2. I will proclaim in due order, according to truth, (the titles of law) beginning with the recovery of a debt and ending with (the title of) gambling with dice and betting on animals, as well as the subdivisions of the titles of law.

3. When a master pays wages to the labourers hired by him, for the purpose of doing work, and the labourers do not work, a lawsuit will arise in consequence.

4. When any man injures (another), or when he refuses to give what he ought to give: such are the two principal motives for going to law. Their subdivisions are manifold.

5. Lawsuits are of two kinds, according as they originate in (demands regarding) wealth or in injuries. Lawsuits originating in wealth are (divided again) into fourteen sorts; those originating in injuries are of four sorts.

6. Lending money at interest; deposits (and treasure-trove); (the title) called invalid gifts; concerns of a partnership; non-payment of wages; disobedience; disputes concerning land; sale without ownership;

7. Revocation of sale and purchase; breach of

3, 4. *Smṛitiḥ. prayakṣheḥ kēd bhr̥tīm svāmī bhr̥tyānām karma kurvatām | na kurvanti ka bhr̥tyās ket tatra vādaḥ pravartate || himsām yo kurute kaskid deyam vā na prayakṣhati | dve hi sthāne vivādasya tayoṛ bahutarā gatiḥ ||*

5-9. *Smṛitiḥ. dvipādo vyavahāraḥ syād dhanahimsāsamudbhavaḥ | dvisaptako-rthamūlas tu himsāmulas katurvidhaḥ || kusīdanidhyadeyākhyam sambhūyotthānam eva ka | bhr̥tyadānam asurūśā bhūvādo-svāmivikrayaḥ || krayavikrayānurayaḥ samayātikra-*

agreements; the law between wife and husband; theft; the law of inheritance; and gambling with dice.

8. These are the fourteen titles of law that originate in (demands regarding) wealth. There are again various subdivisions of them, owing to the diversity of lawsuits.

9. The two kinds of insult; violence; and criminal connexion with the wife of another man: these have been declared by Bṛhaspati to be the four titles of law originating in injury.

10. Each of them embraces again several different kinds, according as they are of a superior, middling, or of the lowest description. Thus are those four subdivided each in its turn.

11. Those who understand the eighteen titles of law, as proclaimed in the law-books, to be at the root of all lawsuits, are intelligent men indeed.

12. No sentence should be passed merely according to the letter of the law. If a decision is arrived at without considering the circumstances of the case, violation of justice will be the result.

13. The issue of a lawsuit may convert a thief into an honest man, and an honourable man into an

mas tathâ | strîpumsayogaḥ steyam ka dâyabhâgo-kshadevanam ||
evam arthasamutthâni padâni tu katurdasa | punar eva prabhinnâni
kriyâbhedâd anekadhâ || pârushye dve sâhasas ka parastrîsam-
grahas tathâ | himsodbhavapadâny evam kâtvâry âha bṛhaspatiḥ ||

10, 11. Smṛitiḥ. hīnamadhyottamatvena prabhinnâni prīṭhak
prīṭhak | viresha eṣhâm nirdish/as katurṇâm apy anukramât ||
padâny ashvâdaraitâni dharmasâstroditâni tu | mûlam sarvavivâdâ-
nâm ye vidus te parikshakâḥ ||

12-14. Vīram. p. 18. See Nārada I, 1, 42, 71 (above, pp. 16, 23). For the story of Māṇḍavya, who was falsely charged with theft, see *ibid.* p. 16, note.

offender. *Māṇḍavya* acquired the reputation of a thief in consequence of a decision passed without considering the circumstances of the case.

14. Dishonest men may seem honest, and honest men dishonest, so that wrong notions may be easily created; therefore sentences should be passed after due consideration of the circumstances only.

15. By killing an aggressor, a man does not commit sin by any means. He who takes the life of one approaching with intent to murder him is no offender.

16. If one abused returns the abuse, or if one struck strikes again, and kills the assailant, such a man commits no offence.

17. He who refrains from killing an aggressor who abuses him aloud, and is ready to murder him, (because the aggressor) is a virtuous man (otherwise) and practices regularly the recitation of the Veda, obtains the same reward as for performing a horse-sacrifice.

18. The judgment in a doubtful matter is declared to be of four sorts, according as it is based on moral law, or on the issue of the case, or on custom, or on an edict from the king.

19. Each of these has been declared to be twofold by the sages, owing to the diversity of legal affairs.

20. When the matter in dispute has been decided according to equity, after due deliberation, and

15. *Vīram*. p. 24.

16. *Raghunandana*, p. 9.

17. *Vīram*. p. 25.

18. *Vīram*. p. 8. See *Nārada I*, 1, 11 (above, p. 7).

19-24. *Vīram*. pp. 118, 119. I read, with *Smṛṭik.*, *divyair vā sodhitaḥ* in 21; *pramāṇanīṣṭito* in 22; and *pramāṇarahitā* in 24.

20, 21. The first kind is when the truth has been duly ascer-

thoroughly examined by means of oaths (or ordeals), it should be known to be a judgment based on moral law.

21. When the defendant admits the accusation, or furnishes clear evidence of his innocence through performing an ordeal, it should be known to be another sort of a decision based on moral law.

22. A sentence founded on an examination of the evidence is termed (a decision based on) the issue of the case. When (the defendant) tells a lie, or makes no answer, it is also termed (a decision based on the issue of the case).

23. When a sentence is passed according to the inference (to be drawn from circumstantial evidence), it is termed (a decision based on) custom. When it is passed according to local usages, it is termed another sort (of a decision based on custom) by the learned in law.

24. A decision based on an edict from the king is ordained, first, for those cases in which no evidence is forthcoming. When the law-books or the judges are at variance with one another, the second sort (of this species of decisions) is said to be applicable.

25. When a sentence is passed exclusively according to the letter of the law, it should be con-

tained and a sentence passed accordingly. The second kind is when no examination of the facts takes place, the question being settled either through a confession on the part of the defendant, or through the performance of an ordeal. *Smṛitīkandrikā*.

22. The evidence here referred to can be human evidence only, i. e. the deposition of witnesses, documents, or possession, divine test being referred to in the two preceding texts. *Smṛitīk*.

23. 'Inference,' such as when a man is caught with a firebrand in his hand. *Smṛitīk*. See *Nārada* I, 18, 172-175 (above, pp. 85, 86).

25-27. *Vīram*. pp. 120, 121.

sidered as (a decision based on) the issue of the case. Moral law is overruled by it.

26. When a decision is passed in accordance with local custom, logic, or the opinion of the traders (living in that town), the issue of the case is overruled by it.

27. Where the king, disregarding established usage, passes a sentence (according to his own inclination), it is (called) an edict from the king, and local custom is overruled by it.

28. The time-honoured institutions of each country, caste, and family should be preserved intact; otherwise the people would rise in rebellion; the subjects would become disaffected towards their rulers; and the army and treasure would be destroyed.

29. The maternal uncle's daughter is taken in marriage among the twice-born inhabitants of the South. In the central country (Madhyadesa), they become labourers or artisans, and eat cows.

30. The inhabitants of the East are fish-eaters, and their women engage in promiscuous intercourse. In the North the women take intoxicating drinks, and in their courses have intercourse with men.

31. The people of Khasa marry the widow of a brother who has died. These men are not subject to the performance of a penance or to punishment on account of any such offence.

32. Thus has legal procedure with its manifold

28-31. *Vīram.* p. 29; *May.* p. 5. I read *pūrve* for *sarve* in 30, with *Mayākhya*, *Kalpataru*, and other compilations. *Baudhāyana I.* 2, 1-7.

32. *Smṛitiḥ evam kānekadhā prokto vyavahāro manishibhiḥ | tasya nirṇayakṛd rāgā brāhmaṇas ka bahusrutaḥ ||*

ramifications been represented by the sages. The sentence in a legal controversy has to be passed by the king or by a Brahman thoroughly versed in the Veda.

33. Against whomsoever an accusation has been raised, whether founded on fact or on suspicion, let the king summon that man either through (a letter signed with) his seal or through an attendant.

34. For one timorous, or idiotic, or mad, or over-aged, and for women, boys, and sick persons, a kinsman or appointed agent should proffer the plaint or answer (as their representative).

35. When a man who has a family and relations does not appear before the court through pride after having been summoned, (the king or judge) should inflict on him punishment corresponding to the nature of the accusation.

36. (The plaintiff) is not permitted to put under restraint a person engaged in study; nor one about to marry; nor one sick; nor one afflicted by sorrow; nor one insane; nor an infant; nor one intoxicated; nor a very old man; nor one charged with a crime; nor one engaged in the king's service; nor one performing a vow;

37. Nor a soldier at the time of battle; nor a husbandman at the time of harvest; nor one in a perilous situation; nor a (respectable) woman; nor one not his own master,

38. A king thus obeying the dictâtes of law in passing sentences, acquires widespread renown in

33. Vîram. p. 52.

35. May. p. 8.

38. Vîram. p. 125.

34. Vîram. p. 53.

36, 37. Vîram. p. 56.

this world and becomes an associate of great Indra (after death).

39. He who effects a perfect cure, by the application of surgical instruments smeared with the ointment of law, of persons blinded by ignorance, and whose eyes are veiled with a mist of doubt,

40. Obtains fame and royal favours in this world and a residence in heaven. Therefore should a decision be passed for those who are blinded by doubt.

41. An officiating priest and one entrusted with the trial of causes are declared to be equal. In a sacrifice, the sacrificer acquires religious merit; in a lawsuit, (the parties obtain) defeat or victory.

42. He who, divesting himself of avarice, hatred, and other (evil propensities), passes sentences according to the dictates of law, obtains the same reward as for the performance of a sacrifice.

III. THE PLAINT.

1. The part called the declaration; the part called the answer; the part called the trial; and the part called the deliberation of the judges regarding the onus probandi: these are the four parts of a judicial proceeding.

2. The plaint is called the (first) part; the answer is the second part; the trial is the third part; and the judgment is the fourth part.

39, 40. Raghunandana, p. 3. I read *svargatim* for *sadgatim*, with *Smṛitiḥ*.

41. Raghunandana, p. 7.

42. *Smṛitiḥ*. *lobhadvēṣhādīkam tyaktvā yaḥ kuryât kâryanirṇayam | jāstroditenā vidhinā tasya yagñaphalam bhavet ||*

III, 1, 2. Vīram. pp. 59, 60.

3. In the case of a denial, (a judicial proceeding) consists of four parts; likewise, in the case of a special plea; the same rule applies to a plea of former judgment; but in the case of a confession, it has two parts only.

4. When plaintiff and defendant come together, each claiming to be first, their declarations should be received in the order of their castes, or after considering their respective grievances.

5. Those acquainted with (the true nature of) a plaint declare that to be a (proper) plaint, which is free from the defects of a declaration, susceptible of proof, provided with good arguments, precise, and reasonable,

6. Brief in words, rich in contents, unambiguous, free from confusion, devoid of improper arguments, and capable of meeting opposite arguments;

7. When a plaint of this description has been proffered by the plaintiff, the defendant should tender an answer conformable to such plaint.

3. *Vīram*. p. 59.

4. *Vīram*. p. 60. 'When Brahmans and others have entered the judicial assembly simultaneously, the four parts of a judicial proceeding should be instituted in the order of their castes, the Brahman's cause being tried first of all by the king, then the Kshatriya's, and so on, in the order (of their castes). If the comparative importance or heaviness of the respective grievances of each party differs, the order in which the causes are tried is not made to depend either on the relative priority of each declaration, or on the respective caste of the parties. If they are all of equal caste, the relative priority of the declarations is taken into account. If the declarations have been simultaneous, and if the litigants are equal in caste, and their grievances are also equal, the order is made to depend on the choice of the judge and of the assessors of the court.' *Vīram*.

5-7. *Raghunandana*, p. 12.

8. The above and other qualities (of a plaint) having been duly considered, a plaint (containing them) may be regarded as a proper plaint; one not answering this description is a mere semblance of a plaint.

9. That (plaint) which (mentions an act that) has never been done by anybody is called impossible; one referring to a slight offence, or to a trifling sum, is called unmeaning; one in which neither a demand nor a grievance is referred to, should be known to be purposeless.

10. (Or) that plaint is unmeaning which does not concern one of the (fourteen) titles of law relating to the lending of money at interest and so forth; and that plaint is purposeless which does not concern one of the (four) titles of law relating to insult and so forth.

11. (When a claimant declares): This man is bound to give me a bow made of the horn of a hare, the wise declare such a plaint to be unreasonable and unsusceptible of proof.

12. When the interests of a town or kingdom are violated by bringing a certain plaint before a chief judge or before the king, it is termed a plaint contrary (to equity).

13. When a man, (whether) acting as plaintiff (or as defendant), is forsaken by his strength on being about to make a statement in a suit, it is proper

8. *Smṛitiḥ*. *evamādi guṇān samyag ālokya ka suniṣṭitam | pakṣaḥ kṛtaḥ samādeyaḥ pakṣābhāsas tv ato-nyathā ||*

9. *Vīram*. p. 66.

10. *Vīram*. p. 67. Regarding the titles of law, see *Bṛhaspati*, II, 5-9.

11, 12. *Vīram*. p. 67.

13. *Raghunandana*, p. 11.

that a delay should be granted to him, according to circumstances and according to his ability.

14. Let him remove superfluous statements and amplify incomplete ones, and let him write down (everything) on the floor, till the (whole) matter has been definitely stated.

15. The plaintiff is at liberty to alter his declaration, when it is defective or redundant, till the defendant has tendered his answer in the presence of the judges.

16. When the plaintiff through timorousness does not dare to speak, it devolves on the judges to amend his declaration, according to the circumstances of the case.

17. A charge founded on suspicion, (one founded on) fact, a petition regarding the recovery of a debt, and claiming a fresh trial of a cause previously tried : thus a plaint is represented as fourfold.

18. The plaint is fourfold, and so is the answer ; the judgment is declared to be of four kinds also ; by some it is represented as being of eight sorts.

19. Suspicion is explained to mean doubt ; fact is (said to be) an insight into the real nature of a matter ; a petition regarding the recovery of a debt is (plea of) error ; a fresh trial is the repetition of a previous trial.

IV. THE ANSWER.

1. When the plaint has been well defined, a clear exposition given of what is claimed and what not, and the meaning of the plaint fully established, (the

14. Vīram. p. 70.

16-19. Vīram. p. 71.

15. Raghunandana, p. 14.

IV, 1. Vīram. p. 72.

judge) shall then cause the answer to be written (by the defendant).

2. If the defendant does not make an answer fully meeting the contents of the plaint, he shall be compelled to pay by gentle remonstrances, and the other (two) methods (to be indicated directly).

3. Kindly speeches are gentle remonstrances; intimidation is pointing out dangers; force consists of depriving one of his property, or striking, or binding him.

4. When a man makes no answer, though both (mild and harsh methods) have been adopted against him, he is defeated, and liable to punishment after the lapse of a week.

5. When the defendant asks for a delay through (natural) timidity, or terror, or because his memory has been deranged, the delay shall be granted to him.

6. He should be allowed (a delay extending to) one day, or three days, or five days, or seven days, or a fortnight, or a month, or three seasons (equalling six months), or a year, according to his ability.

7. The insane and intoxicated, those abandoned by their relatives or friends, those charged with a heavy crime, idiots, persons cast off from society, and infants, should be considered unable to deliver an answer.

8. One should not cause to be written an answer

2-4. *Vîram*. p. 74.

5, 6. *Vîram*. p. 138.

7. *Tod*. *unmattamattanirdhûtâ mahâpâatakadûshitâh* । *gadâpa-viddhabâlâs ka vigñeyâs te niruttarâh* ॥ Such persons should appoint an agent to deliver the answer in their place. *Tod*.

8. *Smṛitiḥ*. *prastutânyam ka madhyastham nyûnâdhikam asam-gatam* । *avyâpyasâram samdigdham pratipaksham na lekhayet* ॥

which wanders from the subject, or which is not to the point, too confined or too extensive, or not in conformity with the plaint, or not thorough enough, or absurd, or ambiguous.

9. If (the defendant) confesses, he shall state his confession; in the case of a denial, he shall cause (his denial) to be written; and so (should he record) his special plea in an answer by special plea, and his previous victory in an answer by previous victory.

10. A denial called forth by fear (of punishment) is contemptible in the eyes of men familiar with law; a true confession is declared to be meritorious.

11. In a plea by victory in a former trial, a true statement is praised by the virtuous; a false one is sinful and causes the defeat of the defendant.

V. THE TRIAL.

1. When litigants are quarrelling in a court of justice, the judges, after examining the answer, shall adjudge the burden of proof to either of the two parties.

2. The judges having heard both the plaint and the answer, and determined to which party the burden of proof shall be adjudged, that person shall substantiate the whole of his declaration by documents or other proofs.

3. The plaintiff shall prove his declaration, and

9-11. *Tod. tathye tathyam prayuṅgīta mithyâyām kâpi lekhayet | kâranam kâranopete prâggaye tu gayam tathâ || bhayadrish/odbhavâ mithyâ garhitâ sâstravedibhiḥ | satyâ sampratipattis tu dharmyâ sâ parikîrtitâ || prânnyâyakarane tathyam slâghyam sadbhir udâhṛitam | viparītam adharmyam syât pratyarthî hânim âpnuyât ||*

V, 1-3. Vîram. pp. 92, 93.

the defendant his special plea; victory in a previous trial shall be proved by a document recording that victory.

4. When people try to excite fear, or to cause dissension, or terror (among the judges or witnesses), or to throw (other) obstacles in their way, such litigants lose their suit.

5. One who absconds after receiving the summons; one who remains silent; one convicted (of a crime) by the (depositions of) witnesses; and one who admits the correctness of the charge: such are the four losers of their suit.

6. One who absconds loses the suit after three fortnights; one who remains silent, after a week; and one convicted by the witnesses, or confessing his crime, all at once.

7. He who announces witnesses and does not produce them afterwards, within thirty days or three fortnights, suffers defeat in consequence.

8. When a person has promised to appear at a trial or for the performance of an ordeal, and does not make his appearance, it must not be viewed as fraud.

9. If an obstacle caused by fate or the king should intervene during that time, he does not lose his cause through the mere non-observance of the fixed period.

10. Those (litigants) who make a private arrangement with one another, when the plaint and the

4. *Vīram.* p. 99.

5. *Vīram.* p. 102.

6, 7. *Vīram.* p. 102.

8. *Vīram.* p. 103. I read *kr̥itvopasthānanis̥kayam* | with *Smṛitīkandrikā*.

9. *Vīram.* p. 103.

10. *Vīram.* p. 103.

answer have been delivered, and the judgment is about to be given, shall be compelled to pay twice the amount (in dispute) as a fine.

11. When the plaint and the answer have been reduced to writing, and the trial has commenced, the two parties may be welded together like two pieces of red-hot iron.

12. While both parties are in suspense there regarding the (approaching declarations of the) witnesses and judges, those litigants are clever who arrive at a mutual understanding while the uncertainty lasts.

13. When the evidence is equally strong on both sides, and law and custom divided, in such a case a mutual reconciliation between the two parties through royal order is recommended.

14. Gain of religious merit and wealth, and renown accrues to the ruler from an equitable decision; the witnesses and assessors are exempt from censure, and enmity ceases,

15. When an unfavourable or a favourable decree, punishment or praise, renown or infamy has been obtained; whereas (continued) strife among men leads to sin.

16. Therefore should an intelligent (prince) enact that which has been propounded by dutiful and equitable associations, corporations, and chief judges, (in an impartial spirit) devoid of malice and avarice.

11-16. *Vīram*. p. 104. Read *dvayoh samtaptayoh* in 11, with *Smṛtīkandrikā*.

12. The translation follows the gloss of the *Kalpataru*, as quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya*. The *Ratnākara* (*ibid.*) translates the first half as follows: 'When the witnesses and judges are at variance with one another.'

17. Evidence is declared to be twofold, human and divine. Each of these is again divided into a number of branches by sages declaring the essence of things.

18. Human evidence is threefold, as it consists of witnesses, writings, and inference. Witnesses are of twelve sorts; writings are declared to be tenfold; inference is twofold; divine test is ninefold.

19. In the case of an answer of the first or third kinds, divine and human proof should be employed; but in the case of an answer of the fourth kind, an attested document recording the success of either party should be produced.

20. In the cases of a plea of former judgment and of a special plea, the defendant shall prove the contents of his answer; but in the case of a denial, the plaintiff shall prove the contents of the plea.

VI. THE JUDGMENT.

1. He is said to have gained his cause in this world who has proved his claim, and has been honourably dismissed by the chief judge and the other judges, and received a document recording his victory.

2. Punishment corresponding to the nature of the offence shall be ordained there (in the decree).

17, 18. *Vīram*. p. 110.

19. *Smṛitīk*. *prathame vā tritīye vā pramāṇam daivamānusham | uttare syāt katurthe tu sasākshi gayapatrakam ||* An answer of the first kind is a denial; an answer of the third kind is a confession; an answer of the fourth kind is a plea of former judgment.

20. *Smṛitīk*. *prāṇnyāye pratyavaskande pratyarthī sādha yet svakam | uttarārtham pratigñārtham arthī mithyottare punaḥ ||*

VI, 1. *Raghunandana*, p. 60.

2. *Vīram*. p. 124.

3. Whatever has been transacted in a suit, the plaint, answer, and so forth, as well as the gist of the trial, should be noted completely in the document recording the success (of the claimant or defendant).

4. When the king gives the victorious party a document recording the plaint, answer, and trial, and closing with the sentence, it is called a document recording the success (of either party).

5. When a man does not feel satisfied with a decision passed by meetings of kindred or other (resorts for the redress of wrongs), the king should revise the decision declared by them, and institute a fresh trial, if it should prove unjust.

6. After having considered the matter in common with many Brahmans well versed in science, he should punish the wicked men, who were acting as judges in the former trial, together with the victorious party.

7. One appointed by his master to look after his expenses and to superintend (transactions regarding) tillage, loans, and trade, is called a manager.

8. Whatever has been transacted by him is valid, whether relating to receipt, non-receipt, expenses or income, and whether it may have been transacted at home or abroad. The master must not annul such transactions as these.

3, 4. Raghunandana, p. 60. I read *pûrvottarakriyâyuktam* in 4.

5, 6. *Vîram*. p. 123.

7, 8. *Vîram*. p. 127. Read in 7, *krishikusîdavânigye*. These two texts relate to the subject of valid and invalid transactions, which is generally discussed along with the rules of judicial procedure, and with the onus probandi and judgment in particular. They might also have been inserted in the chapter on Master and Servant.

VII. WITNESSES.

1. A subscribing witness, one caused to be written, a secret witness, one who has been reminded, a member of the family, a messenger, a spontaneous witness, an indirect witness, a stranger who has accidentally witnessed the deed,

2. The king, a chief judge, and the (people of the) village : thus have the twelve kinds of witnesses been declared. I am going to declare precisely in order their respective characteristics.

3. He is called a subscribing witness who enters in a deed his own as well as his father's caste, name, and so forth, and his place of residence.

4. He is termed one caused to be written, who has been distinctly entered in the deed, together with the details of the agreement, by the plaintiff when writing a contract of loan or another (contract).

5. He is called a secret witness who is made to listen to the speeches of the debtor, standing concealed behind a wall, (and relates them) just as they were spoken, (when the debtor tries to deny them.)

6. He is called one reminded who, after having been appointed and invited to be present at a transaction concerning a loan, deposit, purchase, or the like, is repeatedly reminded of it.

7. He is designed as a family witness who is appointed by both parties to witness a deed of partition, gift, or sale, being connected and on good

VII, 1, 2a. May. p. 23. 2b-15. Vīram. pp. 144, 145.

3. I read *gātināmādi*, with *Smṛitīkandrikā*.

6. I read *kṛayādike*, with *Smṛitīkandrikā*.

terms with both parties, and acquainted with (the rules of) duty.

8. He is denominated a messenger who is a respectable man, esteemed and appointed by both parties, and has come near to listen to the speeches of the plaintiff and defendant.

9. He is a spontaneous witness who declares that he has witnessed the transaction, after having approached the court of his own accord, while a cause is being heard.

10. That witness who communicates what he has heard to another man, at a time when he is about to go abroad, or lying on his deathbed, should be considered as an indirect witness.

11. He also is called an indirect witness who repeats, from his own hearing or from hearsay, the previous statements of actual witnesses.

12. He is called a secret witness to whom an affair has been entrusted or communicated by both parties, or who happens to witness the transaction.

13. The king in person having heard the speeches of plaintiff and defendant, may act as witness if both should quarrel with one another.

14. If after the decision of a suit a fresh trial should take place, the chief judge, together with the assessors, may act as a witness there, but not in any other case.

15. The (people of the) village may no doubt give testimony, even without a special appointment, as to what has been anywhere spoiled or damaged in the boundary line.

11. The reading bhāshatām in the Vīramitrodaya is a misprint for bhāshate.

16. There should be nine, seven, five, four, or three witnesses; or two only, if they are learned Brahmans, are proper (to be examined); but let him never examine a single witness.

17. Of subscribing and secret witnesses, there should be two (of each sort); of spontaneous, reminded, family witnesses, and indirect witnesses, there should be three, four, or five (of each sort).

18. A single witness even may furnish valid proof, if he is a messenger, an accountant, one who has accidentally witnessed the transaction, or a king, or chief judge.

19. (A witness) should be exhorted by judges acquainted with law, by speeches extolling veracity and denouncing falsehood.

20. Whatever religious merit has been acquired by thee from the time of thy birth to the time of thy death, all that will be lost by thy telling a falsehood.

21. An iniquitous judge, a false witness, and the slayer of a Brahman are pronounced to be criminal in an equal degree; nor is a killer of an embryo or a destroyer of wealth considered as a greater sinner than they are.

22. Knowing this, a witness should give evidence according to truth.

16-18. May. p. 23. The 'accountant' is a species of 'messenger.' *Vīramitrodaya*. Regarding the 'witness who has accidentally witnessed the transaction,' see VII, 12.

19-22. *Tod.* *satyaprasamsāvaśānair anṛitasyāpavādanaiḥ | sabh-
yaiḥ sa bodhanīyas tu dharmasāstrapravedibhiḥ || ā ganmatas kṛ
maranāt sukrītam yadupārgitam | tat sarvam nāsam āyāti anṛitasyā-
bhisamsanāt || kṛtasabhyāḥ kṛtasākṣī brahmahā ka samāḥ smṛtāḥ |
bhrūmahā vittahā kaishāṃ nādhikāḥ samudāhṛtāḥ || evaṃ viditvā tat
sākṣī yathābhūtam vadet tataḥ ||*



23. After putting off his shoes and his turban, he should stretch out his right hand, and declare the truth, after taking in his hands gold, cow-dung, or blades of sacred grass.

24. When witnesses summoned (in a suit) are faulty, the opponent may expose them. But a litigant trying to cast a blemish on faultless witnesses is liable to pay a fine to the same amount (as the property in dispute).

25. Whatever faults there may be in a document or in witnesses, they should be exposed at the time of the trial ; those cannot be used as valid objections which are declared afterwards.

26. He whose documents or witnesses are objected to in a suit, cannot gain his cause till he has removed the objections raised against it.

27. I will now state, according to the rules of science, which men may be appointed as witnesses, and which others should be avoided as being low wretches.

28. Those may be witnesses who are in the habit of performing religious ceremonies taught in the Vedas and Smṛitis, free from covetousness and malice, of respectable parentage, irreproachable, and zealous in performing austerities, practising liberality, and exhibiting sympathy (with all living creatures).

29. The mother's father, the father's brother, the

23. Vīram. p. 172.

24. May. p. 25. I read arthî, for arthe, with Vīram.

25. May. p. 26.

26. May. p. 27.

27. Smṛitiḥ. prashavyâḥ sâkshino ye tu vargyâs kaiva narâ-dhamah | tân aham kathayishyâmi sâmpratam sâstrakoditân || srautas-mârtakriyâyuktâ lobhadveshavivargitâḥ | kulînâḥ sâkshino nindyâs tapodânadayânvitâḥ ||

29. May. p. 25.

wife's brother and maternal uncle, a brother, a friend, and a son-in-law are inadmissible witnesses in all disputes.

30. Persons addicted to adultery or to drinking, gamblers, those who calumniate everybody, the insane, the suffering, violent persons, and unbelievers cannot act as witnesses.

31. If a witness being summoned does not make his appearance, without being ill, he should be made to pay the debt and a fine, after the lapse of three fortnights.

32. Where the contents of the plaint have been fully corroborated by the witnesses, it is (valid) testimony; in every other case (the plaintiff) will not succeed with his claim.

33. When nothing less (than what has been declared in the plaint) is stated with regard to place, time, age, caste, number, matter, and quantity, the cause should be considered to have been proved.

34. Let him preserve, even by telling a lie, a Brahman who has once sinned through error and is in peril of his life and oppressed by rogues or other (enemies).

35. In a conflict between witnesses, (the testimony of) the majority should be received; when the number is equal (on both sides, the testimony of)

30. *Vīram.* p. 160.

31. *Smṛitīk.* āhūto yas tu nāga~~kk~~het sākshī rogavivargitaḥ | *rinam* *damam* ka dāpyaḥ syāt tripakṣāt paratas tu saḥ ||

32. *Smṛitīk.* yatrāśeṣhāḥ pratigñā~~rthā~~ḥ sākshibhiḥ prativarnitāḥ | sākshyam syād anyathā tu tam sādhyārtham na samāpnuyāt ||

33. *May.* p. 29.

34. *Smṛitīk.* sakṛit pramādāparādhivipram vyāpadi pīḍitam | satā-dibhir vadhyamānam rakshed uktvānritāny api ||

35. *Toḍ.* sākshidvaidhe prabhūtās tu grāhyāḥ sāmye gunādhikāḥ | gunidvaidhe kriyāyuktās tatsāmye smṛitimattarāḥ ||

the more virtuous ones; when the virtuous (witnesses) are divided, (the testimony of) those specially eminent for the performance of acts of religion; when they are divided, (the testimony of) those endowed with a superior memory.

VIII. DOCUMENTS.

1. The rule regarding the number of witnesses and their respective characteristics has been thus communicated to you; now I will state in order the laws regarding documents.

2. Within a sixmonth's time even, doubts will arise among men (regarding a transaction). Therefore the letters occurring in a writing were invented of yore by the Creator.

3. Writings are declared to be of three kinds, those written by the king, those written in a particular place, and those written (by a person) with his own hand. Their subdivisions again are numerous.

4. Writings proceeding from (ordinary) people are sevenfold, (viz.) a deed of partition, of gift, of purchase, of mortgage, of agreement, of bondage, of debt, and other (such deeds). The king's edicts are of three sorts.

VIII, 1. Vīram. p. 188.

2. Vīram. p. 188. Hiouen-Thsang (I, 71), the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, reports the Indian tradition that letters were invented by the deity Fan (Brahman). See Führer, *Lehre von den Schriften in Brīhaspati's Dharmasāstra*, p. 27; Nārada I, 5, 70 (above, p. 58).

3. May. p. 16. The term 'written in a particular place' seems to relate to documents written by a professional scribe and attested by subscribing witnesses. See Nārada I, 10, 135 (above, p. 75).

4. May. p. 17. The term ādi, 'and other (such deeds)', is explained to denote deeds of purification, or of reconciliation, or regarding a boundary, or the rules of a corporation.

5. Where brothers being divided in interests according to their own wish, make a deed of division among themselves, it is called a partition-deed.

6. When a person having made a grant of landed property, records it in a deed as being endurable as long as the moon and sun are in existence, and which must never be cut down or taken away, it is termed a deed of gift.

7. When a person having purchased a house, field or other (property), causes a document to be executed containing an exact statement of the proper price paid for it, it is called a deed of purchase.

8. When a person having pledged movable or immovable property, executes a deed stating whether (the property pledged) is to be preserved, or used, it is termed a mortgage-deed.

9. When (the people of) a village or province execute a deed of mutual agreement, (the purpose of) which is not opposed to the interests of the king, and in accordance with sacred law, it is designed as a deed of agreement.

10. That document which a person destitute of clothes and food executes in a wilderness stating, 'I will do your work,' is termed a deed of bondage.

11. That contract of debt which a man having borrowed money at interest executes himself or causes to be written (by another), is called a bond of debt by the wise.

12. Having given a tract of land or the like, the

5-11. May. p. 16.

12-18. Vīram. p. 192. For specimens of royal grants precisely corresponding to the rules laid down here, see e.g. Dr. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, pp. 87 foll.

king should cause a formal grant to be executed on a copper-plate or a piece of cloth, stating the place, the ancestors (of the king), and other particulars,

13. And the names of (the king's) mother and father, and of the king himself, (and containing the statement that) 'This grant has been made by me to-day to N. N., the son of N. N., who belongs to the Vedic school N. N.

14. As being endurable while the moon and sun last, and as descending by right of inheritance to the son, grandson, and more remote descendants, and as a gift which must never be cut down or taken away, and is entirely exempt from diminution (by the allotment of shares to the king's attendants, and so forth),

15. Conveying paradise on the giver and preserver, and hell on the taker, for a period of sixty thousand years, as the recompense for giving and taking (the land).'

16. (Thus the king should declare in the grant), the Secretaries for peace and war signing the grant with the remark, 'I know this.'

17. (The grant) should be provided with (the king's) own seal, and with a precise statement of the year, month and so forth, of the value (of the donation), and of the magistrate. Such a document issued by the king is called a royal edict.

18. When the king, satisfied with the faithful services, valour or other (laudable qualities) of a person, bestows landed or other property on him, it

13. All commentators explain that the name of the particular Veda, such as e. g. the Rīg-veda, or the Kāṭha branch of the Yagur-veda, should be given which the donee is studying.

is (called) a writing containing a mark of royal favour.

19. That which establishes a claim, recording the four parts of a judicial proceeding and bearing the royal seal, is termed a document of success (or decree).

20. Clever forgers acquainted with place and time will make a writing similar (to the original document). Such (writings) should be examined with great care.

21. Women, infants, the suffering, and persons unacquainted with the art of writing, are deceived by their own relations fabricating documents signed with their names. Such (forgery) may be found out by means of internal evidence and legitimate titles.

22. A document executed by a madman, an idiot, an infant, one who has absconded through fear of the king, a bashful person, or one tormented by fear, is not invalidated (by an impossibility to produce its author).

23. (But, as a rule) a document executed by a dying person, an enemy, one oppressed with fear, a suffering person, a woman, one intoxicated, distressed by a calamity, at night, by fraud, or by force, does not hold good,

24. Where even a single witness entered in a deed is infamous and reproached (by the public voice), or where its writer is held in such estimation, it is called a false document.

19. *Smṛitiḥ*, quoted by Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 100.

20, 21. *Vīram*. p. 197.

22. *Vīram*. p. 198. The translation follows the gloss in the *Vīramitrodaya*.

23, 24. *May*. p. 20.

25. A writing being spoiled by fire, or executed a long time ago, or soiled with dirt, or intended for a very short period only, or containing (a number of) mutilated or effaced syllables, is reckoned as a false document.

26. Let a man show (a document) on every occasion to (meetings of) families, associations (of traders), assemblies (of cohabitants), and other (bodies of persons), and read it out to them, and remind them of it, in order to establish its validity.

27. The acquirer (of landed or other property) should establish the written title (under which he is holding it); his son should establish the fact of possession only. If (the father) has been impeached in a court of justice, the son also should be required to prove the written title.

28. When a loan (recorded in a bond) is not expressly claimed from a debtor who has means enough (to discharge it) and is at hand, the bond loses its validity, as the debt is presumed to have been paid (in that case).

29. A writing which has neither been seen nor read out for thirty years, should not be recognised as valid, even though the (subscribing) witnesses be living.

30. When a man does not produce the bond and omits to ask his debtor (to restore the loan), after

25. Aparārka and Smṛitīk., quoted by Führer, No. 29.

26. Vīram. p. 200.

27. Vīram. p. 199.

28-30. Aparārka, quoted by Führer, loc. cit., Nos. 33-35; Smṛitīk. ('Kātyāyana'); *Tod.* In 28, I read *suddharnasaṅkayâ*, for *suddham nâsaṅkayâ*, with *Todarānanda*.

30. The interest on a loan, according to the Indian Law of Debt, ceases on its becoming equal to the principal.

his loan has ceased to yield interest, the bond becomes suspected.

31. A document is certainly not overruled either by witnesses or by an oath (or ordeal), but its validity is diminished by neglect, if it is neither shown nor read.

IX. POSSESSION.

1. This set of rules regarding witnesses and documents has been propounded. The law concerning the acquisition of immovable property and possession will be proclaimed next.

2. Immovable property may be acquired in seven different ways, viz. by learning, by purchase, by mortgaging, by valour, with a wife (as her dowry), by inheritance (from an ancestor), and by succession to the property of a kinsman who has no issue.

3. In the case of property acquired by one of these seven methods, viz. inheritance from a father (or other ancestor), acquisition (in the shape of a dowry), purchase, hypothecation, succession, valour, or learned knowledge, possession coupled with a legitimate title constitutes proprietary right.

4. That possession which is hereditary, or founded on a royal order, or coupled with purchase, hypothecation or a legitimate title : possession of this kind constitutes proprietary right.

31. *Smṛitiś.* and *Aparārka*, quoted by Führer, No. 38.

IX, 1-7. *Vīram.* pp. 203, 204.

1. The *Vīramitrodaya* argues that, although immovable property is principally referred to, the same law applies a fortiori to movable property.

5. Immovable property obtained by a division (of the estate among co-heirs), or by purchase, or inherited from a father (or other ancestor), or presented by the king, is acknowledged as one's lawful property; it is lost by forbearance in the case of adverse possession.

6. He who is holding possession (of an estate) after having merely taken it, occupying it without meeting with resistance, becomes its legitimate owner thus; and it is lost (to the owner) by such forbearance.

7. He whose possession has been continuous from the time of occupation, and has never been interrupted for a period of thirty years, cannot be deprived of such property.

8. That property which is publicly given by co-heirs or others to a stranger who is enjoying it, cannot be recovered afterwards by him (who is its legitimate owner).

9. He who does not raise a protest when a stranger is giving away (his) landed property in his sight, cannot again recover that estate, even though he be possessed of a written title to it.

10. Possession held by three generations produces ownership for strangers, no doubt, when they are related to one another in the degree of a *Sapinda*; it does not stand good in the case of *Sakulyas*.

11. A house, field, commodity or other property having been held by another person than the owner,

5, 6. Col. Dig. V, 6, 384.

8, 9. *Vîram*. p. 209.

10-12. Col. Dig. V, 7, 396.

10-14. *Vîram*. p. 221. *Sapindaship* in this rule includes four generations; the term *Sakulya* is used to denote more remote relations.

is not lost (to the owner) by mere force of possession, if the possessor stands to him in the relation of a friend, relative, or kinsman.

12. Such wealth as is possessed by a son-in-law, a learned Brahman, or by the king or his ministers, does not become legitimate property for them after the lapse of a very long period even.

13. Forcible means must not be resorted to by the present occupant or his son, in maintaining possession of the property of an infant, or of a learned Brahman, or of that which has been legitimately inherited from a father,

14. Nor (in maintaining possession) of cattle, a woman, a slave, or other (property). This is a legal rule.

15. If a doubt should arise in regard to a house or field, of which its occupant has not held possession uninterruptedly, he should undertake to prove (his enjoyment of it) by means of documents, (the depositions of) persons knowing him as possessor, and witnesses.

16. Those are witnesses in a contest of this kind who know the name, the boundary, the title (of acquisition), the quantity, the time, the quarter of the sky, and the reason why possession has been interrupted.

17. By such means should a question regarding occupation and possession be decided in a contest concerning landed property ; but in a cause in which

15-17. Viram. p. 222.

16. Read *nâmâghâ/âgamaṃ*. 'The title,' the cause of ownership, such as gift. 'The quantity,' of land. 'The quarter of the sky,' a description of the region in which a certain estate is situated. 'The time,' at which the estate was acquired. *Todarâṇanda*.

no (human) evidence is forthcoming, divine test should be resorted to.

18. When a village, field, or garden is referred to in one and the same grant, they are (considered to be) possessed of all of them, though possession be held of part of them only. (On the other hand) that title has no force which is not accompanied by a slight measure of possession even.

19. Not to possess landed property, not to show a document in the proper time, and not to remind witnesses (of their deposition): this is the way to lose one's property.

20. Therefore evidence should be preserved carefully; if this be done, lawsuits whether relating to immovable or to movable property are sure to succeed.

21. Female slaves can never be acquired by possession, without a written title; nor (does possession create ownership) in the case of property belonging to a king, or to a learned Brahman, or to an idiot, or infant.

22. It is not by mere force of possession that land becomes a man's property; a legitimate title also having been proved, it is converted into property by both (possession and title), but not otherwise.

18. Vîram. pp. 221, 222; Col. Dig. V, 6, 383.

19, 20. *Toḍ. bhūmer abhuktir lekhyasya yathākālam adarsanam | asmāranam sākshinām ka svārthahānikarāṇi ka || tasmād yatnena kartavyam pramāṇaparipālanam | tena kāryāṇi sidhyanti sthāvarāṇi karāṇi ka ||*

21. *Smṛitiḥ. na strīṇām upabhogaḥ syād vinā lekhyam katham-kaṇa | rāgasrotriyavitte ka gaḍabāladhane tathā ||*

22. *Smṛitiḥ. bhuktikevalayā naiva bhūmiḥ siddhim avāpnuyāt | āgamenāpi suddhena dvābhyām sidhyati nānyathā ||*

23. Should even the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of a man be alive, land having been possessed by him for thirty years, without intervention of strangers,

24. It should be considered as possession extending over one generation; possession continued for twice that period (is called possession) extending over two generations; possession continued for three times that period (is called possession) extending over three generations. (Possession continued) longer than that even, is (called) possession of long standing.

25. When the present occupant is impeached, a document or witness is (considered as) decisive. When he is no longer in existence, possession alone is decisive for his sons.

26. When possession extending over three generations has descended to the fourth generation, it becomes legitimate possession, and a title must never be inquired for.

27. When possession undisturbed (by others) has been held by three generations (in succession), it is not necessary to produce a title; possession is decisive in that case.

28. In suits regarding immovable property, (pos-

23, 24. *Smṛitiḥ*. pitā pitāmaho yasya gīvek ka prapitāmahaḥ |
trimsat samā yā tu bhuktā bhūmir avyāhatā paraiḥ || bhuktiḥ sâ
paurushî gñeyâ dvigunâ ka dvipaurushî | tripaurushî ka trigunâ
parataḥ syâk kirantanî ||

25. *Smṛitiḥ*. yatrâhartâbhiyuktaḥ syâl lekhyam sâkshî tadâ guruḥ |
tadabhâve tu putrânâṃ bhuktir ekâ garīyasî ||

26. *Smṛitiḥ*. bhuktis tripurushî yâ ka katurthe sampravartitâ |
tad bhogasthiratâm yâti na prikkhed âgamam kvaḥit ||

27. *Smṛitiḥ*. anishedhena yad bhuktam purushais tribhir eva tu |
tatra naivâgamaḥ kâryo bhuktis tatra garīyasî ||

28. *Smṛitiḥ*. sthâvareshu vivâdeshu kramât tripurushî ka yâ |
svatantraiva hi sâ gñeyâ pramânam sâdhyanimaye ||

session) held by three generations in succession, should be considered as valid, and makes evidence in the decision of a cause.

29. He whose possession has passed through three lives, and is duly substantiated by a written title, cannot be deprived of it; such possession is equal to the gift of the Veda.

30. He whose possession has passed through three lives and has been inherited from his ancestors, cannot be deprived of it, unless a previous grant should be in existence (in which the same property has been granted to a different person by the king).

31. That possession is valid in law which is uninterrupted and of long standing; interrupted possession even is (recognised as valid), if it has been substantiated by an ancestor.

32. A witness prevails over inference; a writing prevails over witnesses; undisturbed possession which has passed through three lives prevails over both.

33. When an event (forming the subject of a plaint) has occurred long ago, and no witnesses are forthcoming, he should examine indirect witnesses, or he should administer oaths, or should try artifice.

29. *Smṛitiḥ. yasya tripurushā bhuktiḥ samyag lekhyasamanvitā । evamvidhā brahmadeyā hartum tasya na sakyate ॥* The 'gift of the Veda,' i. e. instruction is mentioned as an instance of an inalienable gift.

30. *Smṛitiḥ. yasya tripurushā bhuktiḥ pâramparyakramâgatâ । na sâ kâlayitum sakyâ pûrvakâk kâsanâd rite ॥*

31. *Smṛitiḥ. bhuktir balavati sâstre py avikkhinnâ kirantanî । vikkhinnâpi hi sâ gñeyâ yâ tu pûrvaprasâdhitâ ॥* 'If it has been substantiated by an ancestor,' i. e. if a previous possessor has adduced a legitimate title.

32. Raghunandana, p. 49.

33. Vîram. p. 223.

X. ORDEALS.

1. A forger of gems, pearl, or coral, one withholding a deposit, a ruffian, and an adulterer, shall be tested by oaths or ordeals in every case.

2. In charges relating to a heavy crime or to the appropriation of a deposit, the king should try the cause by ordeals, even though there be witnesses.

3. When a thing has happened long ago or in secret, or when the witnesses have disappeared long ago, or are perjured all of them, the trial should be conducted by having recourse to an ordeal.

4. The balance, fire, water, poison, and, fifthly, sacred libation ; sixthly, grains of rice ; seventhly, a hot piece of gold, are declared (to be ordeals).

5. The ploughshare is mentioned as the eighth kind, the ordeal by Dharma (and Adharma) as the ninth. All these ordeals have been ordained by the Self-existent (Brahman).

6. Truth, a vehicle, weapons, cows, seeds, and gold, venerable gods or Brahmans, the heads of sons or wives :

7. By these have oaths been ordained, which are easy to perform and proper for trifling occasions.

8. When a quarrel between two litigants has arisen regarding a debt or other charge, that ordeal

X, 1-3. *Vîram.* p. 114.

4. *M. Macn.* X, 1, 2 (uncertain); *Vîram.* p. 225.

5. *Vîram.* p. 225. For a description of the ordeal by Dharma and Adharma, see the laws of *Pitāmaha*.

6, 7. *Vîram.* p. 226. See *Manu* VIII, 114; *Nârada* I, 19, 248 (above, p. 100).

8. *Tod. rinâdishu tu kâryeshu visamvâde parasparam | divyam samkhyânvitam deyam purushâpekshayâ tathâ ||*

must be administered which corresponds to the amount (of the sum in dispute) and to the (character or strength of the) individual (to be examined).

9. (The ordeal by) poison should be administered when (property worth) a thousand (*Paṇas*) has been stolen ; (the ordeal by) fire, when a quarter less than that (or 750, has been stolen).

10. When the charge concerns four hundred, the hot piece of gold should be administered. (When it concerns) three hundred, the grains of rice should be given ; and the sacred libation, (when it concerns) half of that.

11. When a hundred has been stolen or falsely denied, purgation by *Dharma* should be administered. Thieves of cows should be subjected by preference to the (ordeal by the) ploughshare by the judges.

12. These figures are applicable in the case of low persons ; for persons of a middling kind, double is ordained ; and for persons of the highest rank, the amount has to be fixed four times as high by persons entrusted with judicial affairs.

13. The quantities (of various coins or weights), beginning with a floating particle of dust and ending with a *Kârshâṇa*, have been declared by *Manu*. They are applicable both to ordeals and to fines.

14. A *Nishka* is four *Suvarṇas*. A *Paṇa* of

9-12. *Vîram*. p. 230. I read, with *Smṛitik*, *katuḥsatâbhiyoge* in 10, and *sabhyaiḥ phâlam prayatnataḥ* in 11.

11. *Dharma*, 'test of right and wrong,' is the ordeal which consists of drawing lots or slips of white and black paper.

12. 'Eminent persons,' through their birth, qualities, or virtue. The same interpretation applies to the two other terms. *Vîram*.

13. *Vîram*. p. 233. See *Manu* VIII, 131-138.

14, 15. *Vîram*. p. 234. I read *kândikâ* for *kândrikâ* in 11, with *Vîramitrodaya*.

copper is a Kârshika (having the weight of one Karsha). A coin made of a Karsha of copper has to be known as a Kârshika Pana.

15. It is also called an *Andikâ*. Four such are a Dhânaka. Twelve of the latter are a *Suvarna*. That is also called a *Dînâra* (denarius).

16. (The testimony of) witnesses is apt to become invalid, whether it be through affection, anger, or avarice. An ordeal properly administered never loses its validity.

17. When a doubt arises with regard to a document or oral evidence, and when ratiocination also fails, purgation through ordeal (is the proper test).

18. Let an ordeal be administered according to the established rule by persons acquainted with the rule of ordeals. If it is administered against the rule, it is ineffective as a means of proving what ought to be proved.

19. If one who has been subjected to the ordeal by balance goes down on being weighed (for the second time), he shall be held guilty. If he remains level, he shall be balanced once more. If he rises, he gains his cause.

20. Should the scale break, or the balance, or beam, or iron hooks split, or the strings burst, or the transverse beam split, he would have to be declared guilty.

15. Nearly identical with Nârada, Appendix, 62 (p. 232).

16. *Vîram*. p. 242.

17. *Smṛiti*. likhite sâkshivâde ka samdeho yatra gâyate | anu-
mâne ka sambhrânte tatra daivam visodhanam ||

18. *Tod*. yathoktavidhinâ deyam divyam divyavisâradaiḥ | yathok-
tapradattam tu na satyam sâdhyasâdhane ||

19. *Vîram*. p. 253.

20. *Vîram*. p. 254.

21. (In the ordeal by water) he should immerse the individual in water and discharge three arrows.

22. He is acquitted (in the ordeal by poison) who has digested poison, which has been given to him according to rule, without the application of spells or antidotes. Otherwise he should be punished and compelled to pay the sum in dispute.

23. To whatsoever deity the accused happens to be devoted, let (the judge) bathe the weapon of that deity in water, and give him to drink three handfuls of it.

24. He to whom no calamity happens, within a week or a fortnight, (either to himself or) to his son, wife or property, is innocent beyond doubt.

25. Let a man chew grains of rice after having kept a fast and purified himself, at a time when the sun is not visible. He is acquitted if what he spits out is pure ; but if it be mixed with blood, he must be (held) guilty.

26. Let (the person) take a hot piece of gold out of (a mixture of) well-heated oil and butter.

27. He whose fingers' ends do not tremble, and who does not become blistered, is acquitted according to law, as has been declared by Pitāmaha.

28. Iron twelve Palas in weight should be formed into what is called a ploughshare. It should be eight Aṅgulas long by four Aṅgulas broad.

21. Vîram. p. 271.

22. Vîram. p. 276.

23. Vîram. p. 280.

24. Vîram. p. 281.

25. Vîram. p. 282. The *Todarānanda* attributes to *Brīhaspati* another text identical with *Nārada* I, 25, 342 (above, p. 119).

26. Vîram. p. 283.

27. Vîram. p. 284. The same text occurs in the *Nepalese Nārada*.

28, 29. Vîram. p. 285. Some texts relating to this kind of

29. (The ploughshare) having been made red-hot in fire, a thief should be made to lick at it once with his tongue. If he is not burnt, he obtains acquittal. Otherwise he loses his cause.

30. (Images of) Dharma and Adharma, one black and the other white, should be painted on two leaves. Then they should be invoked with prayers producing life or others, and with the Gâyatri or other Sâmans,

31. And should be worshipped with perfumes and with white and black flowers, sprinkled with the five products of a cow, and enclosed in balls made of earth afterwards.

32. After having been made equal in size, they should be placed unobserved in a fresh jar. Then the person should take one ball out of the vessel at the bidding (of the judge).

33. If he takes out Dharma, he is acquitted, and should be honoured by the (appointed) examiners.

XI. THE LAW OF DEBT.

1. A creditor should never lend money without having first secured a pledge of adequate value, or a

ordeal are found in the Nepalese Nârada as well, but they are very incorrectly given in the MS. 'The judge, after having placed a ploughshare of the size stated in the text into a fire kindled for that purpose, should perform the whole general rite of ordeals, beginning with the invocation addressed to Dharma and ending with the fixing of a writing on the head of the person. Then, after addressing the fire with the text previously quoted (of Pitâmaha), "Thou, O Agni," &c., and after causing the person to address the fire with the text previously quoted, "Thou, O Agni, (livest) in all beings" (Yâgñavalkya II, 104), he should cause the person to lick (at the ploughshare).' Vîram., *Smṛiti*.

30-33. Vîram. p. 286. 'Prayers producing life,' such as e.g. Rig-veda X, 57, 1; Vîram.

XI, 1. May. p. 102; Col. Dig. I, 1, 11. The commentators agree

deposit, or a trustworthy surety; nor without a bond written (by the debtor himself) or attested (by subscribing witnesses).

2. That (loan) is termed *kusṭḍa* (a loan on interest) which is exacted by persons apprehending no sin (from the act), from a mean (*kutsita*) or wretched (*sīdat*) man, after having been increased to four or eight times the original amount (through the interest accruing on it).

3. An eightieth part (of the principal) accrues as interest on it (every month); and it is certainly doubled by such interest within a third of a year less than seven years (that is to say, within six years and eight months).

4. Interest is declared (by some) to be of four

in explaining the term *ādhi*, 'a pledge,' as denoting a pledge to be used, such as e. g. a cow to be used with her milk, or landed property pledged together with its produce. The term *bandha*, 'a deposit,' is supposed to denote a pledge which must not be used; according to the *Mayūkha*, however, it means a pledge which is not actually delivered to the creditor, the debtor merely promising not to alienate it. 'A pledge of adequate value' is one corresponding in value to the principal together with the interest. *Vīram*. p. 293. The term *sākshimat*, 'attested,' is referred to a debt contracted orally before witnesses, both by Colebrooke (*Dig.* I, 1, 11) and Mandlik (*May. loc. cit.*). This, however, is opposed to the gloss of the *Vīramitrodaya*.

2. *May.* p. 102; *Col. Dig.* I, 1, 3. It is hardly necessary to point out that the etymology here proposed of the term *kusṭḍa*, 'a loan on interest,' is entirely fanciful. It is really derived from *ku* and *sīda*, and denotes 'that which adheres closely, and cannot easily be got rid of.' The commentators explain the clause 'apprehending no sin' to imply that it is sinful otherwise to accept a gift from an unworthy person.

3. *Smṛtik.*; *Col. Dig.* I, 2, 26. *astibhāgo vardheta lābhe dvigunatām iyāt | prayuktam saptabhir varshais tribhāgonair na sam-sayah ||*

4-8. *Vīram.* pp. 294, 295; *Col. Dig.* I, 2, 35.

sorts ; by others, it is stated to be fivefold ; and by others again, it is said to be of six kinds. Learn their (various) qualities.

5. Kāyikā (bodily interest) ; kâlikâ (periodical interest) ; *kakravṛiddhi* (compound interest) ; kâritâ (stipulated interest) ; sikhâvṛiddhi (hair-interest) ; and bhogalâbha (interest by enjoyment) : such are the six kinds of interest.

6. Kāyikâ interest is connected with bodily labour ; kâlikâ is due every month ; *kakravṛiddhi* is interest on interest ; kâritâ is interest promised by the borrower.

7, 8. When interest is received every day, it is termed sikhâvṛiddhi (hair-interest, because it grows every day). Because it grows constantly like hair, and does not cease growing except on the loss of the head, that is to say, on payment of the principal, therefore it is called hair-interest. The use of a (mortgaged) house, or the produce of a field, is termed bhogalâbha (interest by enjoyment).

9. That kâritâ (stipulated) interest has to be paid always, which has been stipulated by the debtor himself, over and above (the ordinary rate of interest), and has been promised in times of distress.

10. When (such special) interest has been stipulated in any other manner, it must not be paid by any means.

11. Hair-interest, bodily interest, and interest by

6. 'Bodily labour,' when the milk of a pledged cow or the strength of a pledged animal for draught or burden is used by the creditor, being, as it were, the interest on his loan. Vîram.

9, 10. Vîram. p. 295 ; Col. Dig. I, 2, 37 (' Kâtyâyana ').

10. 'In any other manner,' i. e. by the creditor. Vîram.

11. Vîram. p. 301 ; Col. Dig. I, 2, 35.

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enjoyment shall be taken by the creditor so long as the principal remains unpaid.

12. But the use of a pledge after twice the principal has been realised from it, compound interest, and the exaction of the principal and interest (together as principal) is usury and reprehensible.

13. On gold (and other precious metals), the interest may make (the debt) double; on clothes and base metals (such as tin or lead), treble; on grain, it is allowed to rise to four times the original amount, and so on edible plants (or fruit), beasts of burden, and wool.

14. It is allowed to make (the debt) quintuple, on pot-herbs; sextuple, on seeds and sugar-cane; and it may make (the debt) octuple, on salt, oil, and spirituous liquor.

15. Likewise, on sugar and honey, if the loan be of old standing.

16. On grass, wood, bricks, thread, substances from which spirits may be extracted, leaves, bones, leather, weapons, flowers, and fruits, no interest is ordained.

17. A pledge is termed *bandha*, and is declared to

12. Viv. p. 12; Col. Dig. loc. cit.

13-16. Vīram. pp. 298, 300; Viv. pp. 17, 18; May. p. 104; Col. Dig. I, 2, 63, 67, 69.

13. The Vīramitrodaya reads *ḥarmāsthivarmazām*, 'leather, bones, and armour.'

16. The commentators observe that no interest should be exacted, unless there be a special agreement to the purpose. There is, however, another reading (*vṛiddhis tu na nivartate*), under which the purport of this rule becomes quite different, viz. that there is absolutely no limit regarding the interest on the articles mentioned in it. This version is in harmony with the corresponding regulations of other legislators.

17. Col. Dig. I, 3, 80; May. p. 105; Vīram. p. 305.

be of four sorts ; movable or immovable ; to be kept only or to be used ; to be released at any time, or limited as to time ; stated in writing, or stipulated (orally) before witnesses.

18. Should the creditor, actuated by avarice, use a pledge before interest has ceased to accrue on the loan (on becoming equal to the principal), or before the fixed period has expired, such use shall be stopped.

19. The pledge has to be kept carefully, like a deposit ; interest is forfeited in case of its being damaged.

20. A pledge having been used and rendered worthless (by such use), the principal (itself) is lost ; if a very valuable pledge be spoiled, he must satisfy the pledger.

21. If a pledge be destroyed by a fatal accident or by an act of the king, the debtor shall be caused either to deliver another pledge or to pay the debt.

22. When the debtor restores the principal and asks for his pledge, it must be restored to him ; otherwise the creditor is liable to punishment.

18, 19. Col. Dig. I, 3, 92 ; *Vīram.* p. 306.

20. Col. Dig. I, 3, 86 ; *Vīram.* p. 309 ; *May.* p. 105.

21. Col. Dig. I, 3, 93 ; *May.* p. 105 ; *Vīram.* p. 309. This text has been translated according to the *Vīramitrodaya*. Under the reading of the other compilations, payment of the debt together with interest is enjoined. 'A king,' i.e. a ruler who offends against the dictates of religion. *Vīram.*

22. Col. Dig. I, 3, 103 ; *Vīram.* p. 319. The rule that the principal only needs to be restored concerns a pledge for use. In the case of a pledge for custody, interest has to be paid besides the principal. *Vīram.*

23. When a field or other (immovable property) has been enjoyed, and more than the principal realised by it, then the debtor shall recover his pledge, if the principal and interest has been actually got out of it (by the creditor).

24. (This law applies) when the debtor delivers a field to the creditor, with the following stipulation, 'This (field) shall be enjoyed by you, when interest has ceased (on becoming equal to the principal), that is certain. When the principal has been realised together with the interest, you shall restore (the field) to me.'

25. When the time (for payment) has passed and interest has ceased (on becoming equal to the principal), the creditor shall be owner of the pledge ; but, till ten days have elapsed, the debtor is entitled to redeem it.

26. Notice having been given to the debtor's family, a pledge to be kept (only) may be used, after the principal has been doubled ; and so may a pledge for a fixed period, on the expiration of that term.

27. When the principal has been doubled, or the stipulated period expired in the case of a pledge delivered for a certain time only, the creditor

23. Col. Dig. I, 3, 108 ; May. p. 107.

23, 24. *Vīram.* p. 320. Under a stipulation of this sort, the mortgagee shall recover his pledge, as soon as the creditor has fully realised his demand out of the mortgage, no matter whether he has contributed little or much himself towards its realisation. *Vīram.* The *Ratnākara* (p. 29) inserts the following text after 24, 'This lawful rule has been proclaimed with regard to loans on interest and so forth.'

25. Col. Dig. I, 3, 115 ; *Vīram.* p. 316.

26. *Vīram.* p. 316 ; Col. Dig. I, 3, 119 ('*Smṛiti*').

27, 28. *Vīram.* p. 315. 'During that interval,' i. e. before the ten days have elapsed. *Vīram.* These two texts are elsewhere

becomes owner of the pledge, after having waited for a fortnight.

28. If the debtor should pay the debt during that interval, he may recover his pledge (even then).

29. When the amount of the debt has been doubled (by the interest accruing on it), and the debtor is either dead or no longer present, (the creditor) may take his chattel and sell it before witnesses.

30. Or, its value having been estimated in an assembly, he may keep it for ten days; after which, having realised a sufficient sum to cover his demand, he should relinquish the balance.

31. When a man neither enjoys a pledge, nor obtains it (from the debtor), nor points it out (to others), his written contract (concerning the pledge) is invalid, (just like) a document when the (subscribing) witnesses and debtor are dead.

32. When a house or field has been mortgaged for use and the period (fixed for such use) has not expired, the debtor cannot recover his property, nor can the creditor (recover) his loan.

33. When the (stipulated) period has elapsed, both

attributed to Vyāsa. This is probably the correct view, as it is difficult to reconcile these texts either with the preceding or with the following ones.

29. May. p. 106.

29, 30. *Vīram.* p. 316; *Col. Dig. I, 3, 121.* 'The chattel,' i.e. the pledged commodity. 'A sufficient sum to cover his demand,' i.e. twice as much as the principal. *Vīram.* The balance should be handed over to the relatives of the debtor or to the king. *Colebrooke's Digest* has another text after these two, in which it is stated that the precise amount of the debt should be ascertained by persons skilled in computation.

31. *Col. Dig. I, 3, 126*; *Smṛitiḥ*; *Ratn.* p. 35.

32, 33. *Viv. p. 25*; *Col. Dig. I, 3, 105, 118.* In ordinary case,

parties are at liberty to do so. But, even before (the stipulated period) has elapsed, they may make an arrangement by mutual consent.

34. Where one field has been mortgaged to two creditors at the same time, it shall belong to that mortgagee who was the first to obtain possession of it.

35. If both have possessed it for an equal time, it shall be held in common (or shared equally) by them. The same rule is ordained in the case of a gift or a sale.

36. Which course should be adopted in cases of a competition between three different acts, the identical property having been sold, mortgaged, and given away on one and the same day?

37. The three parties should divide that lawful property of theirs among themselves in proportionate shares, the two first in the ratio of their respective claims, whereas the donee ought to obtain a full third.

38. The pledgee can never be compelled to restore the pledge against his will, before the whole amount due to him has been paid, nor must (the pledge be obtained from him) by deceit or by (the mode called) *Karita*.

the recovery of the loan, attended by the restoration of the pledge to the pledger, takes place after the lapse of the stipulated period. By mutual consent, however, it may take place before that time.

34. The term 'a field' includes by implication any pledge for use. *Vīram*. p. 312. Other commentators add that possession must have been obtained without forcible means. *Col. Dig.* I, 3, 132.

35. *Smṛitiik.*; *Col. Dig.* I, 3, 133; *Ratn.* p. 37.

36, 37. *Vīram*. p. 314 ('*Vasishṭha*'); V. T.

38. *Ratn.* p. 27; *Col. Dig.* I, 3, 102. Regarding the mode called *Karita* or *Âkarita*, see below, XI, 58.

39. For appearance, for confidence, for payment, and for delivering the assets of the debtor : it is for these four different purposes that sureties have been ordained by the sages in the system (of law).

40. The first says, 'I will produce (that man) ;' the second (says), 'He is a respectable man ;' the third (says), 'I will pay the debt ;' the fourth (says), 'I will deliver his assets.'

41. If the debtors fail in their engagements, the two first (sureties themselves, but not their sons) must pay the sum lent at the appointed time ; both the two last (sureties), and in default of them their sons (are liable for the debt), when the debtors break their promise (to pay the debt).

42. The creditor should allow time for the surety to search for a debtor who has absconded ; a fortnight, a month, a month and a half, according to (the distance of) the place (where he is supposed to be hiding himself).

43. (Sureties) must not be excessively harassed ; they should be made to pay the debt by instalments ;

39. Col. Dig. I, 4, 142 ; Vîram. p. 321 ; Viv. p. 27. The author of the last-mentioned work reads *rîne dravyârpane* for *rimidravâyârpane*, which reading he refers to as the traditional one, and defines the fourth kind of surety to be one who vouches for the return of articles lent for use, such as ornaments for a festivity.

40. May. p. 107. The first surety promises to produce a debtor, who is likely to abscond ; the second vouches for the debtor's honesty, declaring that he is a virtuous man, who will not deceive the creditor ; the third promises to pay the debt himself together with the interest, if the debtor should fail to pay it ; the fourth promises to deliver his movable property, such as household furniture, in the same case.

41. May. p. 107.

42, 43. Vîram. pp. 323, 328 ; Col. Dig. I, 4, 148 ; Ratn. p. 45.

they must not be attacked when the debtor is present : such is the law regarding sureties.

44. When (a surety), being harassed, pays a proved debt which he has vouched for, (the debtor) shall pay him twice as much, after the lapse of a month and a half.

45. Should foolish (sureties) in good faith pay the debt, though not required to do so, or on being required to pay a different debt, how and from whom can they recover that sum ?

46. By whom, to whom, and how, should, or should not, be paid a loan which has been received from the hands of another man in the shape of a loan on interest, will now be declared.

47. A loan shall be restored on demand, if no time has been fixed (for its restoration); or on the expiration of the time (if a definite period has been fixed); or when interest ceases (on becoming equal to the principal). If the father is no longer alive, (the debt must be paid) by his sons.

48. The father's debt must be paid first of all, and after that, a man's own debt; but a debt contracted by the paternal grandfather must always be paid before these two even.

49. The father's debt, on being proved, must be paid by the sons as if it were their own; the grandfather's debt must be paid (by his son's sons) without

44. Vîram. p. 328.

45. Ratn. p. 46; Col. Dig. I, 4, 163.

46. Ratn. p. 47; Col. Dig. I, 5, 166.

47. Ratn. p. 47; Col. Dig. I, 5, 166; Viv. p. 32.

48. Ratn. p. 47; Col. Dig. I, 5, 167; May. p. 112.

49. May. p. 112; Col. Dig. I, 5, 167. 'As if it were their own,'
i. e. with interest. Ratn.

interest; but the son of a grandson need not pay it at all.

50. When a debt has been incurred, for the benefit of the household, by an uncle, brother, son, wife, slave, pupil, or dependant, it must be paid by the head of the family.

51. Sons shall not be made to pay (a debt incurred by their father) for spirituous liquor, for losses at play, for idle gifts, for promises made under the influence of love or wrath, or for suretyship, nor the balance of a fine or toll (liquidated in part by their father).

52. The liability for the debts devolves on the successor to the estate, when the son is involved in calamity; or on the taker of the widow, in default of a successor to the estate.

53. Debts contracted by the wives of distillers of spirituous liquor, hunters, washermen, herdsmen, barbers or the like persons, shall be paid by their protector; they were contracted for the affairs of their husbands.

54. When (a debtor) has acknowledged a debt, it may be recovered from him by the expedients of friendly expostulation and the rest, by moral suasion,

50. Ratn. p. 54; Col. Dig. I, 5, 189; Viv. p. 39.

51. Ratn. p. 57; Col. Dig. I, 5, 201; May. p. 113. Regarding promises made under the influence of love or wrath, see Kâtyâyana X, 53, 54.

52. Ratn. p. 64; Col. Dig. I, 5, 174; May. p. 114; Viv. p. 37.

53. Vîram. p. 354 ('Kâtyâyana'); Col. Dig. I, 5, 217; Ratn. p. 60. 'Protector' means husband. Ratn. 'Barbers,' nâpita, are referred to according to the reading of the Ratnâkara. The Vîramitrodaya reads nâvika, 'sailors,' which reading is mentioned as a varia lectio in the Ratnâkara. Colebrooke has 'shepherds.'

54. Col. Dig. I, 6, 244; May. p. 109.

by artful management, by compulsion, and by confinement at his house.

55. When a debtor is caused to pay by the advice of friends or kinsmen, by friendly remonstrances, by constant following, or by (the creditor) starving himself to death, it is termed moral suasion.

56. When a creditor, with a crafty design, borrows anything from his debtor, for his own use, or withholds an Anvâhita deposit or the like, and thus enforces payment of the debt, it is termed artful management.

57. When a debtor is fettered and conducted into (the creditor's) own house, where he is compelled to pay the debt by beating or other (forcible) means, it is called compulsion.

58. When a debtor is made to pay by confining his wife, son or cattle, and by watching at his door, it is termed Âkarita (the customary mode).

59. An indigent debtor may be taken to his own house by the creditor and compelled to do work there, such as distilling spirits and the like; but a Brahman must be made to pay gradually.

55. Col. Dig. I, 6, 236; May. p. 109; Ratn. p. 67; Viv. p. 43. The term prâya or prâyopavesana corresponds without doubt to the modern custom of Dharṇa, or 'fasting upon' a debtor, when the creditor places himself before the debtor's house and threatens to starve himself to death, unless the debt be paid. It is true that some commentators interpret prâya by 'importunate demands' (prârthanâbhûlyâ or prârthanâ).

56. Col. Dig. I, 6, 238; May. p. 109, &c. 'With a crafty design,' as e. g. when valuable ornaments are borrowed from the debtor, on the pretence of using them at a festivity. 'An Anvâhita deposit' is an article deposited for delivery to another person. Vîram. p. 333.

57. Col. Dig. I, 6, 240.

58. Col. Dig. I, 6, 239.

59. Ratn. p. 71; Col. Dig. I, 6, 246.

60. When the time fixed (for payment) has elapsed, and the interest has ceased (on becoming equal to the principal), the debtor may either recover his loan or cause a new bond to be written in the form of compound interest.

61. As compound interest is taken on the doubled principal, so does the use of a pledge (become a new principal), the debt together with the interest being considered as the (new) principal.

62. This rule concerns an acknowledged (debt); but (a debtor) denying (his liability) shall be compelled to pay, on the debt being proved in a (judicial) assembly by a document or by witnesses.

63. (A debtor) claiming judicial investigation in a doubtful case, shall never be put under restraint (by the creditor). He who puts under restraint one not liable to such treatment, shall be fined according to law.

64. A debtor who makes a declaration in this form, 'What may be found to be justly due, that I will pay,' is termed 'one claiming judicial investigation.'

65. When there is a difference of opinion between the two parties regarding the nature (of the loan), or the number or the like, or the (amount of) interest,

60. May. p. 110; Col. Dig. I, 6, 255. The new bond is to be one in which the interest is calculated on the interest added to the principal, i. e. on the doubled principal.

61. Ratn. p. 72; Col. Dig. I, 6, 259. The comparison here proposed relates to the case when a pledge for use has been accidentally destroyed, and a new bond is executed, in which the interest is calculated on the principal together with the lost usufruct.

62. Ratn. p. 75; May. p. 110; Col. Dig. I, 6, 160.

63. May. p. 110; Col. Dig. I, 6, 161.

63-65. Ratn. p. 25. 64. May. p. 110; Col. Dig. I, 6, 162.

65. Col. Dig. I, 6, 163. 'The nature of the loan,' whether it be gold or silver, &c.; 'or the like,' such as the pledge given, &c. Ratn.

or whether the sum be due or not, it is termed a doubtful case.

66. Should a man, after recovering his debt by moral suasion or one of the other modes, fail to receipt it on the bond, or to give a deed of acquittance, it shall yield interest (to the debtor).

XII. DEPOSITS.

1. The Law of Debt, beginning with the delivery of a loan and ending with its recovery, has been declared. Hear, now, the complete set of rules concerning Deposits.

2. When any chattel is deposited in the house of another man, through fear of the king, robbers, or other dangers, or for the purpose of deceiving one's heirs, it is called a Nyâsa deposit.

3. When a chattel enclosed in a cover and marked with a seal (is deposited) without describing its nature or quantity, and without showing it, it is termed an Aupanidhika deposit.

4. Let a man make a deposit, after duly considering the place, house, master of the house, the power, means, qualities, veracity, and kindred (of the depository).

5. (A deposit) is declared to be of two sorts :

66. Ratn. p. 80 ; Col. Dig. I, 6, 288. The term *vṛiddhi*, 'interest,' is interpreted 'forfeiture' by a certain number of commentators. This erroneous interpretation has been adopted by Colebrooke. Sir W. Jones has the correct translation.

XII, 1. Ratn. p. 83 ; Col. Dig. II, 1, 1.

2. Ratn. p. 83 ; Col. Dig. II, 1, 6 ; Vîram. p. 361.

3. Ratn. p. 83 ; Col. Dig. II, 1, 7 (with several different readings).

4. Ratn. p. 85 ; Col. Dig. II, 1, 14.

5-8. Ratn. pp. 85, 86 ; Col. Dig. II, 1, 19.

attested, or deposited in private ; it must be guarded with the same care as a son ; for it would be destroyed by neglect.

6. The merit of one who preserves a deposit or one who places himself under his protection, is equal to the merit of one who gives (articles made of) gold, or of base metal, or clothes.

7. The sin of those who consume or spoil (by negligence) a bailed chattel is as great as (the sin) of a woman who injures her husband, or of a man who kills his son or his friend.

8. It is the best course not to accept a deposit ; but to destroy it (after having received it) is disgraceful ; after having taken it, a man should keep it carefully and restore it when it has been asked for even once only.

9. A deposit must be returned to the very man who bailed it, in the very manner in which it was bailed ; it must not be delivered to the successor of that man.

10. When a deposit is destroyed, together with the goods of the depositary, by the act of fate or of the king, (the depositary) is not to blame.

11. If the depositary should suffer the deposit to be destroyed by his want of care or indifference, or should refuse to restore it on being asked for it, he shall be made to pay (the value of) it with interest.

6, 9. May. p. 115.

7, 8. Col. Dig. II, 1, 19.

9. Col. Dig. II, 1, 18 ; Viv. p. 51 ; Ratn. p. 87.

10. Ratn. p. 88 ; Col. Dig. II, 1, 23 ; Vîram. p. 362 ; May. p. 116.

11. Ratn. p. 90 ; Col. Dig. II, 1, 34 ; May. p. 116 ; Viv. p. 53. The commentators take *bheda*, 'want of care,' to mean separation of the deposit from the depositary's own property, and bestowing less care on it than on the effects of the depositary.

12. Should any (depository) procure advantage for himself by an article deposited (with him), he shall be fined by the king, and compelled to pay its value together with interest.

13. He who, after receiving a deposit, denies the fact, and is convicted by (the evidence of) witnesses or ordeal, shall be compelled to give up the deposit and to pay an equal amount as a fine.

14. When a dispute arises with regard to a deposit privately made, the performance of an ordeal is ordained for both parties, to establish the facts of the case.

15. The same set of rules applies in the case of a bailment for delivery (to a third person), a loan for use, an article delivered to an artist (such as gold delivered to a goldsmith to be worked by him into an earring), a pledge, and a person offering himself for protection.

XIII. SALE WITHOUT OWNERSHIP.

1. Immediately after deposits, sale by another person than the owner has been declared by *Bhrigu*; listen attentively, I will expound that subject thoroughly.

12. Ratn. p. 91; Col. Dig. II, 1, 31. The commentators observe that the use here referred to must have been made without the consent of the owner.

13. Ratn. p. 93; Col. Dig. II, 1, 45.

14. Ratn. p. 95; *Vīram*. p. 366. The term 'both parties' is used in order to imply that the ordeal may be performed either by the alleged depositor or depository. *Vīram*.

15. May. p. 116; Ratn. p. 96; *Viv*. p. 54.

14, 15. Col. Dig. II, 1, 12.

XIII, 1. Ratn. p. 101; Col. Dig. II, 2, 1.

2. An open deposit, a bailment for delivery (Anvâhita), a Nyâsa (sealed) deposit, stolen property, a pledge, or what has been borrowed for use : when any one of these articles has been sold in secret by a man, he is declared a person different from the owner (asvâmin).

3. When the vendor has been produced and has been cast in the suit, (the judge) shall cause him to pay the price and a fine to the buyer and king respectively, and to restore the property to the owner.

4. When the former owner comes forward and makes good his claim to the thing bought, the vendor shall be produced (by the purchaser); by doing so, the purchaser may clear himself.

5. That greedy man who covets another man's property, without having any claim to it, shall be compelled to pay twice the value (of the property claimed) as a fine, if he is unable to prove his claim.

6. When there is no evidence in a suit, the king shall consider the character of the parties and pass a decree himself, according to the equal, greater, or less (credibility of the parties).

7. When a purchase has been made before an assembly of merchants, the king's officers being aware of it (also), but from a vendor whose habitation is unknown; or when the purchaser has deceased :

8. The owner may recover his own property by

2. Ratn. p. 101; Col. Dig. II, 2, 2; Vîram. p. 374.

3. Ratn. p. 102; Col. Dig. II, 2, 30; Viv. p. 57.

4. Ratn. p. 101; Col. Dig. II, 2, 33; Vîram. p. 379.

5. Ratn. p. 106; Col. Dig. II, 2, 46.

6. Ratn. p. 108; Col. Dig. II, 2, 52.

7-9. Ratn. p. 109; Col. Dig. II, 2, 53, 54.

paying half the price (tendered), the custom in that case being that one half of the value is lost to each of the two.

9. A purchase from an unknown (vendor) is one fault (in that case); want of care in keeping it is another; these two faults are viewed by the wise as legitimate grounds of loss to each party.

10. When a man purchases (a commodity) at a fair price, and (the purchase) has been previously announced to the king, there is no wrong about it; but he who makes a fraudulent purchase is a thief.

11. That should be known as a fraudulent purchase which is made at an unreasonably low price, in the interior of a house, outside of the village, at night, in secret, or from a dishonest person.

XIV. CONCERNS OF A PARTNERSHIP.

1. Trade or other occupations should not be carried on by prudent men jointly with incompetent or lazy persons, or with such as are afflicted by an illness, ill-fated, or destitute.

2. A man should carry on business jointly with persons of noble parentage, clever, active, intelligent, familiar with coins, skilled in revenue and expenditure, honest, and enterprising.

3. As an equal, smaller, or larger share (of the

10, 11. Viv. p. 60; Vîram. p. 375; Col. Dig. II, 2, 57. In 10, Colebrooke has 'delivered by the owner in the presence of credible persons.' I have translated the reading of the Vîramitrodāya, 'previously announced to the king.' In 11, the clause 'in secret' is omitted in the Vîramitrodāya.

XIV, 1, 2. Ratn. p. 111; Col. Dig. II, 3, 2; Vîram. pp. 383, 384.

3. Ratn. p. 112; Col. Dig. II, 3, 5.

joint stock) has been contributed by a partner, in the same proportion shall he defray charges, perform labour, and obtain profit.

4. Of those who lend (jointly) gold, grain, liquids and condiments, or the like, the gain shall be equal to their respective shares (of the joint expenditure), whether equal, more, or less.

5. Whatever property one partner may give (or lend), authorized by many, or whatever contract he may cause to be executed, all that is (considered as having been) done by all.

6. They are themselves pronounced to be arbitrators and witnesses for one another in doubtful cases, and when a fraudulent act has been discovered, unless a (previous) feud should exist between them.

7. When any one among them is found out to have practised deceit in a purchase or sale, he must be cleared by an oath (or ordeal); such is the rule in all disputes (of this sort).

8. When a loss or diminution has occurred through fate or the king, it is ordained that it should be borne by all (partners) in proportion to their respective shares.

9. When (a single partner acting) without the assent (of the other partners) or against their express instructions injures (their joint property)

4. Ratn. p. 123; Col. Dig. II, 3, 45.

5-7. Ratn. pp. 123, 113; Col. Dig. II, 3, 45, 9, 10; May. p. 121; Vîram. p. 385.

8. Ratn. p. 113; Col. Dig. II, 3, 11. 'A loss,' destruction of the principal; 'diminution,' loss of profits. Ratn.

9. Ratn. p. 113; Col. Dig. II, 3, 12; Viv. p. 61; Vîram. p. 385.

through his negligence, he must by himself give a compensation to all his partners.

10. That (partner), on the other hand, who by his own efforts preserves (the common stock) from a danger apprehended through fate or the king, shall be allowed a tenth part of it (as a reward), the remainder being distributed among the other (partners), according to their shares (in the stock).

11. Should any such partner in trade happen to die through want of proper care, his goods must be shown (and delivered) to officers appointed by the king.

12. And when any one comes forward claiming that man's property as heir (to the deceased partner), he shall prove his right to it by (the evidence of) other men, and then let him take it.

13. The king shall take a sixth, a ninth, and a twelfth part respectively from the property of a Sūdra, Vaisya, and Kshatriya; and a twentieth from the property of a Brahman.

14. But after the lapse of three years, if no owner should come forward by any means, the king shall take that property; the wealth of a Brahman he shall bestow on (other) Brahmans.

15. So among (several) persons jointly performing a ceremony, if any one should meet with an accident, his (part of) the ceremony shall be performed by a kinsman of his, or by all his associates (in work).

10. Ratn. p. 114; Col. Dig. II, 3, 15; Viv. p. 61; Vīram. p. 386.

11, 12. Ratn. p. 116; Col. Dig. II, 3, 21; Viv. p. 63.

13, 14. Ratn. p. 116; Col. Dig. II, 3, 22; Viv. p. 64.

15. Ratn. p. 117; Col. Dig. II, 3, 29; Viv. p. 65. 'A ceremony,' such as a sacrifice.

16. They (the officiating priests) are pronounced to be threefold: coming (of their own accord), hereditary in the family, and appointed by (the sacrificer) himself; their business should be performed by them accordingly.

17. To a kinsman, relative, or friend one may lend money with a pledge (only); a loan to others must be guaranteed by a surety, or there must be a written contract or witnesses.

18. Gold or silver may be lent according to one's own choice; liquids and condiments, and grain, for a specified period only; it is by local custom that both the loan and its recovery should be regulated.

19. That, however, which has been lent by several persons in common, must be recovered by them jointly; any (such lender) who fails to demand (the loan together with his partners) shall forfeit interest.

20. The law regarding loans has been declared before, (therefore) it is referred to in an abridged form only in the present chapter. Listen to the legal rules regarding cultivators of the soil and other (associates in work), which are declared as follows.

21. Tillage should be undertaken by a sensible

16. Ratn. p. 120; Col. Dig. II, 3, 44. The analogous text of Nārada shows that officiating priests are the persons intended by this rule.

17-26. Ratn. pp. 123, 124; Col. Dig. II, 3, 47-51.

18. In a loan of gold, a definite period for its return need not be specified; but for liquids, &c. the stipulation of a fixed term is necessary. Ratn.

20. 'Declared before,' i. e. in Chapter XI. All the rules declared in that chapter are equally applicable to loans made by an association.

man jointly with those who are his equals in point of cattle, workmen, seeds, and the like, as well as implements of husbandry.

22. They should refrain anxiously from cultivating an enclosed pasture-ground, land adjacent to a town, or to the king's highway, barren soil, and ground infested by mice.

23. That man will enjoy produce who sows fertile land, which has many holes and is wet, capable of irrigation, surrounded by fields on all sides, and cultivated in due season.

24. A sensible cultivator must not admit cattle which is lean, very old, tiny, diseased, apt to run away, blind of one eye, or lame.

25. When by the deficiency of one (partner) as to cattle or seeds a loss happens in (the produce of) the field, it must be made good by him to all the husbandmen.

26. This primeval set of rules has been declared for cultivators of the soil.

27. One able to work up gold, silver, thread, wood, stone, or leather, and acquainted with the articles to be manufactured (with such materials), is called *Silpin* (an artizan or artist) by the wise.

28. When goldsmiths or other (artists) practise their art jointly, they shall share the profits in due proportion, corresponding to the nature of their work.

27, 28. Ratn. p. 124; Col. Dig. II, 3, 52; Viv. p. 70; Vīram. p. 396. Some compilations exhibit the readings *kupya*, 'base metals,' for *rūpya*, 'silver;' *pattra*, 'leaves,' for *sūtra*, 'thread;' *tattatkalābhigñāḥ*, 'acquainted with the minute particles of these materials,' for *ka phalābhigñāḥ*, 'and acquainted with the articles to be manufactured.'

29. The headman among a number of workmen jointly building a house or temple, or digging a pool or making articles of leather, is entitled to a double share (of the remuneration).

30. The same rule has been declared by virtuous men for musicians; he who knows how to beat the time shall take a share and a half, but the singers shall take equal shares.

31. When anything has been brought from a hostile country by freebooters, with the permission of their lord, they shall give a sixth part to the king and share (the remainder) in due proportion.

32. Four shares shall be awarded to their chief; he who is (specially) valiant shall receive three shares; one (particularly) able shall take two; and the remaining associates shall share alike.

XV. RESUMPTION OF GIFTS.

1. The system of rules relative to Concerns of a Partnership has been fully declared thus; the rules regarding what may, or may not, be given, valid, and invalid gifts, will be declared (next).

29. Ratn. p. 125; Col. Dig. II, 3, 54; May. p. 121; Viv. p. 70; Vîram. p. 390. The last two works read *vâpi* for *vâpi*, and under this reading the clause 'or digging a pool' would have to be omitted. The *Mayûkha* reads *dhârmika*, 'sacred articles,' for *kârmika*, 'articles made of leather.'

30. Ratn. p. 125; Col. Dig. II, 3, 55; Viv. p. 71; Vîram. p. 391; May. p. 121.

31, 32. Ratn. p. 125; Col. Dig. II, 3, 56; Viv. p. 71; Vîram. p. 391. 'Their chief,' i. e. one who exerts mind and body. Ratn., Viv.

XV, 1. Ratn. p. 127; Col. Dig. II, 4, 1; Vîram. p. 392.

2. That which may not be given is declared to be of eight sorts, joint property, a son, a wife, a pledge, one's entire wealth, a deposit, what has been borrowed for use, and what has been promised to another.

3. What remains after defraying (the necessary expenses for) the food and clothing of his family, may be given by a man; otherwise (by giving more than that), the religious merit (supposed to be acquired by the giver) though tasting like honey at first, will change into poison in the end.

4. When any field (or house) is given away, belonging to a number of houses or fields acquired in one of the seven modes of (lawful) acquisition, it is ordained to be viewed as a valid gift, whether it have been inherited from the father or acquired by the donor himself.

5. Self-acquired property may be given away at pleasure (by its owner); a pledge may be disposed of according to the rules of mortgage; in the case of property received as a marriage portion, or inherited from an ancestor, the bestowal of the whole is not admitted.

6. When, however, a marriage gift, or inherited property, or what has been obtained by valour, is

2. Ratn. p. 127; Col. Dig. II, 4, 5; Viv. p. 72; Vīram. p. 392.

3. Ratn. p. 129; Viv. p. 75; Col. Dig. II, 4, 18.

4, 5. Viv. p. 76. The seven modes of acquisition are, according to Manu (X, 115), inheritance, finding, purchase, conquest, lending at interest, doing work, and the acceptance of gifts from virtuous men. The prohibition to give away the whole, in 5, relates to property acquired by valour as well, according to the Ratnākara. The clause translated by 'bestowal of the whole' may also mean, 'every gift,' i.e. a gift not sanctioned by the persons referred to in 6.

4-7. Ratn. p. 130; Col. Dig. II, 4, 18.

given with the assent of the wife, kinsmen, or supreme ruler, the gift acquires validity.

7. Co-heirs (or joint-tenants), whether divided in interests or not, have an equal claim to the immovable wealth; a single (parcener) has no power to give, mortgage, or sell the whole (wealth).

8. The following eight sorts of gifts are recognised as valid by persons acquainted with the law of gift, viz. wages, (what was given) for the pleasure (of hearing bards, or the like), the price of merchandise, the fee paid for (or to) a damsel, (and what was given) to a benefactor (as a return for his kindness), through reverence, kindness, or affection.

9. What has been given by one angry, or resenting an injury, or through inadvertence, or by one distressed, by a minor, a madman, one terrified, intoxicated, overaged, cast out from society, idiotic, or afflicted with grief or an illness,

10. Or what is given in jest; all such gifts are declared to be void gifts.

11. When anything has been given through desire of a reward, or to an unworthy man mistaken for a worthy person, or for an immoral purpose, the owner may resume the gift.

XVI. MASTER AND SERVANT.

1. What may not be given and kindred subjects have been declared; the law of servants shall be propounded next. (There) the title of Breach of Promised Obedience is treated first.

8. Ratn. p. 133; Col. Dig. II, 4, 49; Viv. p. 81.

9, 10. Ratn. p. 136; Viv. p. 83; Col. Dig. II, 4, 62.

11. Ratn. p. 136; Viv. p. 83; Col. Dig. II, 4, 62.

XVI, 1, 2. Ratn. p. 139; Col. Dig. III, 1, 1; Viv. p. 84.

2. The titles of non-payment of wages, and then (of disputes) between the owner (of cattle) and his servants are to follow in due order. Such are the three divisions of (the law of) servants.

3. They are pronounced to be of many sorts; according to their particular caste and occupation; and fourfold, according as they serve for science, human knowledge (or skill), love, or gain.

4. Each of these is again divided (into several species), according to the difference of occupation.

5. Science is declared to be a knowledge of (one of) the three Vedas, called Rig-veda, Sâma-veda, and Yagur-veda; for the purpose of acquiring such knowledge, he should pay obedience to a spiritual teacher, as ordained in law.

6. Arts (consisting of) work in gold, base metals, and the like, and the art of dancing and the rest are termed human knowledge; he who studies them should do work at his teacher's house.

7. He who has intercourse with another man's female slave, should be considered as a slave for the sake of his paramour; he must do work for her master, like another hired servant.

8. The servant for gain (or pay) is declared to be of many sorts, another is the servant for a share (of the gain). Of all, a low, a middle, and a high sort is distinguished.

9. A servant engaged for a day, a month, half a month, a sixmonth, two months, or a year, must do

3, 4. Ratn. p. 140; Col. Dig. III, 1, 4; Viv. p. 84.

5. Ratn. p. 140; Col. Dig. III, 1, 8; Viv. p. 86.

6. Ratn. p. 141; Col. Dig. III, 1, 16; Viv. p. 86.

7. Viv. p. 87; Col. Dig. III, 1, 32.

8-11. Ratn. pp. 142, 143; Col. Dig. III, 1, 24.

the work which he promised to do, and receives the stipulated fee.

10. The warrior is the highest of these ; the cultivator of the soil is the middlemost ; the porter is declared to be the lowest, and so is (a servant) employed in household work.

11. A servant for a share of the gain is declared to be twofold, either serving a husbandman or an owner of cattle ; he shall receive, no doubt, a share of the grain produced, or of the milk.

12. A third or a fifth (of the produce) shall be awarded to the cultivator of the soil as his share.

13. Let that cultivator to whom food and clothing is given take a fifth of the crop ; and let him who serves in consideration of the profit (alone) take a third part of the grain produced.

14. Should a hired servant fail in the performance of ever so small a part of his master's work, he forfeits his wages, and may be sued in court for his offence.

15. When a servant does not perform his work after having received his wages, though able (to do work), he shall be compelled to pay twice as much (as his wages) as a fine (to the king), and (shall restore) the wages (to his master).

16. He who has promised (to do work) and does not perform it, shall be compelled to do so by forcible means even ; and if, through obstinacy, such a servant should still not do it as engaged for, he shall be fined

12, 13. Ratn. pp. 157, 158 ; Col. Dig. III, 1, 66, 67.

14, 15. Ratn. p. 159 ; Col. Dig. III, 1, 71.

16. Ratn. p. 160 ; Col. Dig. III, 1, 75. There is another reading, translated by Colebrooke, under which the fine is to amount to two hundred *Panas*, instead of eight *Krishnalas*.

eight *Krishnalas*, and his wages shall not be paid to him.

17. When a servant, commissioned by his master, does any improper act (such as theft) for the benefit of his master, the latter shall be held responsible for it.

18. When a master does not pay wages for the labour stipulated after the work has been performed, he shall be compelled by the king to pay it, and a proportionate fine besides.

19. (A man) hired for attendance on milch cows of another shall receive the whole milk every eighth day.

20. (A cowherd) shall save cattle from danger of reptiles, robbers, and tigers, and from caverns or pits; let him try his best to protect them, call out for help, or give notice to his master.

XVII. VIOLATION OF AGREEMENTS.

1. Thus has been declared the law concerning the mutual relations between master and servant; learn now concisely the performance of agreements.

2. Brahmins imbued with a knowledge of the Veda and of sacred lore, learned divines, and persons keeping a sacrificial fire, (the king) should worship, establish them there (in his kingdom), and provide a maintenance for them.

17. Ratn. p. 162; Col. Dig. III, 1, 84; Viv. p. 100.

18. Ratn. p. 165; Col. Dig. III, 1, 93; Viv. p. 100.

19. Viv. p. 105; Ratn. p. 170; Col. Dig. III, 4, 4.

20. Ratn. p. 172; Viv. p. 106; Col. Dig. III, 4, 10.

XVII, 1-10. Ratn. pp. 177-179; Col. Dig. III, 2, 2, 6.

2-9. Viram. pp. 423-427. The readings given in the Viramītrodaya have been translated everywhere, except in 2, where the Ratnākara has been followed.

3. Let him bestow on them houses and landed property, exempt from taxation, declaring in a written grant that the revenue is remitted.

4. They shall perform for the citizens constant, special, and voluntary rites, as well as expiatory and auspicious ones, and pass a decision in doubtful cases.

5. A compact formed among villagers, companies (of artizans), and associations is (called) an agreement; such (an agreement) must be observed both in times of distress and for acts of piety.

6. When a danger is apprehended from robbers or thieves, it is (considered as) distress common to all; in such a case, (the danger) must be repelled by all, not by one man alone whoever he may be.

7. Mutual confidence having first been established by means of (the ordeal by) sacred libation, by a stipulation in writing, or by umpires, they shall then set about their work.

8. Enemies, dissolute, bashful, indolent, timid, avaricious, overaged or very young persons must not be chosen as intendants of affairs.

9. Honest persons, acquainted with the Vedas and with duty, able, self-controlled, sprung from noble families, and skilled in every business, shall be appointed as heads (of an association).

10. Two, three, or five persons shall be appointed as advisers of the association; their advice shall be taken by the villagers, companies (of artizans), corporations (of cohabitants), and other (fellowships).

11. When a stipulation has been entered in a

11-14. Ratn. p. 181; Col. Dig. III, 2, 14; Vîram. p. 425. For kulâyanam in 13, the Vîramitrodaya reads kulâyandairodhas ka and

document as follows, 'The construction of a house of assembly, of a shed for (accommodating travellers with) water, a temple, a pool, or a garden,

12. Relief to helpless or poor people, the performance of sacrificial acts, a common path, or defence, shall be undertaken by us in proportionate shares : ' that is a lawful agreement.

13. (Such an agreement) must be kept by all. He who fails (in his agreement), though able (to perform it), shall be punished by confiscation of his entire property, and by banishment from the town.

14. And for that man, whoever he may be, who falls out (with his associates), or neglects (his work), a fine is ordained amounting to six Nishkas of four Suvarṇas each.

15. He who injures the joint stock, or insults a Brahman acquainted with the three Vedas, or breaks the mutual agreement, shall be banished from the town.

16. An acrimonious or malicious man, and one who causes dissension or does violent acts, or who is inimically disposed towards that company, association, or the king, shall be banished instantly from the town.

17. The heads of families, companies (of artisans) and associations, whether inhabiting a town or a stronghold, shall censure and reprimand offenders, and forsake them.

interprets it by 'the maintenance of a family, including its preservation in times of distress.'

15. Ratn. p. 183 ; Col. Dig. III, 2, 19.

16. Ratn. p. 184 ; Col. Dig. III, 2, 20 ; Vīram. p. 430.

17. Ratn. p. 184 ; Col. Dig. III, 2, 21 ; Vīram. p. 429 ; Viv. p. 110.

18. Whatever is done by those (heads of an association), whether harsh or kind towards other people, must be approved of by the king as well; for they are declared to be the appointed managers (of affairs).

19. Should they agree, actuated by hatred, on injuring a single member of the fellowship, the king must restrain them; and they shall be punished, if they persist in their conduct.

20. When a dispute arises between the chiefs and the societies, the king shall decide it, and shall bring them back to their duty.

21. Those (companions in trade) who conspire to cheat the king of the share due to him (of their profits), shall be compelled to pay eight times as much, and shall be punished if they take to flight.

22. Whatever is obtained then by a man, shall belong to all in common; whether it have been obtained a sixmonth or a month ago, it shall be divided in due proportion.

23. (Or) it shall be bestowed on the idiotic, the aged, the blind, to women or children, to afflicted or diseased persons, to persons having issue, or the like (worthy persons). This is an eternal law.

24. Whatever is obtained or preserved by the members of a fellowship, or spent on behalf of the

18. Ratn. p. 184; Col. Dig. III, 2, 22; Vīram. p. 429.

19. Ratn. p. 184; Col. Dig. III, 2, 23; Vīram. p. 429.

20. Ratn. p. 184; Col. Dig. III, 2, 24.

21. Ratn. p. 185; Col. Dig. III, 2, 27; Viv. p. 110.

22. Ratn. p. 186; Col. Dig. III, 2, 30; Viv. p. 116. The commentators observe that gifts obtained from a king are meant.

23, 24. Ratn. pp. 186, 187; Col. Dig. III, 2, 31; Vīram. p. 432. For prakalpita in 24, 'what is spent,' the last two words read *rinamkrīta*, 'what is borrowed.'

society, or acquired through the king's favour, is common to all (members of the society).

XVIII. RESCISSION OF PURCHASE AND SALE.

1. This set of rules concerning the law of agreements has been briefly stated; disputes arising from purchase and sale shall be treated next.

2. Two sorts of property are distinguished, immovable and movable; when a purchase is concluded, the term 'vendible property' (*panya*) is applied to both.

3. The purchaser shall examine a chattel himself and show it to others; when, after examining and approving it, he has accepted it, he is not at liberty to return it again.

4. The foolish man who sells an article, though acquainted with its blemish, shall have to pay twice its value (to the vendee), and (a fine of) the same amount (to the king).

5. What has been sold by one intoxicated or insane, or at a very low price, or under the impulse of fear, or by one not his own master, or by an idiot, shall be relinquished (by the purchaser, or it) may be recovered (from the purchaser) by forcible means.

6. Within that period, if a blemish should be

XVIII, 1, 2. Ratn. p. 189; Col. Dig. III, 3, 1.

3. Vivam. p. 433; Col. Dig. III, 3, 11; Ratn. p. 198; Viv. p. 117.

4. Vivam. p. 441; Ratn. p. 192; Col. Dig. III, 3, 31; Viv. p. 114.

5. Vivam. p. 441; Ratn. p. 193; Col. Dig. III, 3, 37. Thus, according to some commentators; others construe the clause 'at a very low price' with each part of the sentence.

6. Viv. p. 116; Col. Dig. III, 3, 14; May. p. 131. 'Within that period,' i. e. the period allowed for examination.

discovered anywhere in the commodity purchased, it shall be returned to the vendor, and the purchaser shall recover the price.

XIX. BOUNDARY DISPUTES.

1. This rule regarding rescission of purchase and sale has been declared. Hear the laws concerning boundaries of villages, fields, houses, and so forth.

2. The determination of boundaries should be settled at the time of foundation, and it should be marked by visible and invisible signs, so as to dispel doubt.

3. Wells, tanks, pools, large trees, gardens, temples, mounds, channels, the course of a river, reeds, shrubs, or piles of stones :

4. By such visible signs as these a boundary line should always be caused to be marked ; also, by other (marks) deposited underground which the earth is not likely to destroy.

5. Dry cowdung, bones, chaff, charcoal, stones, potsherds, sand, bricks, cows' tails, cotton seeds, and ashes :

6. After having placed these substances in vessels, one should deposit them underground at the extremities of the boundary. After that, one should take care to point them out to youths and infants.

7. These (youths and infants) should again show them to their own children, after having grown old ;

XIX, 1. Ratn. p. 201.

2. Ratn. p. 202. 'Invisible signs' are substances deposited underground.

3, 4. Viv. p. 120 ; Ratn. p. 203 ; Vīram. p. 452.

5, 6. Ratn. p. 204 ; May. p. 134 ; Vīram. pp. 452, 453.

7. Ratn. p. 204.

by knowledge thus passing from one generation to the other, doubts regarding boundaries may be obviated.

8. In disputes regarding a house or field, the decision belongs to the neighbours, as well as to the inhabitants of that town or village, or to members of the same society, and to the elders (of that district).

9. (Likewise, to) husbandmen, artizans, servants, cowherds, hunters, gleaners, diggers of roots, fishermen, kinsmen, mischief-makers, and robbers.

10. After having been adjured by imprecations befitting their station, they shall determine the boundary, and shall indicate the marks deposited underground, as evidence. Such is the law.

11. In default of witnesses and signs, even a single man, agreeable to both parties, may fix the boundary, wearing a red garland of flowers and a red cloak, putting earth on his head, adhering to truth, and having kept a fast.

12. Neighbours born in that district, though they be living abroad, are termed natives of the place ; they should be consulted in the decision of a suit.

13. What they should declare in a doubtful case, as honest men and impartial to both parties, shall be held decisive ; thus justice will not be violated.

14. Those are witnesses in a suit of this kind who know the title of acquisition, the size, the duration of the enjoyment, the name, and the characteristics of the land in question.

8, 9. Ratn. p. 209.

10. Ratn. p. 210 ; Vīram. p. 457.

11. Vīram. p. 458 ; Ratn. p. 211 ; Viv. p. 122 ; May. p. 134.

12, 13. Ratn. p. 213.

14. Vīram. p. 453.

15. The same rule holds good in all suits concerning immovable property. If their statements do not agree, they shall be made to pay the highest fine.

16. Supposing a piece of land to have been taken from a village belonging to one man, and given to another man, either by a large river or by the king, what should be decided in that case?

17. The land abandoned by a river or granted by the king belongs to him who receives it. Otherwise, there would be no acquisition through fate or the king among men.

18. Loss and gain and life among men depend on the act of fate and of the king; therefore, in all affairs, what is effected by them must not be rescinded.

19. When a river has been fixed as the boundary line between two villages, it shall never be removed, on account of loss or gain arising (from that river to either village). He who removes it, is liable to punishment.

20. The encroachment (of a river) on one side produces an increase of land elsewhere in banks of rivers; that (increase) must not be taken from him (who gets it).

21. When land is carried away by the swift course

15. *Vīram*. p. 457; *Smṛiti*.

16-23. *Ratn*. pp. 216, 217; *Viv*. pp. 123, 124; *Vīram*. pp. 461, 462. The second half of 19 is read as follows in the *Vīramitrodaya*, '(The river) effects gain or loss, according as people are lucky or unlucky.' This reading may have crept in from 16. For *taulyā*, I read *kālyā*, with *Vīram*.

21. Such a tilled piece of land shall be made over to the previous owner till the harvest is over. When the harvest is over, the previous rule (20) holds good. *Vīram*.

of a river overflowing a tilled piece of ground, the previous owner shall recover it.

22. When land is taken from one man by a king actuated by anger or avarice, or using a fraudulent pretext, and bestowed on a different person as a mark of his favour, such a gift is not considered as valid.

23. When (however) land is taken from a person enjoying it without a legitimate title of ownership, and given to a worthier person, (the latter) must not be deprived of it.

24. A house, pool, shop or the like having been used by a man since the time of its foundation, must not be taken from him, nor diminished or altered.

25. A window, a watercourse, a peg projecting from a wall (used to hang things upon), a shed (erected in a courtyard), a square of four buildings, and a channel for the exit of water (after a rainfall), must not be blocked up, when previously constructed.

26. A privy, a fireplace, a pit, or a receptacle for leavings of food and other (rubbish), must never be made very close to the house of another man.

27. A passage by which men and animals go to and fro unprevented is called *Samsarana*, and must not be obstructed by any one.

28. He who purposely crowds such a place (by carts and the like), or makes a pit, or plants trees, or voids excrements, shall pay a *Mâshaka* as a fine.

23. I read *vai dattâ*, with *Vîram.*, for *vâdeyâ* or *vâdattâ* (*Ratn.*, *Viv.*).

24. *Viv.* p. 124; *Vîram.* p. 463; *Ratn.* p. 219.

25. *Viv.* p. 124; *Vîram.* p. 465; *Ratn.* p. 219.

26. *Viv.* p. 125; *Vîram.* p. 464; *Ratn.* p. 219; *May.* p. 135.

27. *May.* p. 136; *Viv.* p. 125; *Ratn.* p. 220; *Vîram.* p. 464.

28. *Vîram.* p. 465; *May.* p. 136.

29. When a man has leased ground, he shall sow and watch it, and reap the harvest in due season. If he fails to do so, he shall be compelled to make good the average value of the crop to the owner.

XX. DEFAMATION.

1. Injury (pârushya) is declared to be of two kinds, harsh speeches and beating; each of these two kinds is again divided into three species, and the punishment is pronounced to be threefold.

2. Abuse of the first (or lowest) degree means offensive language against, or defamation of, a country, village, family, or the like, without (mentioning) an (individual ignominious) act.

3. Referring (in terms of contempt) to a man's sister or mother, or charging him with a minor sin, is termed abuse of a middling sort by the learned in law.

4. Charging a man with taking forbidden food or drinks, or taxing him with a mortal sin, or maliciously exposing his weakest points, is termed abuse of the highest degree.

5. When two persons abuse each other, their punishment shall be equal, if they are equals in caste; if one is inferior to the other, his punishment shall be double; for a superior, half (of the ordinary punishment) is ordained.

29. Viv. p. 129; Ratn. p. 229.

XX, 1. Ratn. p. 243; Viv. p. 138. The former work reads 'two species.'

2-4. Ratn. pp. 243, 244; Viv. p. 138; May. p. 137; Vîram. p. 483. 'Terms of contempt' in 3 means filthy speeches, such as 'I shall visit your sister or mother.'

5. Ratn. p. 245; Vîram. p. 484.

6. When persons equal in caste and qualities abuse one another, the punishment ordained for them in the system of law is thirteen *Paṇas* and a half.

7. For a Brahman abusing a Kshatriya, the fine shall be half of a hundred (fifty *Paṇas*); for abusing a Vaisya, half of fifty (twenty-five *Paṇas*); for abusing a *Sūdra*, twelve and a half.

8. This punishment has been declared for (abusing) a virtuous *Sūdra* who has committed no wrong; no offence is imputable to a Brahman for abusing (a *Sūdra*) devoid of virtue.

9. A Vaisya shall be fined a hundred (*Paṇas*) for reviling a Kshatriya; a Kshatriya reviling a Vaisya shall have to pay half of that amount as a fine.

10. In the case of a Kshatriya reviling a *Sūdra*, the fine shall be twenty *Paṇas*; in the case of a Vaisya, the double amount is declared to be the proper fine by persons learned in law.

11. A *Sūdra* shall be compelled to pay the first fine for abusing a Vaisya; the middling fine (for abusing) a Kshatriya; and the highest fine (for abusing) a Brahman.

12. (A *Sūdra*) teaching the precepts of religion, or uttering the words of the Veda, or insulting a Brahman, shall be punished by cutting out his tongue.

13. (A man) reviling a sister or other (relation) of

6. Ratn. p. 247; Vīram. p. 483.

7-11. Ratn. pp. 251, 252; Vīram. p. 485.

7. May. p. 138.

12. May. p. 138; Vīram. p. 486; Viv. p. 141; Ratn. p. 252.

13. Ratn. p. 250; Vīram. p. 485. The latter work reads *viprādikam*, 'a Brahman or other person,' for *svasrādikam*, 'a sister or other relative.'

another person shall give a fine amounting to fifty *Panas*.

14. He who reviles a person's native country or other (belongings of his), shall be fined twelve *Panas* and a half. He who through arrogance imputes an offence to him, shall be compelled to pay the first fine.

15. This gradation of fines has been declared by me, subject to modification by the sages, in conformity with the (particular caste or qualities of a) man, so as either to remain as declared, or to be reduced or raised.

XXI. ASSAULT.

1. Injuring (a man) with a hand, stone, club, or (throwing at him) ashes, or mud, or dust, or (attacking him with) a weapon, is termed assault.

2. Throwing ashes or the like (at a man), or striking him with a hand or the like, is (termed) an assault of the first degree ; the fine to be inflicted in that case shall amount to a *Māsha*.

3. This fine is ordained for (an assault on) equals in caste ; (for assaults) on another man's wife or on a superior, it shall be twofold or threefold, according to the sages, according to the rank (of the person injured).

4. He who having been abused returns the abuse, or having been beaten returns the blow, or strikes an offender down, commits no wrong.

14, 15. *Vīram*. p. 488 ; *Ratn*. p. 257.

XXI, 1. *Ratn*. p. 259.

2, 3. *Ratn*. p. 261 ; *Viv*. p. 144.

4. *May*. p. 139 ; *Vīram*. p. 472 ; *Viv*. p. 153 ; *Ratn*. p. 276.

5. When a person throws gravel, stones, or pieces of wood at another, the first (or lowest) fine shall be inflicted on him. When they mutually strike one another with a hand or foot, it shall amount to ten or twenty *Paṇas* respectively.

6. The second fine shall be imposed when two persons in anger use weapons against one another; when a wound has been inflicted, the punishment shall be fixed by experts, corresponding to the severity of the hurt.

7. For injuring (a person) with bricks, stones, or a wooden club, (the fine shall be) two *Māshas*; the double fine shall be inflicted, according to the sages, when blood flows.

8. For tearing the skin, the first (or lowest) fine (shall be inflicted); for tearing the flesh, the second fine; for breaking a bone, the highest fine; for killing, capital punishment.

9. For breaking the ear, nose, or hand (of a person), or injuring his teeth, or feet, the second fine shall be inflicted; and double of that, for entirely cutting off (any of those limbs).

10. He who injures a limb, or divides it, or cuts it off, shall be compelled to pay the expense of curing it; and (he who forcibly took an article in a quarrel, shall restore) his plunder.

11. When a man has been beaten in a solitary place, or when no wound is seen, the offender shall

5. Ratn. p. 263; Viv. p. 145; Vīram. p. 473.

6, 7. Vīram. p. 474; Viv. p. 147; Ratn. p. 264.

8, 9. Viv. p. 148.

10. Viv. p. 153; Ratn. p. 270; Vīram. p. 477.

11, 12. Ratn. p. 273.

be found out by circumstantial evidence or by an oath or ordeal.

12. When he has been struck in the interior of a house, or in a wood, or at night, and blood becomes visible, one shall not examine witnesses.

13. When two persons strike simultaneously, the punishment shall be equal for both; the first aggressor and he who is a habitual mischief-maker shall be compelled to pay a larger fine.

14. When a low person offends a man in high position by harsh words or the like, that man must not be persecuted by the king if he beats his aggressor.

15. Persons begotten in the inverse order of castes, and members of the lowest caste, are called the refuse of society; should they insult a Brahman, they shall be corporally punished, and shall never be amerced in a fine.

16. He who employs at an improper time, for drawing or carrying, tired, or hungry, or thirsty animals, shall be compelled to atone for it in the same way as a cow-killer, or to pay the first fine.

XXII. ROBBERY AND VIOLENCE.

1. Homicide, theft, assault on another man's wife, and the two kinds of injury (abuse and assault) are the four species of violence (Sâhasa).

2. Thieves are declared to be of two kinds, open and concealed. These are subdivided a thousand-

13. Ratn. p. 275.

14. Ratn. p. 276.

15. Ratn. p. 277.

16. Ratn. p. 280.

XXII, 1. May. p. 145.

2-4. Ratn. p. 289; Vîram. p. 491.

fold, according to their skill, ability, and mode of cheating.

3. (Fraudulent) traders, quacks, gamblers, (corruptible) judges, those who accept bribes, cheats, persons (pretending) to know how to interpret evil omens, or to practise propitiatory rites, low artists, forgers,

4. (Hired servants) refusing to do their work, (roguish) umpires, perjured witnesses, and, lastly, jugglers : these are termed open thieves.

5. Housebreakers, highwaymen, robbers of bipeds or quadrupeds, thieves of clothes and the like, and stealers of grain, should be considered secret thieves.

6. (Thieves or robbers) having been found out by the king's attendants by their associating (with thieves) or by marks of their criminality, or by their being possessed of stolen goods, shall be compelled to restore their plunder, and shall be visited with punishments ordained in law.

7. A merchant who conceals the blemish of an article which he is selling, or mixes bad and good articles together, or sells (old articles) after repairing them, shall be compelled to give the double quantity (to the purchaser) and to pay a fine equal (in amount) to the value of the article.

8. A physician who, though unacquainted with drugs and spells, or ignorant of the nature of a disease, yet takes money from the sick, shall be punished like a thief.

9. Gamblers playing with false dice, prostitutes,

5. Ratn. p. 292.

6. Viv. p. 157; Ratn. p. 293.

7-15. Ratn. pp. 297, 306-311, 314; May. p. 142; Vīram. p. 492; Viv. pp. 159-165. The readings of the Ratnākara have been followed throughout, in preference to those found in the other works.

those who appropriate what belongs to the king, and those who cheat an association, are pronounced to be impostors, and punishable as such.

10. Judges passing an unjust sentence, those who live by taking bribes, and those who disappoint confidence (placed in them) : all such persons shall be banished.

11. Those who, without knowing the science of stars, or portents, expound them to the people from avarice, shall be punished by all means.

12. Those who show themselves in public wearing a staff, a skin, and the like (insignia of a religious order), and injure mankind by deceiving them, shall be corporally punished by the king's officers.

13. Those who by artificially getting up articles of small value cause them to appear very valuable, and deceive women or children (by doing so), shall be punished in proportion to their gain.

14. Those who make false gold or factitious gems or coral shall be compelled to restore their price to the purchaser, and to pay the double amount to the king as a fine.

15. Arbitrators who cheat either party from partiality, avarice or some other motive, and witnesses who give false evidence, shall be compelled to pay twice the amount (in dispute) as a fine.

16. Those who procure gain by means of spells or medicines (shall be compelled to give up) their gain; those who practise incantations with roots shall be banished by the ruler of the land.

17. Housebreakers shall be compelled to relinquish their plunder and be impaled on a stake after-

10. Ratn. p. 315.

17. Ratn. p. 317; May. p. 143; Vīram. p. 494; Viv. p. 166.

wards, and highwaymen shall be bound and hanged by the neck from a tree.

18. Those who have kidnapped a man shall be burned by the king with a fire kept up with straw; the stealer of a woman (shall be placed) on a bed of hot iron, or burned with a fire kept up with straw.

19. Stealers of grain shall be compelled to give ten times as much (to the owner), and the double amount as a fine; a cow-stealer shall have his nose cut off, and shall be plunged into water, after having been fettered.

20. When a man takes grass, wood, flowers, or fruit without asking permission to do so, he deserves to have a hand cut off.

21. On him who steals more than ten kumbhas of grain, corporal punishment (or execution) shall be inflicted; (for stealing) less than that, a man shall be fined eleven times the quantity stolen, and shall restore his property to the owner.

22. When a religious man and diligent reader of the Veda has committed theft, he shall be kept in prison for a long time, and shall be caused to perform a penance after having been compelled to restore the stolen goods to the owner.

23. Hear now (the law regarding) theft coupled with violence, which springs from either wrath or avarice.

18. Ratn. p. 317; Viv. p. 166.

19. Ratn. p. 322; Vīram. p. 494; May. p. 143.

20. Ratn. p. 329; Viv. p. 174.

21. Viv. p. 169.

22. Ratn. p. 331; Viv. p. 176. Under the version found in the latter work, the punishment does not take place when the Brahman performs a penance.

23. Vīram. p. 503.

24. It is declared to be threefold, as it may be (theft or violence) of the lowest, second, or highest kind ; the punishment in each case should also be of the lowest, middling, or highest sort, according to the (nature of the) article (stolen or injured).

25. He who destroys or takes implements of husbandry, an embankment, flowers, roots, or fruit, shall be fined a hundred (*Panas*) or more, according (to the nature of his offence).

26. So one injuring or stealing cattle, clothes, food, drinks, or household utensils, shall be compelled to pay a fine of not less than two hundred (*Panas*), like a thief.

27. In the case of women, men, gold, gems, the property of a deity or Brahman, silk, and (other) precious things, the fine shall be equal to the value (of the article stolen).

28. Or the double amount shall be inflicted by the king as a fine ; or the thief shall be executed, to prevent a repetition (of the offence).

29. Violence is declared to be of five sorts, and of these, manslaughter is declared to be the worst ; those who have perpetrated it, shall not be amerced in a fine, they shall be put to death by all means.

30. Both notorious murderers and secret assassins shall be put to death by the king by various modes of execution, after their property has been duly seized.

31. When several persons in a passion beat a single individual (and kill him), the responsibility

24-28. Ratn. p. 350 ; May. p. 147.

29, 30. Ratn. p. 371 ; Viv. p. 192.

30. May. p. 145 ; Vivam. p. 501.

31-33. Ratn. p. 373 ; Viv. p. 194.

for his death shall be charged to him who strikes the fatal blow.

32. He who struck the fatal blow shall have to atone for his offence as directed ; the first aggressor and the associates shall be punished half as much.

33. The decision should be given after carefully ascertaining by signs the less or greater severity of a wound, the seat of vital power, the strength (of the murdered individual), and the repetition (of the blows or cuts).

34. Where the corpse is found, but the murderer cannot be discovered, the king shall trace him by drawing an inference from previous enmities of his.

35. His immediate neighbours, and their neighbours, as well as his friends, enemies, and relatives, shall be questioned by the king's officers, employing towards them the (four) expedients of conciliation and so forth.

36. The (guilty) person may be found out from his keeping bad company, from signs (of the crime committed), and from the possession of stolen property. Thus has been declared the method of discovering murderers and robbers.

37. He who has been arrested on suspicion and does not confess his guilt, shall clear himself (from suspicion) by ordeal ; this rule holds good for causes of every sort.

38. He who has been cleared of guilt by ordeal shall be released ; he who has been convicted shall be put to death. By punishment (of the wicked)

34-36. Ratn. p. 377 ; Viv. p. 197 (the better version).

35. The three other expedients are, bribery, intimidation, and violence.

37, 38. Ratn. pp. 377, 378 ; Viv. p. 198.

and release (of the virtuous), the renown and religious merit of a king is increased.

XXIII. ADULTERY.

1. The two kinds of injury (abuse and assault) and the three kinds of violence have been declared. Learn the threefold (offence of) adultery, which is productive of sin.

2. The two first kinds of it are connected with violence and deception respectively, the third kind springs from sensual desire ; the last is again of three sorts, being of the first, second, or highest degree.

3. When a man has intercourse with a woman in secret against her will, when she is asleep, or disordered in her intellect, or does not notice his approach, it is (termed) forcible enjoyment of a woman.

4. When he conducts her into his house under false pretences, and after giving her intoxicating drugs, has intercourse with her, it is considered fraudulent enjoyment of a woman.

5. When a man exchanges looks with a woman or sends her messages, and has intercourse with her impelled by sensuality, it has to be considered as (adulterous intercourse) springing from sensual désiré.

6. Winking (at a woman), smiling (at her), sending her messengers, and touching her ornaments or clothes, is termed an adulterous act of the first (or lowest) degree.

7. Sending perfumes, garlands, fruit, spirituous liquor, food, or clothes, and conversing with her in

XXIII, 1-5. *Vîram.* pp. 504, 505 ; *Ratn.* pp. 378, 379.

6-8. *Vîram.* p. 505 ; *Ratn.* pp. 379, 380 ; *Viv.* p. 200.

secret, is considered an adulterous act of the second degree.

8. Sitting on the same bed, dallying, and kissing or embracing each other, is defined as an adulterous act of the highest degree by persons acquainted with law.

9. For these three gradations of adultery, the first, middling, and highest fines shall be inflicted respectively; the fine shall be even higher than that, in the case of a very rich man.

10. (The king) shall confiscate the whole wealth of him who violates an unwilling woman, and having caused his penis and scrotum to be cut off, shall cause him to be paraded on an ass.

11. When a man enjoys a woman by fraud, his punishment shall be confiscation of his entire wealth, and he shall afterwards be branded with the mark of a female part and banished from the town.

12. The highest fine (shall be inflicted for connexion) with a woman of equal caste; half of that (for connexion) with a woman of inferior caste; but a man who has connexion with a woman of higher caste than his own, shall be put to death.

13. When a woman has been enjoyed against her

9. Ratn. p. 384; Viram. p. 506; Viv. p. 202; May. p. 149. The Mayūkha as printed reads this text differently, but one MS. of it agrees with the other compilations.

10. Ratn. p. 388; Viv. p. 212; May. p. 148.

11, 12. Ratn. p. 389; Viv. p. 213; May. p. 149. The reading of the Mayūkha seems to be wrong. This rule (12) is declared to apply to those cases where force or deception has not been used. Ratn., Viv.

11. Viram. p. 506.

13, 14. Ratn. p. 400. For the *Krikkhṛa* (Prāgāpatya) and *Parāka* penances, see Manu XI, 212, 216.

will, she shall be kept in the house well guarded, smeared (with ashes), lying on a low couch, and receiving a bare maintenance only.

14. To atone for her sin, she shall be caused to perform the *Krikkhra* or *Parāka* penance, in case she had intercourse with her equal in caste; but if she has been enjoyed by a man of inferior caste, she shall be abandoned and put to death.

15. When a woman comes to a man's house and excites his concupiscence by touching him or the like acts, she shall be punished; half of her punishment shall be inflicted on the man.

16. Her nose, lips, and ears having been cut off, she shall be paraded in the streets and plunged into water; or she shall be torn to pieces by dogs in a public place frequented by many persons.

XXIV. DUTIES OF MAN AND WIFE.

1. The whole set of commandments concerning adultery has thus been stated; listen to me proclaiming the conduct prescribed for man and wife.

2. A woman must be restrained from slight transgressions even by her relations; by night and by day she must be watched by her mother-in-law and other wives belonging to the family.

3. A father who does not give his daughter in

15. *Vīram.* p. 513; *Viv.* p. 217.

16. *Viv.* p. 217.

XXIV, 1. *Ratn.* p. 409; *Col. Dig.* IV, 1, 1.

2. *Ratn.* p. 411; *Col. Dig.* IV, 1, 12.

3. *Ratn.* p. 412; *Col. Dig.* IV, 1, 15; *Viv.* p. 220. Regarding the time favourable for procreation, see *Manu* III, 46.

marriage in proper time (before she has reached maturity), a husband who has not connexion with his wife at the time favourable for procreation, and a son who does not support his mother: all such deserve contempt and shall be punished as ordained in law.

4. Employing (a woman) in the receipt and expenditure (of wealth), in the preparation of food, in the preservation of domestic utensils, in purification, and in the care of the (sacred household) fire, is declared to be the (best) way of guarding women.

5. Let not a woman reside in another man's house, separated from her father, husband, or sons; by (giving way to) malicious propensities, particularly, she is sure to lose her reputation.

6. Rising before (the others), paying reverence to the elders of the family, preparing food and condiments, and using a low seat and bed: thus have the duties of women been declared.

7. Drinking (spirituous liquor), rambling abroad, sleeping by day, and neglect of her daily duties, are faults disgracing a woman.

8. That wife is declared to be devoted to her husband who is afflicted when he is afflicted, pleased when he is happy, squalid and languid when he is absent, and who dies when he dies.

9. While her husband is absent, a woman must avoid decorating herself, as well as dancing, singing,

4. Ratn. p. 416; Col. Dig. IV, 1, 31; Vîram. p. 419.

5. Ratn. p. 427.

6. Ratn. p. 428; Col. Dig. IV, 2, 90.

7. Ratn. p. 431; Col. Dig. IV, 2, 100.

8. Ratn. p. 436; Col. Dig. IV, 2, 107. See 11.

9. Ratn. p. 439; Col. Dig. IV, 2, 118.

looking on at public spectacles or festivals, and using meat or intoxicating drinks.

10. A wife practising religious austerities, fasting and preserving her chastity, self-controlled and liberal always, goes to heaven even though she have no son.

11. A wife is considered half the body (of her husband), equally sharing the result of his good or wicked deeds; whether she ascends the pile after him, or chooses to survive him leading a virtuous life, she promotes the welfare of her husband.

12. The Niyoga (appointment of a widow to raise offspring to her deceased lord) has been declared by Manu, and again prohibited by the same; on account of the successive deterioration of the (four) ages of the world, it must not be practised by mortals (in the present age) according to law.

13. In the ages *Kṛita*, *Tretā*, and *Dvāpara*, men were imbued with devotion and sacred knowledge; in the (present or) *Kali* age, a decrease of its power has been ordained for the human race.

14. The various sons who were appointed by ancient sages cannot be adopted now by men of the present age, as they are destitute of power.

XXV. THE LAW OF INHERITANCE.

1. After the death of both parents, division of the property among brothers has been ordained (to take

10. Ratn. p. 443; Col. Dig. IV, 3, 138.

11. Ratn. p. 442; Col. Dig. IV, 3, 132. It appears from these texts that *Bṛihaspati* advocates the custom of *Satī* (self-immolation of the widow) as an optional rite only, in common with *Vishṇu* and other Indian legislators and jurists.

12-14. Ratn. pp. 449, 450; Col. Dig. V, 4, 279 and IV, 4, 157. See Manu I, 81-86; IX, 56-70.

XXV, 1. Col. Dig. V, 2, 99, 115; D. II, 1; May. p. 39; V. p. 46;

place). It may take place even in their lifetime, if the mother be past child-bearing.

2. Houses and landed property inherited from an ancestor shall be shared equally by the father and sons; but the sons cannot claim a share of their father's own property without the consent of the father.

3. Of property acquired by the grandfather, whether immovable or movable, father and son are declared to be entitled to equal shares.

4. Those (sons) for whom their shares have been arranged by the father, whether equal, less, or greater, must be compelled to abide by such arrangement. Otherwise (if they try to alter the arrangement), they shall be punished.

5. When a partition is made during (the father's) life, the father shall reserve a couple of shares for himself.

6. The worship of the Manes, gods, and Brahmans by those residing (together) and cooking their food (in one house) is single. But when they divide the

Ratn. p. 462. The author of the *Dâyabhâga* and other writers of the Bengal school hold that this rule applies to ancestral wealth only, and that, moreover, the consent of the father is required in every division of his property during his lifetime. In the other schools of law, this text is given its plain meaning.

2. Col. Dig. V, 2, 94 ('Vyâsa'); May. p. 39. The *Mayûkha* deduces from this text the doctrine, generally held by the followers of the *Mitâksharâ*, that partition of property inherited from a grandfather or more remote ancestor may be instituted by sons even against their father's wish.

3. Col. Dig. V, 2, 93; D. II, 50; V. p. 66; May. p. 43.

4. Col. Dig. V, 1, 31; D. II, 75; V. p. 56; Ratn. p. 468.

5. Col. Dig. V, 2, 97; D. II, 46; Ratn. p. 465.

6. V. pp. 53, 257; Ratn. p. 459; Viv. p. 227; Col. Dig. V, 6, 388.

property, (the worship) takes place separately in each house.

7. Partition among coparceners is declared to be of two kinds; one is with attention to priority of birth, the other consists of the allotment of equal shares.

8. All sons of the twice-born, begotten on women equal in caste (to their husbands), shall take equal shares, after giving a preferential share to the eldest.

9. He who is the first by birth, sacred knowledge, or good qualities, shall take a couple of shares out of the partible wealth, and the rest shall take equal shares; but he stands to them in the relation of a father, as it were.

10. When they divide their father's heritage, all the sons shall share *alike*; but he who is distinguished by sacred knowledge and virtue, shall obtain a greater share (than the rest).

11. They are parents in the true sense of the term who have a son whose fame is spread in the world for sacred knowledge, cleverness, valour, wealth, and for knowledge, liberality, and pious acts.

12. In property belonging to the grandfather which had been taken away and has been (afterwards) recovered by the father through his own

7. Col. Dig. V, 1, 30; D. II, 80.

8. Col. Dig. V, 1, 53; D. II, 42.

9. Col. Dig. V, 1, 45; D. II, 42; V. p. 67; Viv. p. 235.

10. Col. Dig. V, 1, 67; V, 3, 116.

11. Col. Dig. V, 3, 116; Ratn. p. 484.

12, 13. Col. Dig. V, 2, 90; D. VI, 2, 34; V. p. 126; May. p. 40; Ratn. p. 461. Some compilations read *bhâgam*, 'withhold it from partition,' for *bhogam*, 'consume it.'

ability, as well as in property acquired by sacred knowledge, valour in arms, &c., the father's ownership has been declared.

13. He may make a gift out of that property, or even consume it, at his will. But in his default, his sons are pronounced to be equal sharers.

14. Whatever has been acquired by all together, in that property they all have equal shares. Their sons, whether unequal or equal (in number), are declared (to be) heirs of the shares of their (respective) fathers.

15. When there are many sons sprung from one father, equal in caste and number, but born of different mothers, a legal division (of the property) may be effected by adjusting the shares according to the mothers.

16. (When there are several brothers) equal in caste, but varying in number (of sons begotten with each wife), a division according to males is ordained.

17. When step-brothers born of different mothers or uterine brothers have come to a division with their father, afterborn brothers shall take their father's share.

18. A son born before (partition) has no claim to the paternal wealth; nor (can) a brother's wealth (be claimed by) one born after partition.

19. Whatever has been acquired, with his own

14. Ratn. p. 481; Aparârka.

15. Col. Dig. V, 1, 62; D. III, 1, 12; May. p. 46; V. p. 76; Ratn. p. 975.

16. Col. Dig. V, 1, 63; May. p. 46; V. p. 76.

17, 18. Col. Dig. V, 2, 100; D. VII, 5; V. p. 93; Ratn. p. 538.

18. M. I, 6, 4; V. p. 219.

19. M. I, 6, 6; Col. Dig. V, 7, 39a.

effort, by a father who has come to a partition with his sons, all that belongs to the son born after partition. Those born before it are declared to have no right.

20. In regard to the property as well as regards debts, gifts, pledges, and purchases, they are independent of each other, excepting impurity (caused by a death) and offerings consisting of water libations.

21. Should there be younger brothers, whose initiation has not been performed, they must be initiated by the other brothers (the expense being defrayed) out of the family property (inherited) from the father.

22. Whether partition has or has not been made, whenever an heir comes forward, he shall receive a share of such wealth as he can prove to be the joint property (of the family).

23. Whether it be a debt, or a document, or house, or field, which has been inherited from the paternal grandfather, he shall take his proper share of it, when he returns after a protracted absence even.

24. When a man has gone abroad, leaving the joint estate of his family, his share must undoubtedly be given to his descendant who has returned from abroad.

25. Whether he be the third or the fifth or even the seventh in descent, he shall receive the share belonging to him by right of succession, his

19, 20. Ratn. p. 539; May. p. 47; D. VII, 6; V. pp. 93, 219.

21. Col. Dig. V, 3, 132; May. p. 48; V. p. 86; Viv. p. 277.

22-26. Col. Dig. V, 7, 394; D. VIII, 1-3; Ratn. p. 540.

24-26. Viv. p. 241.

25. May. p. 46.

birth and family name having been ascertained (first).

26. He whom indigenous inhabitants and neighbours know to be the (legal) owner, to the descendants of that man must the land be surrendered by his kinsmen, when they make their appearance.

27. Let Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras, begotten in order by a Brahman, take four, three, two shares, and one share, in succession.

28. Let those begotten by a Kshatriya (take) three shares, two shares, and one share (respectively). Let those begotten by a Vaisya take two shares and one share.

29. The son by a Kshatriya wife, if elder by birth and endowed with superior qualities, shall take an equal share with the Brahman (son); and so shall a son by a Vaisya wife (share equally) with a Kshatriya son.

30. Land obtained by acceptance of a gift must never be given to the son of a Kshatriya woman or other (wife inferior in caste to her husband). Though their father may have given it to them, the son by a Brahman wife shall take it after the death (of the father).

31. An obedient and excellent son of a man having no other male issue, shall receive a maintenance (though he be born) of a Sûdra woman; let the Sapindas take the remainder.

27. Uggvalâ, p. 79; Varadarâga, p. 19.

28. Varadarâga, p. 19.

29. Col. Dig. V, 3, 156; D. IX, 15; V. p. 98.

30. Col. Dig. V, 3, 161; D. IX, 19; M. I, 4, 36, I, 8, 8; May. p. 46; V. p. 99; Viv. p. 272.

31. Col. Dig. V, 3, 168; D. IX, 28; Viv. p. 274; May. p. 47.

32. A son begotten with a Sûdra woman by a twice-born man is not entitled to a share of the landed property; one begotten with a woman of equal caste shall take all. Thus has the law been settled.

33. Of the thirteen sons mentioned in succession by Manu, the legitimate son of the body (Aurasa) and the appointed daughter (Putrikâ) continue the family.

34. As in default of ghee, oil is admitted by the virtuous as a substitute (at sacrifices), so are the eleven sons (admitted as substitutes), in default of a legitimate son of the body and of an appointed daughter.

35. No one but a legitimate son of the body is declared to be heir of his father's wealth. An appointed daughter is said to be equal to him. All the others are stated to have a claim to maintenance (only).

36. Because a son (Putra) saves his father from the hell called Put by the very sight of his face, therefore should a man be anxious to beget a son.

37. Both a son's son and the son of an appointed daughter cause a man to attain heaven. Both are pronounced to be equal as regards their right of inheritance and the duty of offering funeral balls of meal (Pindas).

32. Col. Dig. V, 3, 164; V. p. 99; Ratn. p. 534. The Ratnâkara after this text inserts two other texts on the right of a Nishâda son, which are elsewhere attributed to Devala.

33, 34. V. p. 120. See Manu IX, 126, 158-160.

35. Col. Dig. V, 4, 215; Viv. p. 285; V. p. 121.

36. Col. Dig. V, 4, 304. punnâmno narakât putraḥ pitarāṃ trāyate yataḥ | mukhasamdarśanēnāpi tadutpattau yateta saḥ ||

37. Col. Dig. V, 4, 304; Uggvalâ, p. 80.

38. Gautama has declared that a daughter is appointed after performing a sacrifice to Agni and Pragâpati ; others have said that she is an appointed daughter (Putrikâ) who was merely supposed to be one (before her birth) by a man having no male issue.

39. The other sons, beginning with the son begotten on a wife (Kshetrâga), shall (respectively) take a fifth, a sixth, and a seventh part.

40. The son given, the son cast off, the son bought, the son made (or adopted), the son by a Sûdra wife : these, when pure by caste and irreproachable as to their conduct, are considered sons of middle rank.

41. The son begotten on a wife (Kshetrâga) is despised by the virtuous ; and so are the son begotten on a woman twice married, the son of an unmarried damsel, the son received with the wife, and the son secretly born.

42. Though born of a wife of the same caste, a son destitute of good qualities is unworthy to obtain the paternal wealth ; it shall go to those learned (kinsmen) who offer the funeral ball of meal (Pinda) for the father.

43. A son redeems his father from the highest

38. Col. Dig. V, 4, 225 ; Ratn. p. 562. See Gautama XXVIII, 18.

39. Col. Dig. V, 4, 246 ; Ratn. p. 545 ; V. p. 125. The Vîramitrodaya reads samabhâgînâh for sapta bhâgînâh, 'The other five or six sons beginning with the wife's son are equal sharers.' Regarding the wife's son (Kshetrâga), see Manu IX, 167 ; Brîhaspati XXIV, 12-14.

40, 41. Col. Dig. V, 4, 202 ; V. p. 128 ; Ratn. p. 552.

42, 43. May. p. 101.

42-45. Col. Dig. V, 4, 264 ; V. 319 ; D. V, 4 ; V. p. 256 ; Viv. p. 242.

and lowest debts; consequently there is no use of him who acts otherwise.

44. What can be done with a cow which neither gives milk nor is (ever) pregnant? What is the good of a son being born who is neither learned nor virtuous?

45. A son who is destitute of learning, valour, and wealth, void of devotion and insight, and unobservant of good custom, such a son is declared to be no better than urine and fæces.

46. In the revealed texts (of the Veda), in the traditional law (of the *Smṛitis*), and in popular usage, the wife is declared to be half the body (of her husband), equally sharing the outcome of good and evil acts.

47. Of him whose wife is not dead, half his body survives. How should any one else take the property, while half (his) body lives?

48. Although kinsmen (*Sakulyas*), although his father and mother, although uterine brothers be living, the wife of him who dies without leaving male issue shall succeed to his share.

49. A wife deceased before (her husband) takes away his consecrated fire (*Agnihotra*); but if the husband dies before the wife, she takes his property, if she has been faithful to him. This is an eternal law.

50. After having received all the movable and immovable property, the gold, base metals and grain, liquids and wearing apparel, she shall cause

46. See XXIV, 11.

46-52. Col. Dig. V, 8, 399; V. 8, 416; D. XI, 1, 2; Ratn. p. 589.

46-49. V. pp. 141, 142.

47. M. II, 1, 6.

48-52. Viv. pp. 289, 290.

his monthly, sixmonthly, and annual *Srâddhas* to be performed.

51. Let her propitiate with funeral oblations and pious liberality her husband's paternal uncles, Gurus, daughter's sons, sister's sons, and maternal uncles; also aged or helpless persons, guests, and women (belonging to the family).

52. Should agnates (*Sapindas*) or cognates (*Bândhavas*) or enemies injure the property, let the king inflict on them the punishment destined for a thief.

53. The husband being separated (in interests from his former coparceners), his wife shall take after his death a pledge and whatever else is recognised as property, excepting the immovable wealth.

54. A wife, though preserving her character and though partition have been made, is unworthy to obtain immovable property. Food or a portion of the arable land shall be given to her at will (for her support).

55. The wife is declared to succeed to her husband's property, and in her default, the daughter.

56. A daughter, like a son, springs from each member of a man; how then should any other mortal inherit the father's property while she lives?

57. Equal in caste (to her father) and married to a man of the same caste as her own, virtuous, habitually submissive, she shall inherit her father's property, whether she may have been (expressly) appointed or not.

53, 54. May. p. 77; V. pp. 134, 135, 173.

55, 56. M. II, 2, 2; *Smṛiti*. (K. Iyer's translation) XI, 2, 113.

56-58. Col. Dig. V, 4, 224; D. XI, 2, 8, 17; V. pp. 176, 180, 183; Viv. pp. 292-294.

56, 57. Ratn. p. 591.

58. As her father's wealth becomes her property, though kinsmen be in existence, even so her son becomes the owner of his mother's and maternal grandfather's wealth.

59. In default of them, uterine brothers or brother's sons, agnates (Sakulyas) and cognates (Bāndhavas), pupils, or learned Brahmans are entitled to the inheritance.

60. When a man dies leaving no issue, nor wife, nor brother, nor father, nor mother, all his Sapindas shall divide his property in due shares.

61. Half the entire wealth, however, shall first be set apart for the benefit of the deceased (owner) and carefully assigned for his monthly, sixmonthly, and annual Srāddhas.

62. When there are several relatives, agnates (Sakulyas), and cognates (Bāndhavas), whosoever of them is the nearest shall take the wealth of him who died leaving no issue.

63. When a man dies without leaving either wife or male issue, the mother has to be considered as her son's heiress, or a brother (may succeed) if she consents to it.

64. But on his death the mother shall take a son's share. The mothers shall share equally with the sons, the maidens shall take fourth-part shares.

59. Col. Dig. V, 8, 422; D. XI, 2, 26. 'In default of them,' i.e. of a daughter or daughter's son.

59-62. Col. Dig. V, 8, 437; Ratn. p. 595.

60. V. p. 216.

61. D. XI, 6, 13.

62. V. p. 194; May. p. 81.

63. Col. Dig. V, 8, 423; V. p. 191; Viv. p. 293; D. XI, 3, 2.

64. Col. Dig. V, 2, 85; V. pp. 81, 84, &c. 'On his death,' i.e. on the father's death. For tanayāmsasamāmsinī, 'shall take a son's share,' the Viramitrodaya reads tanayā vā samāmsinī, 'or the

65, 66. To a father the funeral ball (*Pinda*) and water oblation shall be offered by his son ; in default of a son, the widow (succeeds) ; in her default, a uterine brother ; in default of him, the co-heirs (*dâyādâḥ*) ; afterwards, the property goes to the daughter's son.

67. Should a Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sûdra die without leaving male issue, or wife, or brother, their property shall be taken (as escheat) by the king, for he is the lord of all.

68. Except in the case of a Brahman ; but a king bent on the practice of virtue must allot a maintenance to his women. Thus has the law of inheritance been declared.

69. For her food (he must assign) a Prastha of rice every afternoon, together with fuel, and one dress purchased for three *Panas* must be given to her every three months.

70. What is left after setting apart property suffi-

daughter shall take an equal share.' Vâṭaspatimisra, Kamalākara, Nandapandita, and other commentators explain the term *mâtaraḥ*, 'mothers,' as denoting step-mothers who have no issue, whereas in the first clause the term 'mother' (*ganani*), according to them, denotes a woman who has male issue. It seems more natural, however, to interpret the term 'mother' in the same way in both clauses. Vishnu (XVIII, 34, 35) has the analogous precept that mothers and maiden daughters shall receive shares corresponding to the shares of sons. Vishnu's rule relates to a division of property among sons differing in caste, and the present text of Brīhaspati seems to apply to the same case.

65, 66. Aparārka ; *Smṛiti*. XI, 4, 19 (Iyer). These texts are quoted in some works only, and it is certainly difficult to reconcile them with the other texts of Brīhaspati on inheritance.

67. Col. Dig. V, 8, 446 ; D. XI, 1, 49 ; May. p. 83 ; Viv. p. 298.

68-71. Nandapandita's *Vaigyanī* ; *Ugavalā*, p. 82 ; Gautamīyā Mitāksharā. The reading in 71 is uncertain.

cient for the expense of her dress, food, and for the washerman, shall be made over to the co-heirs.

71. (The widow) shall recite the Dhûmâvasânika prayer in the evening, bathe frequently, and pay no regard to dwelling, food, or clothing after her husband's death.

72. He who (having been divided) is again living, through affection, together with his father or brother, or with his uncle even, is said to be reunited with them.

73. When brothers formerly divided are again living together through affection and arrange a second division, the right of primogeniture does not accrue in that case.

74. When any one (brother) should die or anyhow renounce worldly interests, his share is not lost; it is allotted to his uterine brother.

75. If there be a sister, she is entitled to a share of his property. This is the law regarding (the wealth of) one destitute of issue, and who has no wife or father.

76. When two (coparceners) have again established together, they shall mutually inherit their property.

77. If among reunited coparceners any one should acquire property through learning, valour, or other (independent effort of his own), a double share must be given to him; the rest shall take equal shares.

78. Whatever has been given by the paternal

72. Col. Dig. V, 8, 430; M. II, 9, 3; May. p. 84; V. pp. 40, 162, 205; Viv. p. 300; D. XI, 1, 30, XII, 3; Ratn. p. 605.

73-75. Col. Dig. V, 8, 407; Viv. p. 302; V. p. 159.

76. May. p. 88; Viv. p. 305; Ratn. p. 602.

77. Col. Dig. V, 8, 460; V. p. 205; May. p. 85; Viv. p. 302.

78. May. p. 69; *Smr̥iti* (Iyer) VII, 23.

grandfather, the father, or the mother, (all that shall not be taken from him (who possesses it); (he may keep), likewise, property acquired by valour and the wealth of his wife.

79. Those by whom clothes and the like articles have been declared indivisible have not decided properly. The wealth of the rich depends on clothes and ornaments.

80. (Such wealth) when withheld from partition will yield no profit; but neither can it be allotted to a single (coparcener). Therefore it has to be divided with some skill; or else it would be useless.

81. Clothes and ornaments are divided by (distributing the proceeds after) selling them; a written bond (concerning a debt, is divided) after recovering the sum lent; prepared food (is divided) by an exchange for (an equal amount of) unprepared food.

82. The water of a well or pool shall be drawn and used according to need. A single female (slave) shall be (successively) set to work at their houses (by the several sharers) according to their shares (of the inheritance).

83. If there are many of them, they shall be divided equally. The same rule applies to male slaves as well. Property obtained for a pious purpose shall be divided in equal shares.

84. Fields and embankments shall be divided according to their several shares. A common (road or) pasture-ground shall be always used by the co-heirs in due proportion to their several shares.

79-84. Col. Dig. V, 5, 366; May. pp. 71, 72; *Smṛitiḥ*. (Iyer) VII, 41-43, &c. The arrangement of these texts varies in the several works.

80 b, 82. D. I, 10; V, 3.

85. The clothes, ornaments, bed, and the like, as well as the vehicle and the like, appertaining to the father, shall be given to the person who partakes of his funeral repast, after honouring him with fragrant drugs and flowers.

86. Such property, whether immovable or other, as has been given to women by their father-in-law, can never be taken away from them by the co-heirs.

87. Stridhana goes to the children, and the daughter if not betrothed has a share in it. If she is married, she shall receive an honorary trifle only.

88. The mother's sister, the wife of a maternal uncle, a paternal uncle's wife, a father's sister, a mother-in-law, and an elder brother's wife are declared to be equal to a mother.

89. If they have no legitimate son of the body, nor (other) son, nor daughter's son, nor their son, their sister's son, &c. shall inherit their property.

90. A heinous crime, (a claim regarding) immovable property, a deposit, and a previous partition among co-heirs, have to be ascertained by circumstantial evidence, in default of documents and witnesses.

91. A family feud, mutual malice, or the discovery of stolen goods, may be evidence of a heinous crime; possession of the land may be proof of property; and separate property is an argument of partition.

85. M. I, 4, 17; May. p. 70; V. p. 250.

86. V. p. 174; *Smṛiti*. XI, 1, 44.

87. Col. Dig. V, 9, 487; D. IV, 2, 3; Viv. p. 267; V. p. 229. The two first works read, 'she does not take her mother's wealth' for 'she shall receive an honorary trifle only.'

88, 89. Col. Dig. V, 9, 513; D. VI, 3, 31; May. p. 98; V. p. 243.

90-92. Col. Dig. V, 6, 389; D. XIV, 8.

90, 92. V. p. 261.

92. Those who keep their income, expenditure, and mortgages distinct, and engage in mutual transactions in money-lending and traffic, are undoubtedly separate.

93. Whether kinsmen are united or separate, they are all alike as regards immovable property, as no one of them has power in any case to give, mortgage, or sell it.

94, 95. Whatever share is enjoyed by each, must not be changed from him. If he should subsequently contest a distribution, which was made with his own consent, he shall be compelled by the king to content himself with his share, and shall be punished if he should persist in contention.

96. When the loan or mortgaging of joint property is concealed with a fraudulent purpose, the king shall recover it from the cheat by artifice, but not use violence to extort it from him.

97. Cheats, robbers of wealth, crafty and covetous men, shall be reclaimed by friendly expostulation, by the loss of their own property, or by stratagem.

98. Household utensils, beasts of burden and the like, milch cattle, ornaments, and workmen have to be divided on being discovered. When property is (supposed to be) hidden, proof by sacred libation is ordained.

92. May. p. 75; Viv. p. 313; Ratn. p. 608.

93. M. I, 1, 30; May. p. 76; V. pp. 87, 158; D. II, 27 ('Vyâsa'). For 'kinsmen' some works read 'coparceners' or 'co-heirs' (dâyâdâh). The general meaning remains the same.

94, 95. Col. Dig. V, 6, 378; May. p. 76; V. pp. 258, 259.

96, 97. Col. Dig. V, 6, 379; Ratn. p. 526.

98. Smṛitīk. (Iyer) VI, 11.

99. When there are many uterine brothers sprung from one (father), and a son is born even to one of them only, they all are declared to have male offspring (through that son).

100. The same rule is declared for a plurality of wives of one (husband); if one of them has male issue, that (son) shall present the funeral ball of meal to them all.

101. (For one leaving no male issue), a brother, or brother's son, or a *Sapinda*, or a pupil, should first perform the ceremony of uniting him with the *Sapindas* (to be worshipped at a *Srâddha* offering), and then offer him the funeral ceremonies customary on joyful occasions.

XXVI. GAMBLING AND BETTING.

1. Gambling has been prohibited by Manu, because it destroys truth, honesty, and wealth. It has been permitted by other (legislators) when conducted so as to allow the king a share (of every stake).

2. It shall take place under the superintendence of keepers of gaming-houses, as it serves the purpose of discovering thieves. The same rule has to be observed in bets on prize-fights with animals.

3. When birds, rams, deer or other (animals) are caused to fight against one another, after a wager has been laid, it is called betting on animals (*samâhvaya*).

99, 100. Ratn. p. 583; Varadarâga, p. 27.

101. Ratn. p. 600; Col. Dig. V, 8, 454.

XXVI, 1, 2. Viv. p. 318; Vîram. pp. 721, 722. See Manu IX, 224.

3. Viv. p. 317; Ratn. p. 610.

4. When any one is defeated in a prize-fight between two animals, the wager which has been laid shall be paid by the owner of the (defeated) animal.

5. A wager (or game) shall be made in public; false gamblers shall be banished.

6. When there is a point at issue between the two parties (in a game or wager, other) gamblers shall examine (and decide) the matter; if they are enemies (of either party), the king shall decide the dispute.

7. One defeated in a secret game; or ignorant of the rules; or (defeated) by the use of false dice, or by deceit, though acquainted with the game, shall be released; and one who has lost his entire wealth in a game shall not be compelled to give the whole of it.

8. The keeper of the gaming-house shall receive the stakes and pay the victorious gambler and the king; he shall also act as witness in a dispute, assisted by three other gamblers.

9. Those wicked men who use false dice in a game, or rob the king of his due, or cheat by making false computations, are declared to be gamblers deserving punishment.

XXVII. MISCELLANEOUS (Prakīrṇaka).

1. This (aggregate of rules concerning) lawsuits instituted by litigants has been briefly declared; I will declare (next the law concerning) Miscellaneous Causes instituted by the king (in person).

4, 5. Viv. p. 318; Vīram. p. 720.

6. Vīram. p. 720.

7-9. Ratn. pp. 614-617.

XXVII, 1. Vīram. p. 722; Ratn. p. 621.

2. In the case of a conflict between two *Smritis* (texts of law), equity should be resorted to; when the law-books are inapplicable, that course should be followed which is indicated by a consideration of the circumstances of the case.

3. (However) the first rank (among legislators) belongs to Manu, because he has embodied the essence of the Veda in his work; that *Smṛiti* (or text of law) which is opposed to the tenor of the laws of Manu is not approved.

4. When he has discovered a man to be an offender, (the king) should inflict (one of the various sorts of punishment) on him, (gentle) admonition, (harsh) reproof or corporal chastisement, or one of the four gradations of fines.

5. (Let him inflict) a (gentle) admonition, when the offence is very light; (harsh) reproof, for a crime in the first degree; a fine, for a crime in the (second or) middlemost degree; and arrest, in the case of high-treason.

6. Banishment also may be resorted to by (a king) desirous of promoting his own welfare in order to meet opposition, and all (the various) sorts (of punishment) should be united in the case of one who has committed a mortal sin.

7. (The king) should punish elders, domestic priests, and persons commanding respect, with (gentle) admonition only; other litigants he should amerce in a fine, when they are found to be guilty;

2. *Vīram*. p. 119.

3. *Col. Dig.* V, 5, 333. *vedārthopanibaddhatvāt prādhānyam tu manoḥ smṛitam | manvarthaviparītā yā na sâ smṛitiḥ prasasyate ||*

4-7. *Ratn*. p. 629.

and on the perpetrators of a heavy crime he should inflict corporal punishment.

8. (Gentle) admonition and (harsh) reproof are declared to be the privilege of the Brahman (appointed as chief judge); but both fines and corporal punishment may be inflicted by the king only.

9. Both hands, both feet, the male organ, the eye, the tongue, both ears, the nose, the neck, one half of the feet, the thumb and index, the forehead, the lips, the hindpart, and the hips :

10. These fourteen places of punishment have been indicated. For a Brahman, branding him on the forehead is ordained as the only kind of punishment.

11. A Brahman, though a mortal sinner, shall not suffer capital punishment; the king shall banish him, and cause him to be branded and shaved.

12. That man who deserves capital punishment shall be compelled to pay one hundred *Suvarṇas*; one deserving to have a limb cut off, half as much; and one deserving to have the thumb and index (cut off), half of that.

13. The eighteen titles of law have been explained, together with the particulars of plaint and answer. Learn now (the law regarding) the relative validity of transactions.

14. That transaction which has been prior in time (to another) shall be upheld. If it is departed from, that is (called) an alteration of a transaction.

15. If a creditor or debtor revokes a previous

8. Ratn. p. 630. 9, 10. Ratn. p. 631. 11. Ratn. p. 634.

12. Ratn. p. 656. 13-18. Ratn. pp. 618-620.

agreement and makes another contract of the same description, (in which a) greater or less (amount is stated), it is termed an alteration of a transaction.

16. When (a debtor) having received a loan at the rate of two per cent. (in the month) promises to pay five per cent., that subsequent agreement is valid.

17. Between two successive transactions, the first is (rendered) void (by the second); a subsequent agreement prevails over the one preceding it in time.

18. When a man first makes a deposit and converts it into a pledge afterwards, after receiving money (for it), or sells it, the second transaction prevails over the first.

[19. Forbidden practices are found among the Southerners in the present day, (such as) matches with a maternal uncle's daughter, in spite of the prohibited degree of relationship on the mother's side (causing such unions to be illegal).

20. The highly reprehensible custom of a brother living with his deceased brother's wife, and the delivery of a marriageable damsel to a family is found in other countries.

21. What is more, matches with a mother occur among the Pârasikas. The inhabitants of some countries do not allow the presentation of fresh gifts (of food) at a *Srâddha* offering to those Brahmans who have been fed at a *Srâddha* held on the eleventh

19-24. These texts will be published elsewhere. They have been taken from the *Saṃskâra Kânda* of the *Smṛitikanḍikâ*, where they are quoted from an uncertain author. 20 has been printed, as a text of *Bṛihaspati*, in Professor Bühler's *Ugavalâ*, p. 101. The term 'Pârasikas' denotes the Persians, or perhaps the Parsis of India.

day (after the decease of a person) or at some other Śrāddha.

22. Others, after lending grain, take twice as much back in the autumn season and occupy the embanked land, after having received twice the amount lent,

23. Though the principal has been repaid. This is reprehensible also. Such forbidden practices (the king) should check (when they are resorted to) through folly.

24. Such customs as are not opposed to the laws of particular countries and castes or other (corporations), every king should establish in accordance with the sacred law, after consulting the law-books.]

25. Thus let the king every day examine, in common with learned Brahmans, both the suits proffered by litigants and those instituted by the king (himself).

26. When the safety of many may be effected by destroying a single offender, his execution is productive of religious merit (even).

25. Ratn. p. 618.

26. Smṛitiḥ. ekasmin yatra nidhanam prāpīte dush/akārinī | bahūnām bhavati kshemas tasya puṇyaprado vadhaḥ ||

ADDENDA.

P. 231, Appendix v. 56. This difficult text, together with an additional text, is quoted in a somewhat different, but equally faulty form, in the recently published last fasciculus of the Vivâdaratnâkara in the Bibliotheca Indica. I propose to render the two texts as follows: 'Fines beginning with a Kârshâpana may amount to four Kârshâpanas at most (in heavy cases); there are others beginning with two and rising to eight, or beginning with three and rising to twelve Kârshâpanas. All those (fines) which have been declared to begin with one Kârshâpana may be raised to the fourfold amount; the same rule applies to the other fines as well, excepting the highest fine (which consists of 2500 Paras).'

P. 369, *after* v. 14, *add* '15. A wife should be honoured by her husband with (presents of) clothes, ornaments, and food; and at a festival (she should receive similar presents) from her father and brothers, her parents-in-law, and other relations.'

P. 369, *after* note on vv. 12-14, *add* 15. Smṛitîk. bhartrâ patnî samabhyarṅyâ vastrâlamkârabhoganaiḥ | utsave tu pitṛibhrâtrîsva-surâdyais ka bandhubhiḥ ||

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

| CONSONANTS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|--|----------------------|----|---|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | | | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | . | . | . | . | क | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | k |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | . | . | . | . | ख | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | kh |
| 3 Media | g | . | . | . | . | ग | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | . |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | . | . | . | . | घ | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | . |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | . | . | . | . | च | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | 𐬙 | . |
| 6 Nasalis | h (ng) | . | . | . | . | ङ | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | 𐬚 | . |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | . | . | . | . | ह | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | h, hs |
| 8 " lenis | , | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 9 " asper faucalis | 'h | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | 'h | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 11 " asper fricatus | . | 'h | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | . | 'h | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | . | k | . | . | . | ख | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | k |
| 14 " aspirata | . | kh | . | . | . | ख | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | kh |
| 15 Media | . | g | . | . | . | ग | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | . |
| 16 " aspirata | . | gh | . | . | . | घ | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | . |
| 17 " Nasalis | ñ | . | . | . | . | ङ | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | . |

| CONSONANTS (continued). | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Fehlevi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | | | य | 𐬶 𐬶𐬵 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | y |
| 19 Spiritus asper | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 20 " lenis | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 21 " asper assibilatus | | s | | श | 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶 | z |
| 22 " lenis assibilatus | | z | | | | | | | | |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | | | त | 𐬵 | 𐬵 | 𐬵 | 𐬵 | 𐬵 | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | | | | | | | | | th |
| 25 " assibilata | | | TH | | | | | | | |
| 26 Media | d | | | द | 𐬵𐬶 | 𐬵𐬶 | 𐬵𐬶 | 𐬵𐬶 | 𐬵𐬶 | |
| 27 " aspirata | dh | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 " assibilata | | | DH | | | | | | | |
| 29 Nasalis | n | | | न | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | | | ल | 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶 | 𐬶𐬶 | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | | l | | | | | | | | |
| 32 " mollis 2 | | | L | | | | | | | |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | | | स | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | 𐬶 | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | | | S | | | | | | | |
| 35 " lenis | z | | | | | | | | | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | | | z (z) | | | | | | | z |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | | | z (z) | | | | | | | z |

Dentales modificatae
(linguales, &c.)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 38 Tenuis | t | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 39 " aspirata | th | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 40 Media | d | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 41 " aspirata | dh | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 42 Nasalis | n | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 43 Semivocalis | r | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 44 " fricata | r | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 45 " discripta | r | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 46 Spiritus asper | sh | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 47 " lenis | sh | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Labiales.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 48 Tenuis | p | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 49 " aspirata | ph | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 50 Media | b | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 51 " aspirata | bh | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 52 Tenuissima | p | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 53 Nasalis | m | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 54 Semivocalis | w | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 55 " aspirata | hw | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 56 Spiritus asper | f | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 57 " lenis | v | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 58 Anuvāra | m | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 59 Visarga | h | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zand. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | 0 | | | ॐ | | | | | ֊ | ā |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | ē | | | | | fin. | | | ֊ | ā |
| 3 " labialis | ō | | | ॐ | | init. | ֊ | ֊ | ֊ | ā |
| 4 Gutturallis brevis | a | | | अ | א | | ֊ | ֊ | ֊ | i |
| 5 " longa | ā | (a) | | आ | א | | ֊ | ֊ | ֊ | i |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | | | इ | י | | ֊ | ֊ | ֊ | ī |
| 7 " longa | ī | (i) | | ई | י | | ֊ | ֊ | ֊ | ī |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | ē | | | ए | | | | | | |
| 9 " longa | ā | | | ऐ | | | | | | |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ī | | | ऋ | | | | | | |
| 11 " longa | ī | | | ॠ | | | | | | |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | | उ | ו | | | | | u |
| 13 " longa | ū | (u) | | ऊ | ו | | | | | ū |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | e |
| 15 " longa | ē (ai) | (e) | | ঐ | ע | | | | | ei, éi |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | āi | (ai) | | ঐ | ע | | | | | o |
| 17 " " | ei (ēi) | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | āu |
| 18 " " | oi (ōu) | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 19 Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 20 " longa | ō (au) | (o) | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | āu | (au) | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 22 " " | eu (ēu) | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 23 " " | ou (ōu) | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 24 Gutturallis fracta | ā | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | ī | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 26 Labialis fracta | ū | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |
| 27 Gutturo-labialis fracta | ō | | | ঐ | ע | | | | | |



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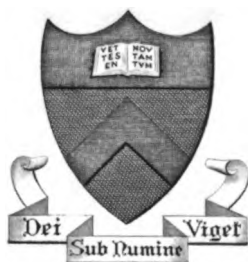
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THE
VEDÂNTA-SÛTRAS

WITH THE COMMENTARY BY

SANĀKARĀKĀRYA

TRANSLATED BY

GEORGE THIBAUT

PART I

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1890

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INTRODUCTION.

TO the sacred literature of the Brahmins, in the strict sense of the term, i.e. to the Veda, there belongs a certain number of complementary works without whose assistance the student is, according to Hindu notions, unable to do more than commit the sacred texts to memory. In the first place all Vedic texts must, in order to be understood, be read together with running commentaries such as Sâyaṇa's commentaries on the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, and the *Bhāṣyas* ascribed to Saṅkara on the chief *Upaniṣads*. But these commentaries do not by themselves conduce to a full comprehension of the contents of the sacred texts, since they confine themselves to explaining the meaning of each detached passage without investigating its relation to other passages, and the whole of which they form part ; considerations of the latter kind are at any rate introduced occasionally only. The task of taking a comprehensive view of the contents of the Vedic writings as a whole, of systematising what they present in an unsystematical form, of showing the mutual co-ordination or subordination of single passages and sections, and of reconciling contradictions—which, according to the view of the orthodox commentators, can be apparent only—is allotted to a separate *sāstra* or body of doctrine which is termed *Mīmāṃsā*, i.e. the investigation or enquiry κατ' ἐξοχήν, viz. the enquiry into the connected meaning of the sacred texts.

Of this *Mīmāṃsā* two branches have to be distinguished, the so-called earlier (*pūrva*) *Mīmāṃsā*, and the later (*uttara*) *Mīmāṃsā*. The former undertakes to systematise the *karmakāṇḍa*, i.e. that entire portion of the Veda which is concerned with action, pre-eminently sacrificial action, and which comprises the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* exclusive of the *Āraṇyaka* portions ; the latter performs the same

service with regard to the so-called *gñānakānda*, i.e. that part of the Vedic writings which includes the *Āraṇyaka* portions of the *Brāhmaṇas*, and a number of detached treatises called *Upanishads*. Its subject is not action but knowledge, viz. the knowledge of Brahman.

At what period these two *sāstras* first assumed a definite form, we are unable to ascertain. Discussions of the nature of those which constitute the subject-matter of the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* must have arisen at a very early period, and the word *Mīmāṃsā* itself together with its derivatives is already employed in the *Brāhmaṇas* to denote the doubts and discussions connected with certain contested points of ritual. The want of a body of definite rules prescribing how to act, i.e. how to perform the various sacrifices in full accordance with the teaching of the Veda, was indeed an urgent one, because it was an altogether practical want, continually pressing itself on the *adhvaryus* engaged in ritualistic duties. And the task of establishing such rules was moreover a comparatively limited and feasible one; for the members of a certain Vedic *sākhā* or school had to do no more than to digest thoroughly their own *brāhmaṇa* and *saṃhitā*, without being under any obligation of reconciling with the teaching of their own books the occasionally conflicting rules implied in the texts of other *sākhās*. It was assumed that action, as being something which depends on the will and choice of man, admits of alternatives, so that a certain sacrifice may be performed in different ways by members of different Vedic schools, or even by the followers of one and the same *sākhā*.

The *Uttara Mīmāṃsā-sāstra* may be supposed to have originated considerably later than the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*. In the first place, the texts with which it is concerned doubtless constitute the latest branch of Vedic literature. And in the second place, the subject-matter of those texts did not call for a systematical treatment with equal urgency, as it was in no way connected with practice; the mental attitude of the authors of the *Upanishads*, who in their lucubrations on Brahman and the soul aim at nothing less than at definiteness and coherence, may have perpetuated itself through

many generations without any great inconvenience resulting therefrom.

But in the long run two causes must have acted with ever-increasing force, to give an impulse to the systematic working up of the teaching of the Upanishads also. The followers of the different Vedic sâkhâs no doubt recognised already at an early period the truth that, while conflicting statements regarding the details of a sacrifice can be got over by the assumption of a *vikalpa*, i.e. an optional proceeding, it is not so with regard to such topics as the nature of Brahman, the relation to it of the human soul, the origin of the physical universe, and the like. Concerning them, one opinion only can be the true one, and it therefore becomes absolutely incumbent on those, who look on the whole body of the Upanishads as revealed truth, to demonstrate that their teaching forms a consistent whole free from all contradictions. In addition there supervened the external motive that, while the *karmakânda* of the Veda concerned only the higher castes of brahmanically constituted society, on which it enjoins certain sacrificial performances connected with certain rewards, the *gñanakânda*, as propounding a certain theory of the world, towards which any reflecting person inside or outside the pale of the orthodox community could not but take up a definite position, must soon have become the object of criticism on the part of those who held different views on religious and philosophic things, and hence stood in need of systematic defence.

At present there exists a vast literature connected with the two branches of the *Mīmāṃsā*. We have, on the one hand, all those works which constitute the *Pûrva Mīmāṃsā-sâstra*—or as it is often, shortly but not accurately, termed, the *Mīmāṃsā-sâstra*—and, on the other hand, all those works which are commonly comprised under the name *Vedânta-sâstra*. At the head of this extensive literature there stand two collections of *Sûtras* (i.e. short aphorisms constituting in their totality a complete body of doctrine upon some subject), whose reputed authors are *Gaimini* and *Bâdarâyana*. There can, however, be no doubt that the composition of those two

collections of Sūtras was preceded by a long series of preparatory literary efforts of which they merely represent the highly condensed outcome. This is rendered probable by the analogy of other śāstras, as well as by the exhaustive thoroughness with which the Sūtras perform their task of systematising the teaching of the Veda, and is further proved by the frequent references which the Sūtras make to the views of earlier teachers. If we consider merely the preserved monuments of Indian literature, the Sūtras (of the two Mīmāṃsās as well as of other śāstras) mark the beginning ; if we, however, take into account what once existed, although it is at present irretrievably lost, we observe that they occupy a strictly central position, summarising, on the one hand, a series of early literary essays extending over many generations, and forming, on the other hand, the head spring of an ever broadening activity of commentators as well as virtually independent writers, which reaches down to our days, and may yet have some future before itself.

The general scope of the two Mīmāṃsā-sūtras and their relation to the Veda have been indicated in what precedes. A difference of some importance between the two has, however, to be noted in this connexion. The systematisation of the karmakāṇḍa of the Veda led to the elaboration of two classes of works, viz. the Kalpa-sūtras on the one hand, and the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā-sūtras on the other hand. The former give nothing but a description as concise as possible of the sacrifices enjoined in the Brāhmaṇas ; while the latter discuss and establish the general principles which the author of a Kalpa-sūtra has to follow, if he wishes to render his rules strictly conformable to the teaching of the Veda. The *gṛhānakāṇḍa* of the Veda, on the other hand, is systematised in a single work, viz. the Uttara Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta-sūtras, which combine the two tasks of concisely stating the teaching of the Veda, and of argumentatively establishing the special interpretation of the Veda adopted in the Sūtras. This difference may be accounted for by two reasons. In the first place, the contents of the karmakāṇḍa, as being of an entirely practical nature, called for summaries such as the Kalpa-sūtras, from which all burdensome discussions of

method are excluded ; while there was no similar reason for the separation of the two topics in the case of the purely theoretical science of Brahman. And, in the second place, the Vedânta-sûtras throughout presuppose the Pûrva Mîmâmsâ-sûtras, and may therefore dispense with the discussion of general principles and methods already established in the latter.

The time at which the two Mîmâmsâ-sûtras were composed we are at present unable to fix with any certainty ; a few remarks on the subject will, however, be made later on. Their outward form is that common to all the so-called Sûtras which aims at condensing a given body of doctrine in a number of concise aphoristic sentences, and often even mere detached words in lieu of sentences. Besides the Mîmâmsâ-sûtras this literary form is common to the fundamental works on the other philosophic systems, on the Vedic sacrifices, on domestic ceremonies, on sacred law, on grammar, and on metres. The two Mîmâmsâ-sûtras occupy, however, an altogether exceptional position in point of style. All Sûtras aim at conciseness ; that is clearly the reason to which this whole species of literary composition owes its existence. This their aim they reach by the rigid exclusion of all words which can possibly be spared, by the careful avoidance of all unnecessary repetitions, and, as in the case of the grammatical Sûtras, by the employment of an arbitrarily coined terminology which substitutes single syllables for entire words or combination of words. At the same time the manifest intention of the Sûtra writers is to express themselves with as much clearness as the conciseness affected by them admits of. The aphorisms are indeed often concise to excess, but not otherwise intrinsically obscure, the manifest care of the writers being to retain what is essential in a given phrase, and to sacrifice only what can be supplied, although perhaps not without difficulty, and an irksome strain of memory and reflection. Hence the possibility of understanding without a commentary a very considerable portion at any rate of the ordinary Sûtras. Altogether different is the case of the two Mîmâmsâ-sûtras. There scarcely one single Sûtra is

intelligible without a commentary. The most essential words are habitually dispensed with; nothing is, for instance, more common than the simple omission of the subject or predicate of a sentence. And when here and there a Sūtra occurs whose words construe without anything having to be supplied, the phraseology is so eminently vague and obscure that without the help derived from a commentary we should be unable to make out to what subject the Sūtra refers. When undertaking to translate either of the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* we therefore depend altogether on commentaries; and hence the question arises which of the numerous commentaries extant is to be accepted as a guide to their right understanding.

The commentary here selected for translation, together with Bādarāyaṇa's Sūtras¹ (to which we shall henceforth confine our attention to the exclusion of Gaimini's *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*), is the one composed by the celebrated theologian Saṅkara or, as he is commonly called, Saṅkarā-kārya. There are obvious reasons for this selection. In the first place, the Saṅkara-bhāṣhya represents the so-called orthodox side of Brahmanical theology which strictly upholds the Brahman or highest Self of the Upanishads as something different from, and in fact immensely superior to, the divine beings such as Viṣṇu or Śiva, which, for many centuries, have been the chief objects of popular worship in India. In the second place, the doctrine advocated by Saṅkara is, from a purely philosophical point of view and apart from all theological considerations, the most important and interesting one which has arisen on Indian soil; neither those forms of the Vedānta which diverge from the view represented by Saṅkara nor any of the non-Vedāntic systems can be compared with the so-called orthodox Vedānta in boldness, depth, and subtlety of speculation. In the third place, Saṅkara's bhāṣhya is, as far as we know, the oldest of the extant commentaries, and relative antiquity is at any rate one of the circumstances which have to be

¹ The Sūtras in which the *gñānakāṇḍa* of the Veda is systematised go by various names, being called either Vedānta-sūtras, or Uttara Mīmāṃsā-sūtras, or Brahma-sūtras, or Sāriraka Mīmāṃsā-sūtras.

taken into account, although, it must be admitted, too much weight may easily be attached to it. The Saṅkara-bhāṣhya further is the authority most generally deferred to in India as to the right understanding of the Vedānta-sūtras, and ever since Saṅkara's time the majority of the best thinkers of India have been men belonging to his school. If in addition to all this we take into consideration the intrinsic merits of Saṅkara's work which, as a piece of philosophical argumentation and theological apologetics, undoubtedly occupies a high rank, the preference here given to it will be easily understood.

But to the European—or, generally, modern—translator of the Vedānta-sūtras with Saṅkara's commentary another question will of course suggest itself at once, viz. whether or not Saṅkara's explanations faithfully render the intended meaning of the author of the Sūtras. To the Indian *Pandit* of Saṅkara's school this question has become an indifferent one, or, to state the case more accurately, he objects to its being raised, as he looks on Saṅkara's authority as standing above doubt and dispute. When pressed to make good his position he will, moreover, most probably not enter into any detailed comparison of Saṅkara's comments with the text of Bādarāyaṇa's Sūtras, but will rather endeavour to show on speculative grounds that Saṅkara's philosophical view is the only true one, whence it of course follows that it accurately represents the meaning of Bādarāyaṇa, who himself must necessarily be assumed to have taught the true doctrine. But on the modern investigator, who neither can consider himself bound by the authority of a name however great, nor is likely to look to any Indian system of thought for the satisfaction of his speculative wants, it is clearly incumbent not to acquiesce from the outset in the interpretations given of the Vedānta-sūtras—and the Upanishads—by Saṅkara and his school, but to submit them, as far as that can be done, to a critical investigation.

This is a task which would have to be undertaken even if Saṅkara's views as to the true meaning of the Sūtras and Upanishads had never been called into doubt on Indian soil, although in that case it could perhaps hardly be entered

upon with much hope of success ; but it becomes much more urgent, and at the same time more feasible, when we meet in India itself with systems claiming to be Vedāntic and based on interpretations of the Sūtras and Upanishads more or less differing from those of Saṅkara. The claims of those systems to be in the possession of the right understanding of the fundamental authorities of the Vedānta must at any rate be examined, even if we should finally be compelled to reject them.

It appears that already at a very early period the Vedānta-sūtras had come to be looked upon as an authoritative work, not to be neglected by any who wished to affiliate their own doctrines to the Veda. At present, at any rate, there are very few Hindu sects not interested in showing that their distinctive tenets are countenanced by Bādarāyaṇa's teaching. Owing to this the commentaries on the Sūtras have in the course of time become very numerous, and it is at present impossible to give a full and accurate enumeration even of those actually existing, much less of those referred to and quoted. Mr. Fitz-Edward Hall, in his Bibliographical Index, mentions fourteen commentaries, copies of which had been inspected by himself. Some among these (as, for instance, Rāmānuga's Vedānta-sāra, No. XXXV) are indeed not commentaries in the strict sense of the word, but rather systematic expositions of the doctrine supposed to be propounded in the Sūtras ; but, on the other hand, there are in existence several true commentaries which had not been accessible to Fitz-Edward Hall. It would hardly be practical—and certainly not feasible in this place—to submit all the existing bhāṣhyas to a critical enquiry at once. All we can do here is to single out one or a few of the more important ones, and to compare their interpretations with those given by Saṅkara, and with the text of the Sūtras themselves.

The bhāṣhya, which in this connexion is the first to press itself upon our attention, is the one composed by the famous Vaishṇava theologian and philosopher Rāmānuga, who is supposed to have lived in the twelfth century. The Rāmānuga or, as it is often called, the Śrī-bhāṣhya appears to be

the oldest commentary extant next to Saṅkara's. It is further to be noted that the sect of the Rāmānugas occupies a pre-eminent position among the Vaiṣṇava sects which themselves, in their totality, may claim to be considered the most important among all Hindu sects. The intrinsic value of the *Srī-bhāṣya* moreover is—as every student acquainted with it will be ready to acknowledge—a very high one; it strikes one throughout as a very solid performance due to a writer of extensive learning and great power of argumentation, and in its polemic parts, directed chiefly against the school of Saṅkara, it not unfrequently deserves to be called brilliant even. And in addition to all this it shows evident traces of being not the mere outcome of Rāmānuga's individual views, but of resting on an old and weighty tradition.

This latter point is clearly of the greatest importance. If it could be demonstrated or even rendered probable only that the oldest *bhāṣya* which we possess, i. e. the *Saṅkāra-bhāṣya*, represents an uninterrupted and uniform tradition bridging over the interval between *Bādarāyaṇa*, the reputed author of the *Sūtras*, and Saṅkara; and if, on the other hand, it could be shown that the more modern *bhāṣyas* are not supported by old tradition, but are nothing more than bold attempts of clever sectarians to force an old work of generally recognised authority into the service of their individual tenets; there would certainly be no reason for us to raise the question whether the later *bhāṣyas* can help us in making out the true meaning of the *Sūtras*. All we should have to do in that case would be to accept Saṅkara's interpretations as they stand, or at the utmost to attempt to make out, if at all possible, by a careful comparison of Saṅkara's *bhāṣya* with the text of the *Sūtras*, whether the former in all cases faithfully represents the purport of the latter.

In the most recent book of note which at all enters into the question as to how far we have to accept Saṅkara as a guide to the right understanding of the *Sūtras* (Mr. A. Gough's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*) the view is maintained (pp. 239 ff.) that Saṅkara is the generally recognised expositor

of true Vedānta doctrine, that that doctrine was handed down by an unbroken series of teachers intervening between him and the Sūtrakāra, and that there existed from the beginning only one Vedānta doctrine, agreeing in all essential points with the doctrine known to us from Saṅkara's writings. Mr. Gough undertakes to prove this view, firstly, by a comparison of Saṅkara's system with the teaching of the Upanishads themselves; and, secondly, by a comparison of the purport of the Sūtras—as far as that can be made out independently of the commentaries—with the interpretations given of them by Saṅkara. To both these points we shall revert later on. Meanwhile, I only wish to remark concerning the former point that, even if we could show with certainty that all the Upanishads propound one and the same doctrine, there yet remains the undeniable fact of our being confronted by a considerable number of essentially differing theories, all of which claim to be founded on the Upanishads. And with regard to the latter point I have to say for the present that, as long as we have only Saṅkara's bhāṣhya before us, we are naturally inclined to find in the Sūtras—which, taken by themselves, are for the greater part unintelligible—the meaning which Saṅkara ascribes to them; while a reference to other bhāṣhyas may not impossibly change our views at once.—Meanwhile, we will consider the question as to the unbroken uniformity of Vedāntic tradition from another point of view, viz. by enquiring whether or not the Sūtras themselves, and the Saṅkara-bhāṣhya, furnish any indications of there having existed already at an early time essentially different Vedāntic systems or lines of Vedāntic speculation.

Beginning with the Sūtras, we find that they supply ample evidence to the effect that already at a very early time, viz. the period antecedent to the final composition of the Vedānta-sūtras in their present shape, there had arisen among the chief doctors of the Vedānta differences of opinion, bearing not only upon minor points of doctrine, but affecting the most essential parts of the system. In addition to Bādarāyaṇa himself, the reputed author of the

Sûtras, the latter quote opinions ascribed to the following teachers: Âtreya, Âsmarathya, Audulomi, Kârshnâgini, Kâsakrîtsna, Gaimini, Bâdari. Among the passages where diverging views of those teachers are recorded and contrasted three are of particular importance. Firstly, a passage in the fourth pâda of the fourth adhyâya (Sûtras 5-7), where the opinions of various teachers concerning the characteristics of the released soul are given, and where the important discrepancy is noted that, according to Audulomi, its only characteristic is thought (*kaitanya*), while Gaimini maintains that it possesses a number of exalted qualities, and Bâdarâyana declares himself in favour of a combination of those two views.—The second passage occurs in the third pâda of the fourth adhyâya (Sûtras 7-14), where Gaimini maintains that the soul of him who possesses the lower knowledge of Brahman goes after death to the highest Brahman, while Bâdari—whose opinion is endorsed by Saṅkara—teaches that it repairs to the lower Brahman only.—Finally, the third and most important passage is met with in the fourth pâda of the first adhyâya (Sûtras 20-22), where the question is discussed why in a certain passage of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* Brahman is referred to in terms which are strictly applicable to the individual soul only. In connexion therewith the Sûtras quote the views of three ancient teachers about the relation in which the individual soul stands to Brahman. According to Âsmarathya (if we accept the interpretation of his view given by Saṅkara and Saṅkara's commentators) the soul stands to Brahman in the *bhedâbheda* relation, i.e. it is neither absolutely different nor absolutely non-different from it, as sparks are from fire. Audulomi, on the other hand, teaches that the soul is altogether different from Brahman up to the time when obtaining final release it is merged in it; and Kâsakrîtsna finally upholds the doctrine that the soul is absolutely non-different from Brahman, which in some way or other presents itself as the individual soul. | ?

That the ancient teachers, the ripest outcome of whose speculations and discussions is embodied in the Vedânta-sûtras, disagreed among themselves on points of vital

importance is sufficiently proved by the three passages quoted. The one quoted last is specially significant as showing that recognised authorities—deemed worthy of being quoted in the Sūtras—denied that doctrine on which the whole system of Saṅkara hinges, viz. the doctrine of the absolute identity of the individual soul with Brahman.

Turning next to the Saṅkara-bhāṣhya itself, we there also meet with indications that the Vedāntins were divided among themselves on important points of dogma. These indications are indeed not numerous: Saṅkara does not on the whole impress one as an author particularly anxious to strengthen his own case by appeals to ancient authorities, a peculiarity of his which later writers of hostile tendencies have not failed to remark and criticise. But yet more than once Saṅkara also refers to the opinion of 'another,' viz., commentator of the Sūtras, and in several places Saṅkara's commentators explain that the 'other' meant is the *Vṛttikāra* (about whom more will be said shortly). Those references as a rule concern minor points of exegesis, and hence throw little or no light on important differences of dogma; but there are two remarks of Saṅkara's at any rate which are of interest in this connexion. The one is made with reference to Sūtras 7-14 of the third pāda of the fourth adhyāya; 'some,' he says there, 'declare those Sūtras, which I look upon as setting forth the siddhānta view, to state merely the pūrvapakṣa;' a difference of opinion which, as we have seen above, affects the important question as to the ultimate fate of those who have not reached the knowledge of the highest Brahman.—And under I, 3, 19 Saṅkara, after having explained at length that the individual soul as such cannot claim any reality, but is real only in so far as it is identical with Brahman, adds the following words, 'apare tu vādināḥ pāramārthikam eva gaivam rūpam iti manyante asmadyās ka keḥit,' i. e. 'other theorists again, and among them some of ours, are of opinion that the individual soul as such is real.' The term 'ours,' here made use of, can denote only the Aupanishadas or Vedāntins, and it thus appears that Saṅkara himself

was willing to class under the same category himself and philosophers who—as in later times the Rāmānugas and others—looked upon the individual soul as not due to the fictitious limitations of Mâyâ, but as real in itself; whatever may be the relation in which they considered it to stand to the highest Self.

From what precedes it follows that the Vedântins of the school to which Saṅkara himself belonged acknowledged the existence of Vedāntic teaching of a type essentially different from their own. We must now proceed to enquire whether the Rāmānuga system, which likewise claims to be Vedānta, and to be founded on the Vedānta-sūtras, has any title to be considered an ancient system and the heir of a respectable tradition.

It appears that Rāmānuga claims—and by Hindu writers is generally admitted—to follow in his bhāshya the authority of Bodhāyana, who had composed a *vr̥tti* on the Sūtras. Thus we read in the beginning of the Sri-bhāshya (Pāṇḍit, New Series, VII, p. 163), ‘Bhagavad-bodhāyana-kṛtām vistirṇām brahmasūtra-vr̥ttim pūrvākāryāḥ samkīkshipus tanmatānusāreṇa sūtrāksharāṇi vyākhyāsyante.’ Whether the Bodhāyana to whom that *vr̥tti* is ascribed is to be identified with the author of the Kalpa-sūtra, and other works, cannot at present be decided. But that an ancient *vr̥tti* on the Sūtras connected with Bodhāyana’s name actually existed, there is not any reason to doubt. Short quotations from it are met with in a few places of the Sri-bhāshya, and, as we have seen above, Saṅkara’s commentators state that their author’s polemical remarks are directed against the *Vr̥ttikāra*. In addition to Bodhāyana, Rāmānuga appeals to quite a series of ancient teachers—pūrvākāryās—who carried on the true tradition as to the teaching of the Vedānta and the meaning of the Sūtras. In the Vedārthasaṅgraha—a work composed by Rāmānuga himself—we meet in one place with the enumeration of the following authorities: Bodhāyana, Taṅka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin, Bharuḍi, and quotations from the writings of some of these are not unfrequent in the Vedārthasaṅgraha, as well as the Sri-

bhāshya. The author most frequently quoted is *Dramiḍa*¹, who composed the *Dramiḍa*-bhāshya; he is sometimes referred to as the bhāshyakāra. Another writer repeatedly quoted as the vākyakāra is, I am told², to be identified with the *Taṅka* mentioned above. I refrain from inserting in this place the information concerning the relative age of these writers which may be derived from the oral tradition of the Rāmānuga sect. From another source, however, we receive an intimation that *Dramiḍātkārya* or *Dravidātkārya* preceded *Saṅkara* in point of time. In his *ṭikā* on *Saṅkara*'s bhāshya to the *Khândogya* Upanishad III, 10, 4, *Ānandagiri* remarks that the attempt made by his author to reconcile the cosmological views of the Upanishad with the teaching of *Smṛiti* on the same point is a reproduction of the analogous attempt made by the *Dravidātkārya*.

It thus appears that that special interpretation of the Vedānta-sūtras with which the *Srī*-bhāshya makes us acquainted is not due to innovating views on the part of Rāmānuga, but had authoritative representatives already at a period anterior to that of *Saṅkara*. This latter point, moreover, receives additional confirmation from the relation in which the so-called Rāmānuga sect stands to earlier sects. What the exact position of Rāmānuga was, and of what nature were the reforms that rendered him so prominent as to give his name to a new sect, is not exactly known at present; at the same time it is generally acknowledged that the Rāmānugas are closely connected with the so-called Bhāgavatas or Pāñḍikarātras, who are known to have existed already at a very early time. This latter point is proved by evidence of various kinds; for our present purpose it suffices to point to the fact that, according to the interpretation of the most authoritative commentators, the last

¹ The name of this writer is sometimes given as *Dramiḍa*, sometimes as *Draviḍa*. In the opinion of *Pandit Rāma Misra Sāstrin* of the Benares College—himself a Rāmānuga and thoroughly conversant with the books and traditions of his sect—the form '*Dramiḍa*' is the correct one.

² Viz. by *Pandit Rāma Misra Sāstrin*. As the *Pandit* intends himself to publish all the traditional information he possesses concerning the history of the Bhāgavatas and Rāmānugas, I limit myself in the text to stating the most relevant results of my study of the *Srī*-bhāshya and the *Vedārthasaṅgraha*.

Sûtras of the second pâda of the second adhyâya (Vedânta-sûtras) refer to a distinctive tenet of the Bhâgavatas—which tenet forms part of the Râmânuga system also—viz. that the highest being manifests itself in a fourfold form (vyûha) as Vâsudeva, Saṅkarshana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, those four forms being identical with the highest Self, the individual soul, the internal organ (manas), and the principle of egoity (ahaṅkāra). Whether those Sûtras embody an approval of the tenet referred to, as Râmânuga maintains, or are meant to impugn it, as Saṅkara thinks; so much is certain that in the opinion of the best commentators the Bhâgavatas, the direct forerunners of the Râmânugas, are mentioned in the Sûtras themselves, and hence must not only have existed, but even reached a considerable degree of importance at the time when the Sûtras were composed. And considering the general agreement of the systems of the earlier Bhâgavatas and the later Râmânugas, we have a full right to suppose that the two sects were at one also in their mode of interpreting the Vedânta-sûtras.

The preceding considerations suffice, I am inclined to think, to show that it will by no means be wasted labour to enquire how Râmânuga interprets the Sûtras, and wherein he differs from Saṅkara. This in fact seems clearly to be the first step we have to take, if we wish to make an attempt at least of advancing beyond the interpretations of scholiasts to the meaning of the Sûtras themselves. A full and exhaustive comparison of the views of the two commentators would indeed far exceed the limits of the space which can here be devoted to that task, and will, moreover, be made with greater ease and advantage when the complete Sanskrit text of the *Śrī-bhāṣya* has been printed, and thus made available for general reference. But meanwhile it is possible, and—as said before—even urged upon a translator of the Sûtras to compare the interpretations, given by the two bhāṣyakāras, of those Sûtras, which, more than others, touch on the essential points of the Vedânta system¹. This

¹ Owing to the importance of the Saṅkara-bhāṣya as the fundamental work of the most influential Hindu school of philosophy, the number of topics which might be discussed in the introduction to its translation is considerable. But

will best be done in connexion with a succinct but full review of the topics discussed in the *adhikaraṇas* of the Vedānta-sūtras, according to Saṅkara; a review which—apart from the side-glances at Rāmānuga's comments—will be useful as a guide through the Sūtras and the Saṅkara-bhāṣhya. Before, however, entering on that task, I think it advisable to insert short sketches of the philosophical systems of Saṅkara as well as of Rāmānuga, which may be referred to when, later on, discrepancies between the two commentators will be noted. In these sketches I shall confine myself to the leading features, and not enter into any details. Of Saṅkara's system we possess as it is more than one trustworthy exposition; it may suffice to refer to Deussen's *System of the Vedānta*, in which the details of the entire system, as far as they can be learned from the Sūtra-bhāṣhya, are represented fully and faithfully, and to Gough's *Philosophy of the Upanishads* which, principally in its second chapter, gives a lucid sketch of the Saṅkara Vedānta, founded on the Sūtra-bhāṣhya, the Upanishad bhāṣhyas, and some later writers belonging to Saṅkara's school. With regard to Rāmānuga's philosophy our chief source was, hitherto, the Rāmānuga chapter in the *Sarvadarsana-saṃgraha*; the short sketch about to be given is founded altogether on the *Srī-bhāṣhya* itself.

What in Saṅkara's opinion the Upanishads teach, is shortly as follows.—Whatever is, is in reality one; there truly exists only one universal being called Brahman or Paramātman, the highest Self. This being is of an absolutely homogeneous nature; it is pure 'Being,' or, which comes to the same, pure intelligence or thought (*kāitanya*,

the limitation of the space at our disposal necessitates a selection, and it can hardly be doubted that, among the possible tasks of a translator, that of ascertaining how far the teaching of Saṅkara agrees with that of Bādarāyana, and, further, how far either of them represents the true doctrine of the Upanishads, is the one first to be taken in hand.—Some other topics, such as a detailed account of Saṅkara's teaching according to the bhāṣhya, an enquiry as to the books and authors quoted by Saṅkara, &c., have, moreover, been treated not long ago in a very thorough fashion by Dr. Deussen in his '*System des Vedānta*.'

gñāna). Intelligence or thought is not to be predicated of Brahman as its attribute, but constitutes its substance; Brahman is not a thinking being, but thought itself. It is absolutely destitute of qualities; whatever qualities or attributes are conceivable, can only be denied of it.—But, if nothing exists but one absolutely simple being, whence the appearance of the world by which we see ourselves surrounded, and in which we ourselves exist as individual beings?—Brahman, the answer runs, is associated with a certain power called *Mâyā* or *avidyā* to which the appearance of this entire world is due. This power cannot be called 'being' (*sat*), for 'being' is only Brahman; nor can it be called 'non-being' (*asat*) in the strict sense, for it at any rate produces the appearance of this world. It is in fact a principle of illusion; the undefinable cause owing to which there seems to exist a material world comprehending distinct individual existences. Being associated with this principle of illusion, Brahman is enabled to project the appearance of the world, in the same way as a magician is enabled by his incomprehensible magical power to produce illusory appearances of animate and inanimate beings. *Mâyā* thus constitutes the *upādāna*, the material cause of the world; or—if we wish to call attention to the circumstance that *Mâyā* belongs to Brahman as a *sakti*—we may say that the material cause of the world is Brahman in so far as it is associated with *Mâyā*. In this latter quality Brahman is more properly called *Īśvara*, the Lord.

Mâyā, under the guidance of the Lord, modifies itself by a progressive evolution into all the individual existences (*bheda*), distinguished by special names and forms, of which the world consists; from it there spring in due succession the different material elements and the whole bodily apparatus belonging to sentient beings. In all those apparently individual forms of existence the one indivisible Brahman is present, but, owing to the particular adjuncts into which *Mâyā* has specialised itself, it appears to be broken up—it is broken up, as it were—into a multiplicity of intellectual or sentient principles, the so-called *gīvas* (individual or personal souls). What is real in each

gīva is only the universal Brahman itself; the whole aggregate of individualising bodily organs and mental functions, which in our ordinary experience separate and distinguish one *gīva* from another, is the offspring of *Mâyā* and as such unreal.

The phenomenal world or world of ordinary experience (*vyavahāra*) thus consists of a number of individual souls engaged in specific cognitions, volitions, and so on, and of the external material objects with which those cognitions and volitions are concerned. Neither the specific cognitions nor their objects are real in the true sense of the word, for both are altogether due to *Mâyā*. But at the same time we have to reject the idealistic doctrine of certain Bauddha schools according to which nothing whatever truly exists, but certain trains of cognitional acts or ideas to which no external objects correspond; for external things, although not real in the strict sense of the word, enjoy at any rate as much reality as the specific cognitional acts whose objects they are.

The non-enlightened soul is unable to look through and beyond *Mâyā*, which, like a veil, hides from it its true nature. Instead of recognising itself to be Brahman, it blindly identifies itself with its adjuncts (*upādhi*), the fictitious offspring of *Mâyā*, and thus looks for its true Self in the body, the sense organs, and the internal organ (*manas*), i.e. the organ of specific cognition. The soul, which in reality is pure intelligence, non-active, infinite, thus becomes limited in extent, as it were, limited in knowledge and power, an agent and enjoyer. Through its actions it burdens itself with merit and demerit, the consequences of which it has to bear or enjoy in series of future embodied existences, the Lord—as a retributor and dispenser—allotting to each soul that form of embodiment to which it is entitled by its previous actions. At the end of each of the great world periods called *kalpas* the Lord retracts the whole world, i.e. the whole material world is dissolved and merged into non-distinct *Mâyā*, while the individual souls, free for the time from actual connexion with *upādhis*, lie in deep slumber as it were. But as the

consequences of their former deeds are not yet exhausted, they have again to enter on embodied existence as soon as the Lord sends forth a new material world, and the old round of birth, action, death begins anew to last to all eternity as it has lasted from all eternity.

The means of escaping from this endless *samsāra*, the way out of which can never be found by the non-enlightened soul, are furnished by the Veda. The *karmakāṇḍa* indeed, whose purport it is to enjoin certain actions, cannot lead to final release; for even the most meritorious works necessarily lead to new forms of embodied existence. And in the *gñānakāṇḍa* of the Veda also two different parts have to be distinguished, viz., firstly, those chapters and passages which treat of Brahman in so far as related to the world, and hence characterised by various attributes, i. e. of *Īśvara* or the lower Brahman; and, secondly, those texts which set forth the nature of the highest Brahman transcending all qualities, and the fundamental identity of the individual soul with that highest Brahman. Devout meditation on Brahman as suggested by passages of the former kind does not directly lead to final emancipation; the pious worshipper passes on his death into the world of the lower Brahman only, where he continues to exist as a distinct individual soul—although in the enjoyment of great power and knowledge—until at last he reaches the highest knowledge, and, through it, final release.—That student of the Veda, on the other hand, whose soul has been enlightened by the texts embodying the higher knowledge of Brahman, whom passages such as the great saying, ‘That art thou,’ have taught that there is no difference between his true Self and the highest Self, obtains at the moment of death immediate final release, i. e. he withdraws altogether from the influence of *Māyā*, and asserts himself in his true nature, which is nothing else but the absolute highest Brahman.

Thus Saṅkara.—According to Rāmānuja, on the other hand, the teaching of the Upanishads has to be summarised as follows.—There exists only one all-embracing being called Brahman or the highest Self or the Lord. This being is

not destitute of attributes, but rather endowed with all imaginable auspicious qualities. It is not 'intelligence,'—as Saṅkara maintains,—but intelligence is its chief attribute. The Lord is all-pervading, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-merciful; his nature is fundamentally antagonistic to all evil. He contains within himself whatever exists. While, according to Saṅkara, the only reality is to be found in the non-qualified homogeneous highest Brahman which can only be defined as pure 'Being' or pure thought, all plurality being a mere illusion; Brahman—according to Rāmānuja's view—comprises within itself distinct elements of plurality which all of them lay claim to absolute reality of one and the same kind. Whatever is presented to us by ordinary experience, viz. matter in all its various modifications and the individual souls of different classes and degrees, are essential real constituents of Brahman's nature. Matter and souls (*aḥit* and *ḥit*) constitute, according to Rāmānuja's terminology, the body of the Lord; they stand to him in the same relation of entire dependence and subserviency in which the matter forming an animal or vegetable body stands to its soul or animating principle. The Lord pervades and rules all things which exist—material or immaterial—as their antaryāmin; the fundamental text for this special Rāmānuja tenet—which in the writings of the sect is quoted again and again—is the so-called antaryāmin brāhmaṇa (*Bṛi. Up. III, 7*) which says, that within all elements, all sense organs, and, lastly, within all individual souls, [there abides an inward ruler whose body those elements, sense-organs, and individual souls constitute.—Matter and souls as forming the body of the Lord are also called modes of him (*prakāra*). They are to be looked upon as his effects, but they have enjoyed the kind of individual existence which is theirs from all eternity, and will never be entirely resolved into Brahman. They, however, exist in two different, periodically alternating, conditions. At some times they exist in a subtle state in which they do not possess those qualities by which they are ordinarily known, and there is then no distinction of individual name and form. Matter in that state is unevolved (*avyakta*); the

individual souls are not joined to material bodies, and their intelligence is in a state of contraction, non-manifestation (*saṅkoṣa*). This is the *pralaya* state which recurs at the end of each *kalpa*, and Brahman is then said to be in its causal condition (*kāraṇāvasthā*). To that state all those scriptural passages refer which speak of Brahman or the Self as being in the beginning one only, without a second. Brahman then is indeed not absolutely one, for it contains within itself matter and souls in a germinal condition; but as in that condition they are so subtle as not to allow of individual distinctions being made, they are not counted as something second in addition to Brahman.—When the *pralaya* state comes to an end, creation takes place owing to an act of volition on the Lord's part. Primary unevolved matter then passes over into its other condition; it becomes gross and thus acquires all those sensible attributes, visibility, tangibility, and so on, which are known from ordinary experience. At the same time the souls enter into connexion with material bodies corresponding to the degree of merit or demerit acquired by them in previous forms of existence; their intelligence at the same time undergoes a certain expansion (*vikāsa*). The Lord, together with matter in its gross state and the 'expanded' souls, is Brahman in the condition of an effect (*kāryāvasthā*). Cause and effect are thus at the bottom the same; for the effect is nothing but the cause which has undergone a certain change (*pariṇāma*). Hence the cause being known, the effect is known likewise.

Owing to the effects of their former actions the individual souls are implicated in the *samsāra*, the endless cycle of birth, action, and death, final escape from which is to be obtained only through the study of the *gñāna-kānda* of the Veda. Compliance with the injunctions of the *karmakānda* does not lead outside the *samsāra*; but he who, assisted by the grace of the Lord, cognizes—and meditates on—him in the way prescribed by the *Upanishads* reaches at his death final emancipation, i.e. he passes through the different stages of the path of the gods up to the world of Brahman and there enjoys an

everlasting blissful existence from which there is no return into the sphere of transmigration. The characteristics of the released soul are similar to those of Brahman; it participates in all the latter's glorious qualities and powers, excepting only Brahman's power to emit, rule, and retract the entire world.

The chief points in which the two systems sketched above agree on the one hand and diverge on the other may be shortly stated as follows.—Both systems teach *advaita*, i.e. non-duality or monism. There exist not several fundamentally distinct principles, such as the *prakṛti* and the *puruṣas* of the *Sāṅkhyas*, but there exists only one all-embracing being. While, however, the *advaita* taught by *Śaṅkara* is a rigorous, absolute one, *Rāmāṇuga's* doctrine has to be characterised as *viśiṣṭa advaita*, i.e. qualified non-duality, non-duality with a difference. According to *Śaṅkara*, whatever is, is Brahman, and Brahman itself is absolutely homogeneous, so that all difference and plurality must be illusory. According to *Rāmāṇuga* also, whatever is, is Brahman; but Brahman is not of a homogeneous nature, but contains within itself elements of plurality owing to which it truly manifests itself in a diversified world. The world with its variety of material forms of existence and individual souls is not unreal *Māyā*, but a real part of Brahman's nature, the body investing the universal Self. The Brahman of *Śaṅkara* is in itself impersonal, a homogeneous mass of objectless thought, transcending all attributes; a personal God it becomes only through its association with the unreal principle of *Māyā*, so that—strictly speaking—*Śaṅkara's* personal God, his *Īśvara*, is himself something unreal. *Rāmāṇuga's* Brahman, on the other hand, is essentially a personal God, the all-powerful and all-wise ruler of a real world permeated and animated by his spirit. There is thus no room for the distinction between a *param nirguṇam* and an *aparam saguṇam brahma*, between Brahman and *Īśvara*.—*Śaṅkara's* individual soul is Brahman in so far as limited by the unreal *upādhis* due to *Māyā*. The individual soul of *Rāmāṇuga*, on the other hand, is really individual; it has

indeed sprung from Brahman and is never outside Brahman, but nevertheless it enjoys a separate personal existence and will remain a personality for ever.—The release from *samsāra* means, according to Saṅkara, the absolute merging of the individual soul in Brahman, due to the dismissal of the erroneous notion that the soul is distinct from Brahman; according to Rāmānuga it only means the soul's passing from the troubles of earthly life into a kind of heaven or paradise where it will remain for ever in undisturbed personal bliss.—As Rāmānuga does not distinguish a higher and lower Brahman, the distinction of a higher and lower knowledge is likewise not valid for him; the teaching of the Upanishads is not twofold but essentially one, and leads the enlightened devotee to one result only¹.

I now proceed to give a conspectus of the contents of the Vedānta-sūtras according to Saṅkara in which at the same time all the more important points concerning which Rāmānuga disagrees will be noted. We shall here have to enter into details which to many may appear tedious. But it is only on a broad substratum of accurately stated details that we can hope to establish any definite conclusions regarding the comparative value of the different modes of interpretation which have been applied to the Sūtras. The line of investigation is an entirely new one, and for the present nothing can be taken for granted or known.—In stating the different heads of discussion (the so-called *adhikaraṇas*), each of which comprises one or more Sūtras, I shall follow the subdivision into *adhikaraṇas* adopted in the Vyāsādhikaraṇamālā, the text of which is printed in the second volume of the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Sūtras.

¹ The only 'sectarian' feature of the *Srī-bhāṣya* is, that it identifies Brahman with *Viṣṇu* or *Nārāyaṇa*; but this in no way affects the interpretations put on the Sūtras and Upanishads. *Nārāyaṇa* is in fact nothing but another name of Brahman.

FIRST ADHYĀYA.

PĀDA I.

The first five *adhikaraṇas* lay down the fundamental positions with regard to Brahman. Adhik. I (1)¹ treats of what the study of the Vedānta presupposes. Adhik. II (2) defines Brahman as that whence the world originates, and so on. Adhik. III (3) declares that Brahman is the source of the Veda. Adhik. IV (4) proves Brahman to be the uniform topic of all Vedānta-texts. Adhik. V (5-11) is engaged in proving by various arguments that the Brahman, which the Vedānta-texts represent as the cause of the world, is an intelligent principle, and cannot be identified with the non-intelligent *pradhāna* from which the world springs according to the Sāṅkhyas.

With the next *adhikaraṇa* there begins a series of discussions of essentially similar character, extending up to the end of the first *adhyāya*. The question is throughout whether certain terms met with in the Upanishads denote Brahman or some other being, in most cases the *gīva*, the individual soul. Sāṅkara remarks at the outset that, as the preceding ten Sūtras had settled the all-important point that all the Vedānta-texts refer to Brahman, the question now arises why the enquiry should be continued any further, and thereupon proceeds to explain that the acknowledged distinction of a higher Brahman devoid of all qualities and a lower Brahman characterised by qualities necessitates an investigation whether certain Vedic texts of *primā facie* doubtful import set forth the lower Brahman as the object of devout meditation, or the higher Brahman as the object of true knowledge. But that such an investigation is actually carried on in the remaining portion of the first *adhyāya*, appears neither from the wording of the Sūtras nor even from Sāṅkara's own treatment of the Vedic

¹ The Roman numerals indicate the number of the *adhikaraṇa*; the figures in parentheses state the Sūtras comprised in each *adhikaraṇa*.

texts referred to in the Sûtras. In I, 1, 20, for instance, the question is raised whether the golden man within the sphere of the sun, with golden hair and beard and lotus-coloured eyes—of whom the *Khândogya* Upanishad speaks in I, 6, 6—is an individual soul abiding within the sun or the highest Lord. Saṅkara's answer is that the passage refers to the Lord, who, for the gratification of his worshippers, manifests himself in a bodily shape made of Mâyâ. So that according to Saṅkara himself the alternative lies between the *saguṇa* Brahman and some particular individual soul, not between the *saguṇa* Brahman and the *nirguṇa* Brahman.

Adhik. VI (12-19) raises the question whether the *ânandamaya*, mentioned in *Taittiriya* Upanishad II, 5, is merely a transmigrating individual soul or the highest Self. Saṅkara begins by explaining the Sûtras on the latter supposition—and the text of the Sûtras is certainly in favour of that interpretation—gives, however, finally the preference to a different and exceedingly forced explanation according to which the Sûtras teach that the *ânandamaya* is not Brahman, since the Upanishad expressly says that Brahman is the tail or support of the *ânandamaya*¹.—Râmânuga's interpretation of *Adhikarava* VI, although not agreeing in all particulars with the former explanation of Saṅkara, yet is at one with it in the chief point, viz. that the *ânandamaya* is Brahman. It further deserves notice that, while Saṅkara looks on Adhik. VI as the first of a series of interpretatory discussions, all of which treat the question whether certain Vedic passages refer to Brahman or not, Râmânuga separates the *adhikarava* from the subsequent part of the *pâda* and connects it with what had preceded. In Adhik. V it had been shown that Brahman cannot be

¹ Deussen's supposition (pp. 30, 150) that the passage conveying the second interpretation is an interpolation is liable to two objections. In the first place, the passage is accepted and explained by all commentators; in the second place, Saṅkara in the passage immediately preceding Sûtra 12 quotes the *adhikarava* '*ânandamayo* = *bhyâsât*' as giving rise to a discussion whether the *param* or the *aparam* brahman is meant. Now this latter point is not touched upon at all in that part of the *bhâshya* which sets forth the former explanation, but only in the subsequent passage, which refutes the former and advocates the latter interpretation.

identified with the *pradhāna* ; Adhik. VI shows that it is different from the individual soul, and the proof of the fundamental position of the system is thereby completed¹.—Adhik. VII (20, 21) demonstrates that the golden person seen within the sun and the person seen within the eye, mentioned in *Kh. Up. I, 6*, are not some individual soul of high eminence, but the supreme Brahman.—Adhik. VIII (22) teaches that by the ether from which, according to *Kh. Up. I, 9*, all beings originate, not the elemental ether has to be understood but the highest Brahman.—Adhik. IX (23). The *prāṇa* also mentioned in *Kh. Up. I, 11, 5* denotes the highest Brahman².—Adhik. X (24–27) teaches that the light spoken of in *Kh. Up. III, 13, 7* is not the ordinary physical light but the highest Brahman³.—Adhik. XI (28–31) decides that the *prāṇa* mentioned in *Kau. Up. III, 2* is Brahman.

PĀDA II.

Adhik. I (1–8) shows that the being which consists of mind, whose body is breath, &c., mentioned in *Kh. Up. III, 14*, is not the individual soul, but Brahman. The Sūtras of this *adhikarṇa* emphatically dwell on the difference of the individual soul and the highest Self, whence Śaṅkara is obliged to add an explanation—in his comment on Sūtra 6—to the effect that that difference is to be understood as not real, but as due to the false limiting adjuncts of the highest Self.—The comment of Rāmānuja throughout closely follows the words of the Sūtras; on Sūtra 6 it simply remarks that the difference of the highest Self

¹ *Evam gīḡhasitasya brahmanas ketanabhogyabhūtagadarūpasattvaragastamo mayapradhānād vyāvṛtīr uktā, idānīm karmavaryāt trigunātmakaprakṛtīsaṃsarganimittanānāvidhānantadukhasāgaranimagghanenāruddhāt ka pratyagātmano nyan nikhilaheyapratyanīkam niratīsayānandam brahmeti pratipādyate, ānandamayo bhyāsāt.*

² There is no reason to consider the passage 'atra keṭi' in Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on Sūtra 23 an interpolation as Deussen does (p. 30). It simply contains a criticism passed by Śaṅkara on other commentators.

³ To the passages on pp. 150 and 153 of the Sanskrit text, which Deussen thinks to be interpolations, there likewise applies the remark made in the preceding note.

from the individual soul rests thereon that the former as free from all evil is not subject to the effects of works in the same way as the soul is¹.—Adhik. II (9, 10) decides that he to whom the Brahmans and Kshattriyas are but food (*Kāṭha* Up. I, 2, 25) is the highest Self.—Adhik. III (11, 12) shows that the two entered into the cave (*Kāṭha* Up. I, 3, 1) are Brahman and the individual soul².—Adhik. IV (13-17) shows that the person within the eye mentioned in *Kh.* Up. IV, 15, 1 is Brahman.—Adhik. V (18-20) shows that the ruler within (antaryāmin) described in *Bṛi.* Up. III, 7, 3 is Brahman. Sūtra 20 clearly enounces the difference of the individual soul and the Lord; hence Saṅkara is obliged to remark that that difference is not real.—Adhik. VI (21-23) proves that that which cannot be seen, &c., mentioned in *Mundaka* Up. I, 1, 3 is Brahman.—Adhik. VII (24-32) shows that the ātman vaisvānara of *Kh.* Up. V, 11, 6 is Brahman.

PĀDA III.

Adhik. I (1-7) proves that that within which the heaven, the earth, &c. are woven (*Mund.* Up. II, 2, 5) is Brahman.—Adhik. II (8, 9) shows that the bhūman referred to in *Kh.* Up. VII, 23 is Brahman.—Adhik. III (10-12) teaches that the Imperishable in which, according to *Bṛi.* Up. III, 8, 8, the ether is woven is Brahman.—Adhik. IV (13) decides that the highest person who is to be meditated upon with the syllable Om, according to *Prasna* Up. V, 5, is not the

¹ *Gīasya iva parasyāpi brahmaṇaḥ sarīrāntarvartitvam abhyupagataḥ ket tadvad eva sarīrasambandhaprayuktasukhadukhopabhogaprāptir iti ken na, hetuvaireśhyāt, na hi sarīrāntarvartitvam eva sukhadukhopabhogahetuḥ api tu puṇyapāparūpakarmaparavasatvaḥ taḥ kṣāpapatāpāpmanaḥ paramātmāno na sambhavati.*

² The second interpretation given on pp. 184-5 of the Sanskrit text (beginning with *apara āha*) Deussen considers to be an interpolation, caused by the reference to the *Paīṅgi*-upanishad in Saṅkara's comment on I, 3, 7 (p. 232). But there is no reason whatever for such an assumption. The passage on p. 232 shows that Saṅkara considered the explanation of the mantra given in the *Paīṅgi*-upanishad worth quoting, and is in fact fully intelligible only in case of its having been quoted before by Saṅkara himself.—That the 'apara' quotes the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* not according to the *Kāṇva* text—to quote from which is Saṅkara's habit—but from the *Mādhyandina* text, is due just to the circumstance of his being an 'apara,' i. e. not Saṅkara.

lower but the higher Brahman.—According to Rāmānuga the two alternatives are Brahman and Brahmā (*gīvasa-maṣīrūpo •ndādhīpatis katurmukhaḥ*).—Adhik. V and VI (comprising, according to Saṅkara, Sūtras 14–21)¹ discuss the question whether the small ether within the lotus of the heart mentioned in *Kṛ. Up. VIII, 1* is the elemental ether or the individual soul or Brahman; the last alternative being finally adopted. In favour of the second alternative the pūrva-pakṣhin pleads the two passages *Kṛ. Up. VIII, 3, 4* and *VIII, 12, 3*, about the serene being (*samprasāda*); for by the latter the individual soul only can be understood, and in the chapter, of which the latter passage forms part, there are ascribed to it the same qualities (*viz.* freeness from sin, old age, death, &c.) that were predicated in *VIII, 1*, of the small ether within the heart.—But the reply to this is, that the second passage refers not to the (ordinary) individual soul but to the soul in that state where its true nature has become manifest, i.e. in which it is Brahman; so that the subject of the passage is in reality not the so-called individual soul but Brahman. And in the former of the two passages the soul is mentioned not on its own account, but merely for the purpose of intimating that the highest Self is the cause through which the individual soul manifests itself in its true nature.—What Rāmānuga understands by the āvirbhāva of the soul will appear from the remarks on IV, 4.

The two next Sūtras (22, 23) constitute, according to Saṅkara, a new adhikaraṇa (VII), proving that he ‘after whom everything shines, by whose light all this is lighted’ (*Kaṭha Up. II, 5, 15*) is not some material luminous body, but Brahman itself.—According to Rāmānuga the two Sūtras do not start a new topic, but merely furnish some further arguments strengthening the conclusion arrived at in the preceding Sūtras.²

¹ Sūtras 14–21 are divided into two adhikaraṇas by the Adhikaraṇaratnamālā, but really constitute a simple adhikaraṇa only.

² Itas kaitad evam. Anukṛites tasya ka. Tasya daharākāśasya parabrahmaṇo •nukārād ayam apahatapāpmatvādiguṇako vimuktibandhaḥ pratyagātmā na daharākāśaḥ tadanukāśas tatsāmyaḥ tathā hi pratyagātmano •pi vimuktasya

Adhik. VIII (24, 25) decides that the person of the size of a thumb mentioned in *Kāṭha* Up. II, 4, 12 is not the individual soul but Brahman.

The two next *adhikāraṃs* are of the nature of a digression. The passage about the *aṅguṣṭhamātra* was explained on the ground that the human heart is of the size of a span ; the question may then be asked whether also such individuals as belong to other classes than mankind, more particularly the Gods, are capable of the knowledge of Brahman : a question finally answered in the affirmative.— This discussion leads in its turn to several other digressions, among which the most important one refers to the problem in what relation the different species of beings stand to the words denoting them (*Sūtra* 28). In connexion herewith *Śaṅkara* treats of the nature of words (*śabda*), opposing the opinion of the *Mīmāṃsaka* *Upavarsha*, according to whom the word is nothing but the aggregate of its constitutive letters, to the view of the grammarians who teach that over and above the aggregate of the letters there exists a super-sensuous entity called ‘*sphoṭa*,’ which is the direct cause of the apprehension of the sense of a word (*Adhik.* IX ; *Sūtras* 26–33).

Adhik. X (34–38) explains that *Sūtras* are altogether disqualified for *Brahmavidyā*.

Sūtra 39 constitutes, according to *Śaṅkara*, a new *adhikāraṇa* (XI), proving that the *prāṇa* in which everything trembles, according to *Kāṭha* Up. II, 6, 2, is Brahman.— According to *Rāmāṇuga* the *Sūtra* does not introduce a new topic but merely furnishes an additional reason for the

parabrahmānukāraḥ sūryate yadā paryāḥ paryate rukmavarnam kartāram isam puruṣam brahmayonim tadā vidvān punyapāpe vidhūya nirāṅganaḥ paramam sāmyam upaitīty atoḥ nukartā prajāpativākyanirdishṭaḥ anukāryam param brahma na daharākāśaḥ. Api ka smaryate. Samsārinoḥ pi muktāvasthāyām paramasāmyāpattilakṣaṇaḥ parabrahmānukāraḥ smaryate idam jñānam upāśritya, &c.—*Keid* anukṛites tasya kāpi smaryate iti ka sūtradvayam *adhikāraṇāntaram* tam eva bhāntam anubhāti sarvam tasya bhāsa sarvam idam vibhātīty asyāḥ sṛuteḥ parabrahmaparatvanirṇayāya pravṛttam vadanti. Tat tv adṛīyatvādiguṇako dharmokteḥ dyubhāvadyāyatanam svasabdād ity adhi *karana* dvayena tasya prakaraṇasya brahmavishayatvapratipādanāt ghyotiskaraṇābhīdhānāt ity ādīshu parasya brahmano bhārūpatvāvagates ka pūrvapakṣhānuthānād ayuktaṃ sūtrākṣharavairūpyāḥ ka.

decision arrived at under Sūtras 24, 25, viz. that the *āṅgushthamātra* is Brahman. On this supposition, Sūtras 24–39 form one *adhikarāṇa* in which 26–38 constitute a mere digression led up to by the mention made of the heart in 25.—The *āṅgushthamātra* is referred to twice in the *Kaṭha* Upanishad, once in the passage discussed (II, 4, 12), and once in II, 6, 17 ('the Person not larger than a thumb'). To determine what is meant by the *āṅgushthamātra*, Rāmānuga says, we are enabled by the passage II, 6, 2, 3, which is intermediate between the two passages concerning the *āṅgushthamātra*, and which clearly refers to the highest Brahman, of which alone everything can be said to stand in awe.

The next Sūtra (40) gives rise to a similar difference of opinion. According to Saṅkara it constitutes by itself a new *adhikarāṇa* (XII), proving that the 'light' (*gyotis*) mentioned in *Kh. Up.* VIII, 12, 3 is the highest Brahman.—According to Rāmānuga the Sūtra continues the preceding *adhikarāṇa*, and strengthens the conclusion arrived at by a further argument, referring to *Kaṭha Up.* II, 5, 15—a passage intermediate between the two passages about the *āṅgushthamātra*—which speaks of a primary light that cannot mean anything but Brahman. The Sūtra has in that case to be translated as follows: '(The *āṅgushthamātra* is Brahman) because (in a passage intervening between the two) a light is seen to be mentioned (which can be Brahman only).'

The three last Sūtras of the *pāda* are, according to Saṅkara, to be divided into two *adhikarāṇas* (XIII and XIV), Sūtra 41 deciding that the ether which reveals names and forms (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 14) is not the elemental ether but Brahman; and 42, 43 teaching that the *viśvānamaya*, 'he who consists of knowledge,' of *Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 7 is not the individual soul but Brahman.—According to Rāmānuga the three Sūtras make up one single *adhikarāṇa* discussing whether the *Kāṇḍogya* Upanishad passage about the ether refers to Brahman or to the individual soul in the state of release; the latter of these two alternatives being suggested by the circumstance that the released soul is the subject of the passage immediately preceding ('Shaking off

all evil as a horse shakes off his hair,' &c.). Sûtra 41 decides that 'the ether (is Brahman) because the passage designates the nature of something else,' &c. (i. e. of something other than the individual soul; other because to the soul the revealing of names and forms cannot be ascribed, &c.)—But, an objection is raised, does not more than one scriptural passage show that the released soul and Brahman are identical, and is not therefore the ether which reveals names and forms the soul as well as Brahman?—(The two, Sûtra 42 replies, are different) 'because in the states of deep sleep and departing (the highest Self) is designated as different' (from the soul)—which point is proved by the same scriptural passages which Saṅkara adduces;—and 'because such terms as Lord and the like' cannot be applied to the individual soul (43). Reference is made to IV, 4, 14, where all *gagadvāpāra* is said to belong to the Lord only, not to the soul even when in the state of release.

PĀDA IV.

The last pāda of the first adhyāya is specially directed against the Sāṅkhyas.

The first *adhikāraṇa* (1-7) discusses the passage *Katṛa* Up. I, 3, 10; 11, where mention is made of the Great and the Undeveloped—both of them terms used with a special technical sense in the Sāṅkhya-sāstra, *avyakta* being a synonym for *pradhāna*.—Saṅkara shows by an exhaustive review of the topics of the *Katṛa* Upanishad that the term *avyakta* has not the special meaning which the Sāṅkhyas attribute to it, but denotes the body, more strictly the subtle body (*sūkshma śarīra*), but at the same time the gross body also, in so far as it is viewed as an effect of the subtle one.

Adhik. II (8-10) demonstrates, according to Saṅkara, that the tricoloured *agā* spoken of in *Sve. Up. IV, 5* is not the *pradhāna* of the Sāṅkhyas, but either that power of the Lord from which the world springs, or else the primary causal matter first produced by that power.—What *Rāmā-*

nuga in contradistinction from Saṅkara understands by the primary causal matter, follows from the short sketch given above of the two systems.

Adhik. III (11-13) shows that the *pañka pañkaganāh* mentioned in *Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 17* are not the twenty-five principles of the Sāṅkhyas.—Adhik. IV (14, 15) proves that Scripture does not contradict itself on the all-important point of Brahman, i.e. a being whose essence is intelligence, being the cause of the world.

Adhik. V (16-18) is, according to Saṅkara, meant to prove that 'he who is the maker of those persons, of whom this is the work,' mentioned in *Kau. Up. IV, 19*, is not either the vital air or the individual soul, but Brahman.—The subject of the *adhikarāṇa* is essentially the same in Rāmānuga's view; greater stress is, however, laid on the *adhikarāṇa* being polemical against the Sāṅkhyas, who wish to turn the passage into an argument for the *pradhāna* doctrine.

The same partial difference of view is observable with regard to the next *adhikarāṇa* (VI; Sūtras 19-22) which decides that the 'Self to be seen, to be heard,' &c. (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 5*) is the highest Self, not the individual soul. This latter passage also is, according to Rāmānuga, made the subject of discussion in order to rebut the Sāṅkhya who is anxious to prove that what is there inculcated as the object of knowledge is not a universal Self but merely the Sāṅkhya *puruṣa*.

Adhik. VII (23-27) teaches that Brahman is not only the efficient or operative cause (*nimitta*) of the world, but its material cause as well. The world springs from Brahman by way of modification (*parivāma*; Sūtra 25).—Rāmānuga views this *adhikarāṇa* as specially directed against the *Sesvara-sāṅkhyas* who indeed admit the existence of a highest Lord, but postulate in addition an independent *pradhāna* on which the Lord acts as an operative cause merely.

Adhik. VIII (28) remarks that the refutation of the Sāṅkhya views is applicable to other theories also, such as the doctrine of the world having originated from atoms.

After this rapid survey of the contents of the first adhyāya and the succinct indication of the most important points in which the views of Saṅkara and Rāmānuga diverge, we turn to a short consideration of two questions which here naturally present themselves, viz., firstly, which is the principle on which the Vedic passages referred to in the Sūtras have been selected and arranged ; and, secondly, if, where Saṅkara and Rāmānuga disagree as to the subdivision of the Sūtras into Adhikaraṇas, and the determination of the Vedic passages discussed in the Sūtras, there are to be met with any indications enabling us to determine which of the two commentators is right. (The more general question as to how far the Sūtras favour either Saṅkara's or Rāmānuga's general views cannot be considered at present.)

The Hindu commentators here and there attempt to point out the reason why the discussion of a certain Vedic passage is immediately followed by the consideration of a certain other one. Their explanations—which have occasionally been referred to in the notes to the translation—rest on the assumption that the Sūtrakāra in arranging the texts to be commented upon was guided by technicalities of the Mīmāṃsā-system, especially by a regard for the various so-called means of proof which the Mīmāṃsaka employs for the purpose of determining the proper meaning and position of scriptural passages. But that this was the guiding principle, is rendered altogether improbable by a simple tabular statement of the Vedic passages referred to in the first adhyāya, such as given by Deussen on page 130 ; for from the latter it appears that the order in which the Sūtras exhibit the scriptural passages follows the order in which those passages themselves occur in the Upanishads, and it would certainly be a most strange coincidence if that order enabled us at the same time to exemplify the various pramāṇas of the Mīmāṃsā in their due systematic succession.

As Deussen's statement shows, most of the passages discussed are taken from the *Khândogya* Upanishad, so many indeed that the whole first adhyāya may be said to consist of a discussion of all those *Khândogya* passages of which it

is doubtful whether they are concerned with Brahman or not, passages from the other Upanishads being brought in wherever an opportunity offers. Considering the prominent position assigned to the Upanishad mentioned, I think it likely that the Sūtrakāra meant to begin the series of doubtful texts with the first doubtful passage from the *Khândogya*, and that hence the sixth *adhikarana* which treats of the *ānandamaya* mentioned in the *Taittiriya* Upanishad has, in agreement with Rāmānuga's views, to be separated from the subsequent *adhikaranas*, and to be combined with the preceding ones whose task it is to lay down the fundamental propositions regarding Brahman's nature. —The remaining *adhikaranas* of the first *pāda* follow the order of passages in the *Khândogya* Upanishad, and therefore call for no remark; with the exception of the last *adhikarana*, which refers to a *Kaushitaki* passage, for whose being introduced in this place I am not able to account. —The first *adhikarana* of the second *pāda* returns to the *Khândogya* Upanishad. The second one treats of a passage in the *Kaṭha* Upanishad where a being is referred to which eats everything. The reason why that passage is introduced in this place seems to be correctly assigned in the *Srī-bhāshya*, which remarks that, as in the preceding Sūtra it had been argued that the highest Self is not an enjoyer, a doubt arises whether by that being which eats everything the highest Self can be meant¹. —The third *adhikarana* again, whose topic is the 'two entered into the cave' (*Kaṭha* Up. I, 3, 1), appears, as Rāmānuga remarks, to come in at this place owing to the preceding *adhikarana*; for if it could not be proved that one of the two is the highest Self, a doubt would attach to the explanation given above of the 'eater,' since the 'two entered into the cave,' and the 'eater' stand under the same *prakarana*, and must therefore be held to refer to the same matter. —The fourth *adhikarana* is again occupied with a *Khândogya* passage. —The fifth *adhikarana*, whose topic is the Ruler within (*antaryāmin*), manifestly owes its place, as remarked by Rāmānuga also,

¹ *Yadi paramātmā na bhoktā evaṃ tarhi bhoktṛitayā pratyamāno gīva eva syād ity āsaṅkyāha attā.*

to the fact that the Vedic passage treated had been employed in the preceding *adhikarana* (I, 2, 14) for the purpose of strengthening the argument¹.—The sixth *adhikarana*, again, which discusses 'that which is not seen' (*adṛśya*; *Mund. Up.* I, 1, 6), is clearly introduced in this place because in the preceding *adhikarana* it had been said that *adr̥śita*, &c. denote the highest Self.—The reasons to which the last *adhikarana* of the second pāda and the first and third *adhikaranas* of the third pāda owe their places are not apparent (the second *adhikarana* of the third pāda treats of a *Khândogya* passage). The introduction, on the other hand, of the passage from the *Prasna Upanishad* treating of the akshara *Omkāra* is clearly due to the circumstance that an akshara, of a different nature, had been discussed in the preceding *adhikarana*.—The fifth and sixth *adhikaranas* investigate *Khândogya* passages.—The two next *Sūtras* (22, 23) are, as remarked above, considered by *Saṅkara* to constitute a new *adhikarana* treating of the 'being after which everything shines' (*Mund. Up.* II, 2, 10); while *Rāmānuja* looks on them as continuing the sixth *adhikarana*. There is one circumstance which renders it at any rate probable that *Rāmānuja*, and not *Saṅkara*, here hits the intention of the author of the *Sūtras*. The general rule in the first three pādas is that, wherever a new Vedic passage is meant to be introduced, the subject of the discussion, i. e. that being which in the end is declared to be Brahman is referred to by means of a special word, in most cases a nominative form². From this rule there is in the preceding part of the *adhyāya* only one real exception, viz. in I, 2, 1, which possibly may be due to the fact that there a new pāda begins, and it therefore was considered super-

¹ *Sthānādivyapadesāḥ ka ity atra yaḥ śakshushi tishṭhann ity ādinā prati-pādyamānam śakshushi sthitiniyamanādikam paramātmana eveti siddham kṛtvā akshipurushasya paramātmavam sādhitam idānim tad eva samarthayate antaryāṁ*.

² *Ānandamayaḥ* I, 1, 12; *antaḥ* I, 1, 20; *ākāśaḥ* I, 1, 22; *prāṇaḥ* I, 1, 23; *gyotīḥ* I, 1, 24; *prāṇaḥ* I, 1, 28; *attā* I, 2, 9; *guhām pravishāu* I, 2, 11; *antara* I, 2, 13; *antaryāmi* I, 2, 18; *adr̥śyatvādiguṇakaḥ* I, 2, 21; *vairāṇaraḥ* I, 2, 24; *dyubhvādyāyatanam* I, 3, 1; *bhūmā* I, 3, 8; *aksharam* I, 3, 10; *saḥ* I, 3, 13; *daharaḥ* I, 3, 14; *pramitaḥ* I, 3, 24; (*gyotīḥ* I, 3, 40;) *ākāśaḥ* I, 3, 41.

fluous to indicate the introduction of a new topic by a special word. The exception supplied by I, 3, 19 is only an apparent one; for, as remarked above, Sūtra 19 does not in reality begin a new *adhikarana*. A few exceptions occurring later on will be noticed in their places.—Now neither Sūtra 22 nor Sūtra 23 contains any word intimating that a new Vedic passage is being taken into consideration, and hence it appears preferable to look upon them, with Rāmānuga, as continuing the topic of the preceding *adhikarana*.—This conclusion receives an additional confirmation from the position of the next *adhikarana*, which treats of the being 'a span long' mentioned in *Kaṭha* Up. II, 4, 12; for the reason of this latter passage being considered here is almost certainly the reference to the *alpasruti* in Sūtra 21, and, if so, the *āṅgushṭhamātra* properly constitutes the subject of the *adhikarana* immediately following on *Adhik.* V, VI; which, in its turn, implies that Sūtras 22, 23 do not form an independent *adhikarana*.—The two next *adhikaranas* are digressions, and do not refer to special Vedic passages.—Sūtra 39 forms a new *adhikarana*, according to Saṅkara, but not according to Rāmānuga, whose opinion seems again to be countenanced by the fact that the Sūtra does not exhibit any word indicative of a new topic. The same difference of opinion prevails with regard to Sūtra 40, and it appears from the translation of the Sūtra given above, according to Rāmānuga's view, that '*gyotih*' need not be taken as a nominative.—The last two *adhikaranas* finally refer, according to Rāmānuga, to one *Khândogya* passage only, and here also we have to notice that Sūtra 42 does not comprise any word intimating that a new passage is about to be discussed.

From all this we seem entitled to draw the following conclusions. The Vedic passages discussed in the three first *pādas* of the Vedānta-sūtras comprise all the doubtful—or at any rate all the more important doubtful—passages from the *Khândogya* Upanishad. These passages are arranged in the order in which the text of the Upanishad exhibits them. Passages from other Upanishads are discussed as opportunities offer, there being always a special reason why a certain *Khândogya* passage is followed by

a certain passage from some other Upanishad. Those reasons can be assigned with sufficient certainty in a number of cases although not in all, and from among those passages whose introduction cannot be satisfactorily accounted for some are eliminated by our following the subdivision of the Sûtras into *adhikaraṇas* adopted by Rāmānuga, a subdivision countenanced by the external form of the Sûtras.

The fourth pāda of the first adhyāya has to be taken by itself. It is directed specially and avowedly against Sāṅkhya-interpretations of Scripture, not only in its earlier part which discusses isolated passages, but also—as is brought out much more clearly in the *Sri-bhāṣya* than by Saṅkara—in its latter part which takes a general survey of the entire scriptural evidence for Brahman being the material as well as the operative cause of the world.

Deussen (p. 221) thinks that the selection made by the Sûtrakāra of Vedic passages setting forth the nature of Brahman is not in all cases an altogether happy one. But this reproach rests on the assumption that the passages referred to in the first adhyāya were chosen for the purpose of throwing light on what Brahman is, and this assumption can hardly be upheld. The Vedānta-sûtras as well as the Pûrvā Mimāṃsā-sûtras are throughout *Mimāṃsā*, i. e. critical discussions of such scriptural passages as on a *primâ facie* view admit of different interpretations and therefore necessitate a careful enquiry into their meaning. Here and there we meet with Sûtras which do not directly involve a discussion of the sense of some particular Vedic passage, but rather make a mere statement on some important point. But those cases are rare, and it would be altogether contrary to the general spirit of the Sûtras to assume that a whole adhyāya should be devoted to the task of showing what Brahman is. The latter point is sufficiently determined in the first five (or six) *adhikaraṇas*; but after we once know what Brahman is we are at once confronted by a number of Upanishad passages concerning which it is doubtful whether they refer to Brahman or not. With their discussion all the remaining *adhikaraṇas* of the

first adhyāya are occupied. That the Vedānta-sūtras view it as a particularly important task to controvert the doctrine of the Sāṅkhyas is patent (and has also been fully pointed out by Deussen, p. 23). The fifth *adhyāya* already declares itself against the doctrine that the world has sprung from a non-intelligent principle, the *pradhāna*, and the fourth *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* returns to an express polemic against Sāṅkhya interpretations of certain Vedic statements. It is therefore perhaps not saying too much if we maintain that the entire first *adhyāya* is due to the wish, on the part of the Sūtrakāra, to guard his own doctrine against Sāṅkhya attacks. Whatever the attitude of the other so-called orthodox systems may be towards the Veda, the Sāṅkhya system is the only one whose adherents were anxious—and actually attempted—to prove that their views are warranted by scriptural passages. The Sāṅkhya tendency thus would be to show that all those Vedic texts which the Vedāntin claims as teaching the existence of Brahman, the intelligent and sole cause of the world, refer either to the *pradhāna* or some product of the *pradhāna*, or else to the *puruṣa* in the Sāṅkhya sense, i.e. the individual soul. It consequently became the task of the Vedāntin to guard the Upanishads against misinterpretations of the kind, and this he did in the first *adhyāya* of the Vedānta-sūtras, selecting those passages about whose interpretation doubts were, for some reason or other, likely to arise. Some of the passages singled out are certainly obscure, and hence liable to various interpretations; of others it is less apparent why it was thought requisite to discuss them at length. But this is hardly a matter in which we are entitled to find fault with the Sūtrakāra; for no modern scholar, either European or Hindu, is—or can possibly be—sufficiently at home, on the one hand, in the religious and philosophical views which prevailed at the time when the Sūtras may have been composed, and, on the other hand, in the intricacies of the *Mīmāṃsā*, to judge with confidence which Vedic passages may give rise to discussions and which not.

SECOND ADHYĀYA.

The first adhyāya has proved that all the Vedānta-texts unanimously teach that there is only one cause of the world, viz. Brahman, whose nature is intelligence, and that there exists no scriptural passage which can be used to establish systems opposed to the Vedānta, more especially the Sāṅkhya system. The task of the two first pādas of the second adhyāya is to rebut any objections which may be raised against the Vedānta doctrine on purely speculative grounds, apart from scriptural authority, and to show, again on purely speculative grounds, that none of the systems irreconcilable with the Vedānta can be satisfactorily established.

PĀDA I.

Adhikaraṇa I refutes the Sāṅkhya objection that the acceptance of the Vedānta system involves the rejection of the Sāṅkhya doctrine which after all constitutes a part of *Smṛiti*, and as such has claims on consideration.—To accept the Sāṅkhya-*smṛiti*, the Vedāntin replies, would compel us to reject other *Smṛitis*, such as the Manu-*smṛiti*, which are opposed to the Sāṅkhya doctrine. The conflicting claims of *Smṛitis* can be settled only on the ground of the Veda, and there can be no doubt that the Veda does not confirm the Sāṅkhya-*smṛiti*, but rather those *Smṛitis* which teach the origination of the world from an intelligent primary cause.

Adhik. II (3) extends the same line of argumentation to the Yoga-*smṛiti*.

Adhik. III (4-11) shows that Brahman, although of the nature of intelligence, yet may be the cause of the non-intelligent material world, and that it is not contaminated by the qualities of the world when the latter is refunded into Brahman. For ordinary experience teaches us that like does not always spring from like, and that the qualities of effected things when the latter are refunded into their causes—as when golden ornaments, for instance, are melted

and thereby become simple gold again—do not continue to exist in those causes.—Here also the argumentation is specially directed against the Sāṅkhyas, who, in order to account for the materiality and the various imperfections of the world, think it necessary to assume a causal substance participating in the same characteristics.

Adhik. IV (12) points out that the line of reasoning followed in the preceding *adhikāraṇa* is valid also against other theories, such as the atomistic doctrine.

The one Sūtra (13) constituting Adhik. V teaches, according to Saṅkara, that although the enjoying souls as well as the objects of fruition are in reality nothing but Brahman, and on that account identical, yet the two sets may practically be held apart, just as in ordinary life we hold apart, and distinguish as separate individual things, the waves, ripples, and foam of the sea, although at the bottom waves, ripples, and foam are all of them identical as being neither more nor less than sea-water.—The Śrī-bhāṣya gives a totally different interpretation of the Sūtra, according to which the latter has nothing whatever to do with the eventual non-distinction of enjoying souls and objects to be enjoyed. Translated according to Rāmānuja's view, the Sūtra runs as follows: 'If non-distinction (of the Lord and the individual souls) is said to result from the circumstance of (the Lord himself) becoming an enjoyer (a soul), we refute this objection by instances from every-day experience.' That is to say: If it be maintained that from our doctrine previously expounded, according to which this world springs from the Lord and constitutes his body, it follows that the Lord, as an embodied being, is not essentially different from other souls, and subject to fruition as they are; we reply that the Lord's having a body does not involve his being subject to fruition, not any more than in ordinary life a king, although himself an embodied being, is affected by the experiences of pleasure and pain which his servants have to undergo.—The construction which Rāmānuja puts on the Sūtra is not repugnant either to the words of the Sūtra or to the context in which the latter stands, and that it rests on earlier authority appears

from a quotation made by Rāmānuga from the *Dramiḍabhāshyakāra*¹.

Adhik. VI (14-20) treats of the non-difference of the effect from the cause; a Vedānta doctrine which is defended by its adherents against the *Vaiśeṣikas* according to whom the effect is something different from the cause. —The divergent views of *Sāṅkara* and *Rāmānuga* on this important point have been sufficiently illustrated in the general sketch of the two systems.

Adhik. VII (21-23) refutes the objection that, from the Vedic passages insisting on the identity of the Lord and the individual soul, it follows that the Lord must be like the individual soul the cause of evil, and that hence the entire doctrine of an all-powerful and all-wise Lord being the cause of the world has to be rejected. For, the *Sūtrakāra* remarks, the creative principle of the world is additional to, i. e. other than, the individual soul, the difference of the two being distinctly declared by Scripture. —The way in which the three *Sūtras* constituting this *adhikarana* are treated by *Sāṅkara* on the one hand and *Rāmānuga* on the other is characteristic. *Rāmānuga* throughout simply follows the words of the *Sūtras*, of which *Sūtra* 21 formulates the objection based on such texts as 'Thou art that,' while *Sūtra* 22 replies that Brahman is different from the soul, since that is expressly declared by Scripture. *Sāṅkara*, on the other hand, sees himself obliged to add that the difference of the two, plainly maintained in *Sūtra* 22, is not real, but due to the soul's fictitious limiting adjuncts.

Adhik. VIII (24, 25) shows that Brahman, although destitute of material and instruments of action, may yet produce the world, just as gods by their mere power create

¹ Lokavat. Yathā loke rāgāsāsanānuvartināṃ ka rāgānugrahanigrahakṛitasukhadukhayegepi na sasarīratvamātreṇa śāsake rāgany api śāsanānuvṛittyatvīrittinimittasukhadukhayor bhoktrītvaprasaṅgaḥ. Yathāha Dramiḍabhāshyakāraḥ yathā loke rāgā prakṛadandarūke ghore = narthasamīkate = pi pradese vartamāno = pi vyaganādyavadhūtadeho doshair na sprīyate abhipretāms ka lokān paripipālayishati bhogāms ka gandhādīn avisvaganopabhogyān dhārayati tathāsau lokasvaro bhramatsvasāmarthyakāmaro doshair na sprīyate rakshati ka lokān brahmalokādīms kāvisvaganopabhogyān dhārayatīti.

palaces, animals, and the like, and as milk by itself turns into curds.

Adhik. IX (26-29) explains that, according to the express doctrine of Scripture, Brahman does not in its entirety pass over into the world, and, although emitting the world from itself, yet remains one and undivided. This is possible, according to Saṅkara, because the world is unreal; according to Rāmānuga, because the creation is merely the visible and tangible manifestation of what previously existed in Brahman in a subtle imperceptible condition.

Adhik. X (30, 31) teaches that Brahman, although destitute of instruments of action, is enabled to create the world by means of the manifold powers which it possesses.

Adhik. XI (32, 33) assigns the motive of the creation, or, more properly expressed, teaches that Brahman, in creating the world, has no motive in the strict sense of the word, but follows a mere sportive impulse.

Adhik. XII (34-36) justifies Brahman from the charges of partiality and cruelty which might be brought against it owing to the inequality of position and fate of the various animate beings, and the universal suffering of the world. Brahman, as a creator and dispenser, acts with a view to the merit and demerit of the individual souls, and has so acted from all eternity.

Adhik. XIII (37) sums up the preceding argumentation by declaring that all the qualities of Brahman—omniscience and so on—are such as to capacitate it for the creation of the world.

PĀDA II.

The task of the second pāda is to refute, by arguments independent of Vedic passages, the more important philosophical theories concerning the origin of the world which are opposed to the Vedānta view.—The first adhikāraṇa (1-10) is directed against the Sāṅkhyas, whose doctrine had already been touched upon incidentally in several previous places, and aims at proving that a non-intelligent first cause, such as the pradhāna of the Sāṅkhyas, is unable to create and dispose.—The second adhikāraṇa (11-17) refutes the

Vaiseshika tenet that the world originates from atoms set in motion by the *adrishṭa*.—The third and fourth *adhikaraṇas* are directed against various schools of Bauddha philosophers. Adhik. III (18–27) impugns the view of the so-called *sarvāstivavādins*, or *bāhyārthavādins*, who maintain the reality of an external as well as an internal world; Adhik. IV (28–32) is directed against the *vigñānavādins*, according to whom ideas are the only reality.—The last Sūtra of this *adhikaraṇa* is treated by Rāmānuga as a separate *adhikaraṇa* refuting the view of the Mādhyamikas, who teach that everything is void, i.e. that nothing whatever is real.—Adhik. V (33–36) is directed against the doctrine of the *Gainas*; Adhik. VI (37–41) against those philosophical schools which teach that a highest Lord is not the material but only the operative cause of the world.

The last *adhikaraṇa* of the pāda (42–45) refers, according to the unanimous statement of the commentators, to the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas or Pāñḍikārātras. But Saṅkara and Rāmānuga totally disagree as to the drift of the Sūtrakāra's opinion regarding that system. According to the former it is condemned like the systems previously referred to; according to the latter it is approved of.—Sūtras 42 and 43, according to both commentators, raise objections against the system; Sūtra 42 being directed against the doctrine that from the highest being, called Vāsudeva, there is originated Saṅkarshana, i.e. the *gīva*, on the ground that thereby those scriptural passages would be contradicted which teach the soul's eternity; and Sūtra 43 impugning the doctrine that from Saṅkarshana there springs Pradyumna, i.e. the *manas*.—The Sūtra on which the difference of interpretation turns is 44. Literally translated it runs, 'Or, on account of there being' (or, 'their being') 'knowledge and so on, there is non-contradiction of that.'—This means, according to Saṅkara, 'Or, if in consequence of the existence of knowledge and so on (on the part of Saṅkarshana, &c. they be taken not as soul, mind, &c. but as Lords of pre-eminent knowledge, &c.), yet there is non-contradiction of that (viz. of the objection raised in Sūtra 42 against the Bhāgavata doctrine).'

According to Rāmānuga, on the other hand, the Sūtra has to be explained as follows: 'Or, rather there is non-contradiction of that (i.e. the Pāñkarātra doctrine) on account of their being knowledge and so on (i.e. on account of their being Brahman).' Which means: Since Saṅkarshana and so on are merely forms of manifestation of Brahman, the Pāñkarātra doctrine, according to which they spring from Brahman, is not contradicted.—The form of the Sūtra makes it difficult for us to decide which of the two interpretations is the right one; it, however, appears to me that the explanations of the 'vā' and of the 'tat,' implied in Rāmānuga's comment, are more natural than those resulting from Saṅkara's interpretation. Nor would it be an unnatural proceeding to close the polemical pāda with a defence of that doctrine which—in spite of objections—has to be viewed as the true one.

PĀDA III.

The third pāda discusses the question whether the different forms of existence which, in their totality, constitute the world have an origin or not, i.e. whether they are co-eternal with Brahman, or issue from it and are refunded into it at stated intervals.

The first seven adhikaraṇas treat of the five elementary substances.—Adhik. I (1-7) teaches that the ether is not co-eternal with Brahman, but springs from it as its first effect.—Adhik. II (8) shows that air springs from ether; Adhik. IV, V, VI (10; 11; 12) that fire springs from air, water from fire, earth from water.—Adhik. III (9) explains by way of digression that Brahman, which is not some special entity, but quite generally 'that which is,' cannot have originated from anything else.

Adhik. VII (13) demonstrates that the origination of one element from another is due, not to the latter in itself, but to Brahman acting in it.

Adhik. VIII (14) teaches that the reabsorption of the elements into Brahman takes place in the inverse order of their emission.

Adhik. IX (15) remarks that the indicated order in which

the emission and the reabsorption of the elementary substances take place is not interfered with by the creation and reabsorption of the organs of the soul, i.e. the sense organs and the internal organ (manas); for they also are of elemental nature, and as such created and retracted together with the elements of which they consist.

The remainder of the pāda is taken up by a discussion of the nature of the individual soul, the *giva*.—Adhik. X (16) teaches that expressions such as 'Devadatta is born,' 'Devadatta has died,' strictly apply to the body only, and are transferred to the soul in so far only as it is connected with a body.

Adhik. XI (17) teaches that the individual soul is, according to Scripture, permanent, eternal, and therefore not, like the ether and the other elements, produced from Brahman at the time of creation.—This Sūtra is of course commented on in a very different manner by Saṅkara on the one hand and Rāmānuja on the other. According to the former, the *giva* is in reality identical—and as such co-eternal—with Brahman; what originates is merely the soul's connexion with its limiting adjuncts, and that connexion is moreover illusory.—According to Rāmānuja, the *giva* is indeed an effect of Brahman, but has existed in Brahman from all eternity as an individual being and as a mode (*prakāra*) of Brahman. So indeed have also the material elements; yet there is an important distinction owing to which the elements may be said to originate at the time of creation, while the same cannot be said of the soul. Previously to creation the material elements exist in a subtle condition in which they possess none of the qualities that later on render them the objects of ordinary experience; hence, when passing over into the gross state at the time of creation, they may be said to originate. The souls, on the other hand, possess at all times the same essential qualities, i.e. they are cognizing agents; only, whenever a new creation takes place, they associate themselves with bodies, and their intelligence therewith undergoes a certain expansion or development (*vikāśa*), contrasting with the unevolved or contracted state (*sa-*

koka) which characterised it during the preceding *pralaya*. But this change is not a change of essential nature (*svārūpānyathābhāva*), and hence we have to distinguish the souls as permanent entities from the material elements which at the time of each creation and reabsorption change their essential characteristics.

Adhik. XII (18) defines the nature of the individual soul. The Sūtra declares that the soul is '*gñā*.' This means, according to Saṅkara, that intelligence or knowledge does not, as the Vaiseshikas teach, constitute a mere attribute of the soul which in itself is essentially non-intelligent, but is the very essence of the soul. The soul is not a knower, but knowledge; not intelligent, but intelligence.—Rāmānuga, on the other hand, explains '*gñā*' by '*gñātri*,' i.e. knower, knowing agent, and considers the Sūtra to be directed not only against the Vaiseshikas, but also against those philosophers who—like the Sāṅkhyas and the Vedāntins of Saṅkara's school—maintain that the soul is not a knowing agent, but pure *kaitanya*.—The wording of the Sūtra certainly seems to favour Rāmānuga's interpretation; we can hardly imagine that an author definitely holding the views of Saṅkara should, when propounding the important dogma of the soul's nature, use the term *gñā* of which the most obvious interpretation is *gñātri*, not *gñānam*.

Adhik. XIII (19-32) treats the question whether the individual soul is *anu*, i.e. of very minute size, or omnipresent, all-pervading (*sarvagata*, *vyāpin*). Here, again, we meet with diametrically opposite views.—In Saṅkara's opinion the Sūtras 19-28 represent the *pūrva*paksha view, according to which the *gīva* is *anu*, while Sūtra 29 formulates the *siddhānta*, viz. that the *gīva*, which in reality is all-pervading, is spoken of as *anu* in some scriptural passages, because the qualities of the internal organ—which itself is *anu*—constitute the essence of the individual soul as long as the latter is implicated in the *samsāra*.—According to Rāmānuga, on the other hand, the first Sūtra of the *adhikarana* gives utterance to the *siddhānta* view, according to which the soul is of minute size; the Sūtras 20-25 confirm this view and refute objections raised against it; while the

Sûtras 26-29 resume the question already mooted under Sûtra 18, viz. in what relation the soul as knowing agent (*gñâtri*) stands to knowledge (*gñâna*).—In order to decide between the conflicting claims of these two interpretations we must enter into some details.—Saṅkara maintains that Sûtras 19-28 state and enforce a *pûrvapaksha* view, which is finally refuted in 29. What here strikes us at the outset, is the unusual length to which the defence of a mere *primâ facie* view is carried ; in no other place the Sûtras take so much trouble to render plausible what is meant to be rejected in the end, and an unbiassed reader will certainly feel inclined to think that in 19-28 we have to do, not with the preliminary statement of a view finally to be abandoned, but with an elaborate *bonâ fide* attempt to establish and vindicate an essential dogma of the system. Still it is not altogether impossible that the *pûrvapaksha* should here be treated at greater length than usual, and the decisive point is therefore whether we can, with Saṅkara, look upon Sûtra 29 as embodying a refutation of the *pûrvapaksha* and thus implicitly acknowledging the doctrine that the individual soul is all-pervading. Now I think there can be no doubt that Saṅkara's interpretation of the Sûtra is exceedingly forced. Literally translated (and leaving out the non-essential word '*prâgñavat*') the Sûtra runs as follows: 'But on account of that quality (or "those qualities;" or else "on account of the quality—or qualities—of that") being the essence, (there is) that designation (or "the designation of that").' This Saṅkara maintains to mean, 'Because the qualities of the buddhi are the essence of the soul in the *samsâra* state, therefore the soul itself is sometimes spoken of as *anu*.' Now, in the first place, nothing in the context warrants the explanation of the first '*tat*' by buddhi. And—which is more important—in the second place, it is more than doubtful whether on Saṅkara's own system the qualities of the buddhi—such as pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, &c.—can with any propriety be said to constitute the essence of the soul even in the *samsâra* state. The essence of the soul in whatever state, according to Saṅkara's system, is knowledge or intelligence ; whatever is due to its

association with the buddhi is non-essential or, more strictly, unreal, false.

There are no similar difficulties in the way of Rāmānuga's interpretation of the *adhikāraṇa*. He agrees with Saṅkara in the explanation of Sūtras 19-25, with this difference that he views them as setting forth, not the *pūrvapakṣa*, but the *siddhānta*. Sūtras 26-28 also are interpreted in a manner not very different from Saṅkara's, special stress being laid on the distinction made by Scripture between knowledge as a mere quality and the soul as a knowing agent, the substratum of knowledge. This discussion naturally gives rise to the question how it is that Scripture in some places makes use of the term *vigñāna* when meaning the individual soul. The answer is given in Sūtra 29, 'The soul is designated as knowledge because it has that quality for its essence,' i.e. because knowledge is the essential characteristic quality of the soul, therefore the term 'knowledge' is employed here and there to denote the soul itself. This latter interpretation gives rise to no doubt whatever. It closely follows the wording of the text and does not necessitate any forced supplementation. The 'tu' of the Sūtra which, according to Saṅkara, is meant to discard the *pūrvapakṣa*, serves on Rāmānuga's view to set aside a previously-raised objection; an altogether legitimate assumption.

Of the three remaining Sūtras of the *adhikāraṇa* (30-32), 30 explains, according to Saṅkara, that the soul may be called *anu*, since, as long as it exists in the *samsāra* condition, it is connected with the buddhi. According to Rāmānuga the Sūtra teaches that the soul may be called *vigñāna* because the latter constitutes its essential quality as long as it exists.—Sūtra 31 intimates, according to Saṅkara, that in the states of deep sleep, and so on, the soul is potentially connected with the buddhi, while in the waking state that connexion becomes actually manifest. The same Sūtra, according to Rāmānuga, teaches that *gñātrīva* is properly said to constitute the soul's essential nature, although it is actually manifested in some states of the soul only.—In Sūtra 32, finally, Saṅkara sees a statement of the

doctrine that, unless the soul had the buddhi for its limiting adjunct, it would either be permanently cognizing or permanently non-cognizing; while, according to Rāmānuga, the Sūtra means that the soul would either be permanently cognizing or permanently non-cognizing, if it were pure knowledge and all-pervading (instead of being *gñātri* and *anu*, as it is in reality).—The three Sūtras can be made to fit in with either interpretation, although it must be noted that none of them explicitly refers to the soul's connexion with the buddhi.

Adhik. XIV and XV (33–39; 40) refer to the *kartr̥itva* of the *gīva*, i.e. the question whether the soul is an agent. Sūtras 33–39 clearly say that it is such. But as, according to Saṅkara's system, this cannot be the final view,—the soul being essentially non-active, and all action belonging to the world of upādhis,—he looks upon the next following Sūtra (40) as constituting an *adhikaraṇa* by itself, and teaching that the soul is an agent when connected with the instruments of action, buddhi, &c., while it ceases to be so when dissociated from them, 'just as the carpenter acts in both ways,' i.e. just as the carpenter works as long as he wields his instruments, and rests after having laid them aside.—Rāmānuga, perhaps more naturally, does not separate Sūtra 40 from the preceding Sūtras, but interprets it as follows: Activity is indeed an essential attribute of the soul; but therefrom it does not follow that the soul is always actually active, just as the carpenter, even when furnished with the requisite instruments, may either work or not work, just as he pleases.

Adhik. XVI (41, 42) teaches that the soul in its activity is dependent on the Lord who impels it with a view to its former actions.

Adhik. XVII (43–53) treats of the relation of the individual soul to Brahman. Sūtra 43 declares that the individual soul is a part (*aṃsa*) of Brahman, and the following Sūtras show how that relation does not involve either that Brahman is affected by the imperfections, sufferings, &c. of the souls, or that one soul has to participate in the experiences of other souls. The two commentators of course take entirely

different views of the doctrine that the soul is a part of Brahman. According to Rāmānuja the souls are in reality parts of Brahman¹; according to Saṅkara the 'amsa' of the Sūtra must be understood to mean 'amsa iva,' 'a part as it were;' the one universal indivisible Brahman having no real parts, but appearing to be divided owing to its limiting adjuncts.—One Sūtra (50) in this *adhikaraṇa* calls for special notice. According to Saṅkara the words 'ābhāsa eva ka' mean '(the soul is) a mere reflection,' which, as the commentators remark, is a statement of the so-called pratibimbavāda, i.e. the doctrine that the so-called individual soul is nothing but the reflection of the Self in the buddhi; while Sūtra 43 had propounded the so-called *avakṣhedavāda*, i.e. the doctrine that the soul is the highest Self in so far as limited by its adjuncts.—According to Rāmānuja the ābhāsa of the Sūtra has to be taken in the

¹ *Gīvasya kartrītvam paramapurushāyattam ity uktam. Idānim kim ayam gīvaḥ paramād atyantabhinnaḥ uta param eva brahma bhrāntam uta brahmaivopādhyavakṣhinnaṁ atha brahmāmsa iti samasyate srutivipratipatteḥ samsayaḥ. Nānu tadananyam ārambhavasadbādibhyaḥ adhikam tu bhedanirdeśād ity atraivāyam artho nirṇātḥ. Satyam sa eva nānātvaikatvasrutivipratipattyā kshipya gīvasya brahmāmsatvopapādanena viśeṣato nirṇīyate. Yāvad dhi gīvasya brahmāmsatvam na nirṇītam tāvag gīvasya brahmano nanyatvam brahmanas tasmād adhikatvām ka na pratitiśṭhati. Kim tāvat prāptam. Atyantam bhinna iti. Kutaḥ. Gñāgnau dvāv ityādibhedanirdeśāt. Gñāgnayor abhedasrutayas tv agniṇā siñṇed itivād viruddhārthapratipādanād aupatīrikyaḥ, Brahmano nso gīva ity api na sādhyāḥ, ekavastvekaśeṣavācī hy amsasabdaḥ, gīvasya brahmaikadesatve tadgatā doṣā brahmani bhavyeṣu. Na ka brahmakhandō gīva ity amsatvopapattir khandanānarhatvād brahmanaḥ prāgukta-doshaprasaṅgāḥ ka, tasmād atyantabhinnaṣya tadamsatvam durupapādam. Yadvā bhrāntam brahmaiva gīvaḥ. Kutaḥ. Tat tvam asi ayam ātmā brahmetyādibrahmātmabbhāvopadesāt, nānātmatvavādin yas tu pratyakṣhādisiddhārthānūvāditvād ananyathāsiddhādvaitopadesaparābhīḥ srutibhiḥ pratyakṣhādayas ka avidyāntargatāḥ khyāpyante.—Athavā brahmaivānādyupādhyavakṣhinnaṁ gīvaḥ. Kutaḥ. Tata eva brahmātmabbhāvopadesāt. Na kāyam upādhir bhrāntiparikalpita ita vaktum sakyam bandhamokṣhādivyavasthānupapatter. Ity evam prāpte bhiddhīyate. Brahmāmsa iti. Kutaḥ. Nānāvypadesād anyathā kaikatvena vyapadesād ubhayathā hi vyapadeso drīsyate. Nānāvypadesas tāvat sraśtrītvastvigrīyatva — niyantrītvaniyāmyatva — sarvagñātvā-gñātvā — svādhīnatvaparādhīnatva — suddhatvāsuddhatva — kālyāṇagunākara-tvaviparītatva — patitvaseshatvādibhir drīsyate. Anyathā ābhedenā vyapadeso pi tat tvam asi ayam ātmā brahmetyādibhir drīsyate. Api dāśakita-vāditvam apy adhiyate eke, brahma dāśā brahma dāśā brahmeme kitavā ity ātharvaṇikā brahmano dāśakitavāditvam apy adhiyate, tatas ka sarvagīvavyāpitvena abhedo vyapadiśyate ity arthaḥ. Evam ubhayavyapadesamukhyatvasiddhaye gīvo yam brahmano nso ity abhyupagantavyāḥ.*

sense of hetvābhāsa, a fallacious argument, and the Sūtra is explained as being directed against the reasoning of those Vedāntins according to whom the soul is Brahman in so far as limited by non-real adjuncts¹.

PĀDA IV.

Adhik. I, II, III (1-4; 5-6; 7) teach that the prāṇas (by which generic name are denoted the buddhindriyas, karmendriyas, and the manas) spring from Brahman; are eleven in number; and are of minute size (anu).

Adhik. IV, V, VI (8; 9-12; 13) inform us also that the mukhya prāṇa, i.e. the vital air, is produced from Brahman; that it is a principle distinct from air in general and from the prāṇas discussed above; and that it is minute (anu).

Adhik. VII and VIII (14-16; 17-19) teach that the prāṇas are superintended and guided in their activity by special divinities, and that they are independent principles, not mere modifications of the mukhya prāṇa.

Adhik. IX (20-22) declares that the evolution of names and forms (the nāmarûpavyākaraṇa) is the work, not of the individual soul, but of the Lord.

THIRD ADHYĀYA.

PĀDA I.

Adhik. I (1-7) teaches that the soul, when passing out of the body at the time of death, remains invested with the subtle material elements (bhūtasūkshma) which serve as an abode to the prāṇas attached to the soul.

Adhik. II (8-11) shows that, when the souls of those who had enjoyed the reward of their good works in the moon descend to the earth in order to undergo a new embodiment, there cleaves to them a remainder (anusaya) of their

¹ Nanu bhrāntabrahmagīvavāde * py avidyākṛtītopādhibhedād bhogavyavasthādaya upapadyanta ata āha, ābhāsa eva ēa. Akhaṇḍaikarasaprakāśamātratvarûpasya svarûpatirodhānapûrvakopādhibhedopapādanahetur ābhāsa eva. Prakāśaikasvarûpasya prakāśatirodhānam prakāśanāsa eveti prāg evopapāditam. Ābhāsa eveti vā pāṭhaḥ, tathā sati hetava ābhāsaḥ.

former deeds which determines the nature of the new embodiment.

Adhik. III (12-21) discusses the fate after death of those whom their good works do not entitle to pass up to the moon.

Adhik. IV, V, VI (22; 23; 24-27) teach that the subtle bodies of the souls descending from the moon through the ether, air, &c., do not become identical with ether, air, &c., but only like them; that the entire descent occupies a short time only; and that, when the souls finally enter into plants and so on, they do not participate in the life of the latter, but are merely in external contact with them.

PĀDA II.

Adhik. I (1-6) treats of the soul in the dreaming state. According to Saṅkara the three first Sūtras discuss the question whether the creative activity ascribed to the soul in some scriptural passages produces things as real as those by which the waking soul is surrounded, or not; Sūtra 3 settles the point by declaring that the creations of the dreaming soul are mere 'Mâyâ,' since they do not fully manifest the character of real objects. Sūtra 4 adds that dreams, although mere Mâyâ, yet have a prophetic quality. Sūtras 5 and 6 finally reply to the question why the soul, which after all is a part of the Lord and as such participates in his excellencies, should not be able to produce in its dreams a real creation, by the remark that the soul's knowledge and power are obscured by its connexion with the gross body.

The considerably diverging interpretation given of this adhikarṇa by Rāmānuja has the advantage of more closely connecting the Sūtras with each other. According to him the question is not whether the creations of a dream are real or not, but whether they are the work of the individual soul or of the Lord acting within the soul. Sūtras 1 and 2 set forth the pūrvapakṣa. The creations of dreams (are the work of the individual soul); for thus Scripture declares: 'And the followers of some sâkhâs declare (the

soul to be) a creator,' &c. The third Sûtra states the siddhânta view: 'But the creations of dreams are Mâyâ, i.e. are of a wonderful nature (and as such cannot be effected by the individual soul), since (in this life) the nature (of the soul) is not fully manifested.' Concerning the word 'mâyâ,' Râmânuga remarks, 'mâyâsabdo hy âskaryavâki ganakasya kule gâtâ devamâyeva nirmittâ ityâdishu tathâ darsanât.' The three remaining Sûtras are exhibited in the Srî-bhâshya in a different order, the fourth Sûtra, according to Saṅkara, being the sixth according to Râmânuga. Sûtras 4 and 5 (according to Râmânuga's numeration) are explained by Râmânuga very much in the same way as by Saṅkara; but owing to the former's statement of the subject-matter of the whole adhikaraṇa they connect themselves more intimately with the preceding Sûtras than is possible on Saṅkara's interpretation. In Sûtra 6 (sûkakaśa hi) Râmânuga sees a deduction from the siddhânta of the adhikaraṇa, 'Because the images of a dream are produced by the highest Lord himself, therefore they have prophetic significance.'

Adhik. II teaches that in the state of deep dreamless sleep the soul abides within Brahman in the heart.

Adhik. III (9) expounds the reasons entitling us to assume that the soul awakening from sleep is the same that went to sleep.—Adhik. IV (9) explains the nature of a swoon.

Adhik. V (11-21) is, according to Saṅkara, taken up with the question as to the nature of the highest Brahman in which the individual soul is merged in the state of deep sleep. Sûtra 11 declares that twofold characteristics (viz. absence and presence of distinctive attributes, nirviśeṣatva and savīṣeṣatva) cannot belong to the highest Brahman even through its stations, i.e. its limiting adjuncts; since all passages which aim at setting forth Brahman's nature declare it to be destitute of all distinctive attributes.—The fact, Sûtra 12 continues, that in many passages Brahman is spoken of as possessing distinctive attributes is of no relevancy, since wherever there are mentioned limiting adjuncts, on which all distinction depends, it is specially stated

that Brahman in itself is free from all diversity; and—Sūtra 13 adds—in some places the assumption of diversity is specially objected to.—That Brahman is devoid of all form (Sūtra 14), is the pre-eminent meaning of all Vedānta-texts setting forth Brahman's nature.—That Brahman is represented as having different forms, as it were, is due to its connexion with its (unreal) limiting adjuncts; just as the light of the sun appears straight or crooked, as it were, according to the nature of the things he illuminates (15).—The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* expressly declares that Brahman is one uniform mass of intelligence (16); and the same is taught in other scriptural passages and in *Smṛiti* (17).—At the unreality of the apparent manifoldness of the Self, caused by the limiting adjuncts, aim those scriptural passages in which the Self is compared to the sun, which remains one although his reflections on the surface of the water are many (18).—Nor must the objection be raised that that comparison is unsuitable, because the Self is not material like the sun, and there are no real upādhis separate from it as the water is from the sun; for the comparison merely means to indicate that, as the reflected image of the sun participates in the changes, increase, decrease, &c., which the water undergoes while the sun himself remains unaffected thereby, so the true Self is not affected by the attributes of the upādhis, while, in so far as it is limited by the latter, it is affected by them as it were (19, 20).—That the Self is within the upādhis, Scripture declares (21).

From the above explanation of this important *adhikaraṇa* the one given in the *Srī-bhāṣya* differs totally. According to *Rāmānuja* the *adhikaraṇa* raises the question whether the imperfections clinging to the individual soul (the discussion of which has now come to an end) affect also the highest Lord who, according to Scripture, abides within the soul as *antaryāmin*. 'Notwithstanding the abode (of the highest Self within the soul) (it is) not (affected by the soul's imperfections) because everywhere (the highest Self is represented) as having twofold characteristics (viz. being, on one hand, free from all evil, *apahatapāpman*, *vigara*, *vimṛityu*, &c., and, on the other hand, endowed with all auspicious

qualities, satyakâma, satyasamkalpa, &c.) (11).—Should it be objected that, just as the soul although essentially free from evil—according to the Pragâpativâkya in the *Khândogya*—yet is liable to imperfections owing to its connexion with a variety of bodies, so the antaryâmin also is affected by abiding within bodies; we deny this because in every section of the chapter referring to the antaryâmin (in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*) he is expressly called the Immortal, the ruler within; which shows him to be free from the shortcomings of the *gīva* (12).—Some, moreover, expressly assert that, although the Lord and the soul are within one body, the soul only is imperfect, not the Lord (*dvâ suparnâ sayugâ sakhâyâ*) (13).—Should it be said that, according to the *Khândogya*, Brahman entered together with the souls into the elements previously to the evolution of names and forms, and hence participates in the latter, thus becoming implicated in the *samsâra*; we reply that Brahman, although connected with such and such forms, is in itself devoid of form, since it is the principal element (agent; *pradhâna*) in the bringing about of names and forms (according to ‘*âkâśo ha vai nâmarûpayor nirvahitâ*’) (14).—But does not the passage ‘*satyam gñânam anantam brahma*’ teach that Brahman is nothing but light (intelligence) without any difference, and does not the passage ‘*neti neti*’ deny of it all qualities?—As in order, we reply, not to deprive passages as the one quoted from the *Taittirîya* of their purport, we admit that Brahman’s nature is light, so we must also admit that Brahman is *satyasamkalpa*, and so on; for if not, the passages in which those qualities are asserted would become purportless (15).—Moreover the *Taittirîya* passage only asserts so much, viz. the *prakâsarûpatâ* of Brahman, and does not deny other qualities (16).—And the passage ‘*neti neti*’ will be discussed later on.—The *ubhayalingatva* of Brahman in the sense assigned above is asserted in many places of *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* (17).—Because Brahman although abiding in many places is not touched by their imperfections, the similes of the reflected sun, of the ether limited by jars, &c., are applicable to it (18).—Should it be said that the illustration is not an appropriate one, because the

sun is apprehended in the water erroneously only while the antaryāmin really abides within all things, and therefore must be viewed as sharing their defects (19); we reply that what the simile means to negative is merely that Brahman should, owing to its inherence in many places, participate in the increase, decrease, and so on, of its abodes. On this view both similes are appropriate (20).—Analogous similes we observe to be employed in ordinary life, as when we compare a man to a lion (21).

Sûtras 22-30 constitute, according to Saṅkara, a new *adhikaraṇa* (VI), whose object it is to show that the clause 'not so, not so' (*neti neti*; *Bṛihadâr.*) negatives, not Brahman itself, but only the two forms of Brahman described in the preceding part of the chapter. Sûtras 23-26 further dwell on Brahman being in reality devoid of all distinctive attributes which are altogether due to the upādhis. The last four Sûtras return to the question how, Brahman being one only, the souls are in so many places spoken of as different from it, and, two explanatory hypotheses having been rejected, the conclusion is arrived at that all difference is unreal, due to fictitious limiting adjuncts.

According to Rāmānuga, Sûtras 22 ff. continue the discussion started in Sûtra 11. How, the question is asked, can the ubhayalingatva of Brahman be maintained considering that the 'not so, not so' of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* denies of Brahman all the previously mentioned modes (*prakâra*), so that it can only be called that which is (*sanmâtra*)?—The reply given in Sûtra 22 is that 'not so, not so' does not deny of Brahman the distinctive qualities or modes declared previously (for it would be senseless at first to teach them, and finally to deny them again¹), but merely denies the *prākṛtâtāvattva*, the previously stated limited nature of Brahman, i.e. it denies that Brahman possesses only the previously mentioned qualifications. With this agrees, that subsequently to 'neti neti' Scripture itself enunciates further qualifications of Brahman.—That Brahman as stated

¹ All the mentioned modes of Brahman are known from Scripture only, not from ordinary experience. If the latter were the case, then, and then only, Scripture might at first refer to them '*anuvâdena*,' and finally negative them.

above is not the object of any other means of proof but Scripture is confirmed in Sûtra 23, 'Scripture declares Brahman to be the non-manifest.'—And the intuition (sākshâtkāra) of Brahman ensues only upon its *saṃrādhana*, i.e. upon its being perfectly pleased by the worshipper's devotion, as Scripture and *Smṛiti* declare (24).—That this interpretation of 'neti' is the right one, is likewise shown by the fact that in the same way as *prakāsa*, luminousness, *gñāna*, intelligence, &c., so also the quality of being differentiated by the world (*prapañkavishatā*) is intuited as non-different, i.e. as likewise qualifying Brahman; and that *prakāsa*, and so on, characterise Brahman, is known through repeated practice (on the part of *rishis* like Vāmadeva) in the work of *saṃrādhana* mentioned before (25).—For all these reasons Brahman is connected with the infinite, i.e. the infinite number of auspicious qualities; for thus the twofold indications (*liṅga*) met with in Scripture are fully justified (26).—In what relation, then, does the *akīd vastu*, i.e. the non-sentient matter, which, according to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, is one of the forms of Brahman, stand to the latter?—Non-sentient beings might, in the first place, be viewed as special arrangements (*saṃsthānaviśeṣāḥ*) of Brahman, as the coils are of the body of the snake; for Brahman is designated as both, i.e. sometimes as one with the world (Brahman is all this, &c.), sometimes as different from it (Let me enter into those elements, &c.) (27).—Or, in the second place, the relation of the two might be viewed as analogous to that of light and the luminous object which are two and yet one, both being fire (28).—Or, in the third place, the relation is like that stated before, i.e. the material world is, like the individual souls (whose case was discussed in II, 3, 43), a part—*amsa*—of Brahman (29, 30).

Adhik. VII (31-37) explains how some metaphorical expressions, seemingly implying that there is something different from Brahman, have to be truly understood.

Adhik. VIII (38-41) teaches that the reward of works is not, as Gaimini opines, the independent result of the works acting through the so-called *apūrva*, but is allotted by the Lord.

PĀDA III.

With the third pāda of the second adhyāya a new section of the work begins, whose task it is to describe how the individual soul is enabled by meditation on Brahman to obtain final release. The first point to be determined here is what constitutes a meditation on Brahman, and, more particularly, in what relation those parts of the Upanishads stand to each other which enjoin identical or partly identical meditations. The reader of the Upanishads cannot fail to observe that the texts of the different sâkhâs contain many chapters of similar, often nearly identical, contents, and that in some cases the text of even one and the same sâkhâ exhibits the same matter in more or less varied forms. The reason of this clearly is that the common stock of religious and philosophical ideas which were in circulation at the time of the composition of the Upanishads found separate expression in the different priestly communities; hence the same speculations, legends, &c. reappear in various places of the sacred Scriptures in more or less differing dress. Originally, when we may suppose the members of each Vedic school to have confined themselves to the study of their own sacred texts, the fact that the texts of other schools contained chapters of similar contents would hardly appear to call for special note or comment; not any more than the circumstance that the sacrificial performances enjoined on the followers of some particular sâkhâ were found described with greater or smaller modifications in the books of other sâkhâs also. But already at a very early period, at any rate long before the composition of the Vedānta-sûtras in their present form, the Vedic theologians must have apprehended the truth that, in whatever regards sacrificial acts, one sâkhâ may indeed safely follow its own texts, disregarding the texts of all other sâkhâs; that, however, all texts which aim at throwing light on the nature of Brahman and the relation to it of the human soul must somehow or other be combined into one consistent systematical whole equally valid for the followers of all Vedic schools. For, as we have had occasion to remark above, while acts may be performed

by different individuals in different ways, cognition is defined by the nature of the object cognised, and hence can be one only, unless it ceases to be true cognition. Hence the attempts, on the one hand, of discarding by skilful interpretation all contradictions met with in the sacred text, and, on the other hand, of showing what sections of the different Upanishads have to be viewed as teaching the same matter, and therefore must be combined in one meditation. The latter is the special task of the present pāda.

Adhik. I and II (1-4; 5) are concerned with the question whether those vidyās, which are met with in identical or similar form in more than one sacred text, are to be considered as constituting several vidyās, or one vidyā only. Śaṅkara remarks that the question affects only those vidyās whose object is the qualified Brahman; for the knowledge of the non-qualified Brahman, which is of an absolutely uniform nature, can of course be one only wherever it is set forth. But things lie differently in those cases where the object of knowledge is the *saguṇam* brahma or some outward manifestation of Brahman; for the qualities as well as manifestations of Brahman are many. Anticipating the subject of a later *adhikarana*, we may take for an example the so-called *Sāṅdilyavidyā* which is met with in *Kh. Up.* III, 14, again—in an abridged form—in *Bṛi. Up.* V, 6, and, moreover, in the tenth book of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* (X, 6, 3). The three passages enjoin a meditation on Brahman as possessing certain attributes, some of which are specified in all the three texts (as, for instance, *manomayatva*, *bhârûpatva*), while others are peculiar to each separate passage (*prâṇasarîratva* and *satyasamkalpatva*, for instance, being mentioned in the *Khândogya* Upanishad and *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, but not in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* Upanishad, which, on its part, specifies *sarvavasitva*, not referred to in the two other texts). Here, then, there is room for a doubt whether the three passages refer to one object of knowledge or not. To the devout Vedântin the question is not a purely theoretical one, but of immediate practical interest. For if the three texts are to be held apart, there are three different meditations to be gone through; if, on the

other hand, the vidyâ is one only, all the different qualities of Brahman mentioned in the three passages have to be combined into one meditation.—The decision is here, as in all similar cases, in favour of the latter alternative. A careful examination of the three passages shows that the object of meditation is one only; hence the meditation also is one only, comprehending all the attributes mentioned in the three texts.

Adhik. III (6-8) discusses the case of vidyâs being really separate, although apparently identical. The examples selected are the udgithavidyâs of the *Khândogya* Upanishad (I, 1-3) and the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* Upanishad (I, 3), which, although showing certain similarities—such as bearing the same name and the udgitha being in both identified with prâṇa—yet are to be held apart, because the subject of the *Khândogya* vidyâ is not the whole udgitha but only the sacred syllable Om, while the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* Upanishad represents the whole udgitha as the object of meditation.

Sûtra 9 constitutes in Saṅkara's view a new *adhyakaraṇa* (IV), proving that in the passage, 'Let a man meditate' (*Kh. Up.* I, 1, 1), the *Omkâra* and the udgitha stand in the relation of one specifying the other, the meaning being, 'Let a man meditate on that *Omkâra* which,' &c.—According to Râmânuga's interpretation, which seems to fall in more satisfactorily with the form and the wording of the Sûtra, the latter merely furnishes an additional argument for the conclusion arrived at in the preceding *adhyakaraṇa*.—Adhik. V (10) determines the unity of the so-called prâṇavidyâs and the consequent comprehension of the different qualities of the prâṇa, which are mentioned in the different texts, within one meditation.

Adhik. VI comprises, according to Saṅkara, the Sûtras 11-13. The point to be settled is whether in all the meditations on Brahman all its qualities are to be included or only those mentioned in the special vidyâ. The decision is that the essential and unalterable attributes of Brahman, such as bliss and knowledge, are to be taken into account everywhere, while those which admit of a more or less (as, for instance, the attribute of having joy for its head, men-

tioned in the Taitt. Up.) are confined to special meditations.—Adhik. VII (14, 15), according to Saṅkara, aims at proving that the object of *Kaṭha* Up. III, 10, 11 is one only, viz. to show that the highest Self is higher than everything, so that the passage constitutes one vidyā only.—Adhik. VIII (16, 17) determines, according to Saṅkara, that the Self spoken of in *Ait. Ār.* II, 4, 1, 1 is not a lower form of the Self (the so-called *sūtrātman*), but the highest Self; the discussion of that point in this place being due to the wish to prove that the attributes of the highest Self have to be comprehended in the *Aitareyaka* meditation.

According to Rāmānuga the Sūtras 11–17 constitute a single *adhikaraṇa* whose subject is the same as that of Saṅkara's sixth *adhikaraṇa*. Sūtras 11–13 are, on the whole, explained as by Saṅkara; Sūtra 12, however, is said to mean, 'Such attributes as having joy for its head, &c. are not to be viewed as qualities of Brahman, and therefore not to be included in every meditation; for if they were admitted as qualities, difference would be introduced into Brahman's nature, and that would involve a more or less on Brahman's part.' Sūtras 14–17 continue the discussion of the passage about the *priyasirastva*.—If *priyasirastva*, &c. are not to be viewed as real qualities of Brahman, for what purpose does the text mention them?—'Because,' Sūtra 14 replies, 'there is no other purpose, Scripture mentions them for the purpose of pious meditation.'—But how is it known that the Self of delight is the highest Self? (owing to which you maintain that having limbs, head, &c. cannot belong to it as attributes.)—'Because,' Sūtra 15 replies, 'the term "Self" (*ātmā ānandamaya*) is applied to it.'—But in the previous parts of the chapter the term Self (in *ātmā prāṇamaya*, &c.) is applied to non-Selfs also; how then do you know that in *ātmā ānandamaya* it denotes the real Self?—'The term Self,' Sūtra 16 replies, 'is employed here to denote the highest Self as in many other passages (*ātmā vā idam eka*, &c.), as we conclude from the subsequent passage, viz. he wished, May I be many.'—But, an objection is raised, does not the context show that the term 'Self,' which in all the preceding

clauses about the *prāṇamaya*, &c. denoted something other than the Self, does the same in *ānandamaya* *ātman*, and is not the context of greater weight than a subsequent passage?—To this question asked in the former half of 17 (*anvayād iti ket*) the latter half replies, 'Still it denotes the Self, owing to the affirmatory statement,' i. e. the fact of the highest Self having been affirmed in a previous passage also, viz. II, 1, 'From that Self sprang ether.'

Adhik. IX (18) discusses a minor point connected with the *prāṇasaṃvāda*.—The subject of Adhik. X (19) has been indicated already above under Adhik. I.—Adhik. XI (20–22) treats of a case of a contrary nature; in *Bṛi. Up.* V, 5, Brahman is represented first as abiding in the sphere of the sun, and then as abiding within the eye; we therefore, in spite of certain counter-indications, have to do with two separate *vidyās*.—Adhik. XII (23) refers to a similar case; certain attributes of Brahman mentioned in the *Rānāyaṇīya-khila* have not to be introduced into the corresponding *Khândogya* *vidyā*, because the stated difference of Brahman's abode involves difference of *vidyā*.—Adhik. XIII (24) treats of another instance of two *vidyās* having to be held apart.

Adhik. XIV (25) decides that certain detached mantras and *brāhmaṇa* passages met with in the beginning of some Upanishads—as, for instance, a *brāhmaṇa* about the *mahāvratā* ceremony at the beginning of the *Aitareya-āranyaka*—do, notwithstanding their position which seems to connect them with the *brahmavidyā*, not belong to the latter, since they show unmistakable signs of being connected with sacrificial acts.

Adhik. XV (26) treats of the passages stating that the man dying in the possession of true knowledge shakes off all his good and evil deeds, and affirms that a statement, made in some of those passages only, to the effect that the good and evil deeds pass over to the friends and enemies of the deceased, is valid for all the passages.

Sūtras 27–30 constitute, according to Saṅkara, two *adhikaraṇas* of which the former (XVI; 27, 28) decides that the shaking off of the good and evil deeds takes place—not, as

the Kaush. Up. states, on the road to Brahman's world—but at the moment of the soul's departure from the body; the Kaushitaki statement is therefore not to be taken literally.—The latter *adhikarāṇa* (XVII; 29, 30) treats of the cognate question whether the soul that has freed itself from its deeds proceeds in all cases on the road of the gods (as said in the Kaush. Up.), or not. The decision is that he only whose knowledge does not pass beyond the *saguṇam brahma* proceeds on that road, while the soul of him who knows the *nirguṇam brahma* becomes one with it without moving to any other place.

The *Srī-bhāṣya* treats the four *Sūtras* as one *adhikarāṇa* whose two first *Sūtras* are explained as by *Saṅkara*, while *Sūtra* 29 raises an objection to the conclusion arrived at, 'the going (of the soul on the path of the gods) has a sense only if the soul's freeing itself from its works takes place in both ways, i.e. partly at the moment of death, partly on the road to Brahman; for otherwise there would be a contradiction' (the contradiction being that, if the soul's works were all shaken off at the moment of death, the subtle body would likewise perish at that moment, and then the bodiless soul would be unable to proceed on the path of the gods).—To this *Sūtra* 30 replies, 'The complete shaking off of the works at the moment of death is possible, since matters of that kind are observed in Scripture,' i.e. since scriptural passages show that even he whose works are entirely annihilated, and who has manifested himself in his true shape, is yet connected with some kind of body; compare the passage, '*param ghyotir upasampadya svena rūpe-
nābhinishpadyate sa tatra paryeti kridān ramamānaḥ sa
svarād bhavati tasya sarveshu lokeshu kāmākāro bhavati.*' That subtle body is not due to *karman*, but to the soul's *vidyāmāhātmya*.—That the explanation of the *Srī-bhāṣya* agrees with the text as well as *Saṅkara's*, a comparison of the two will show; especially forced is *Saṅkara's* explanation of '*arthavattvam ubhayathā,*' which is said to mean that there is *arthavattva* in one case, and non-*arthavattva* in the other case.

The next *Sūtra* (31) constitutes an *adhikarāṇa* (XVIII)

deciding that the road of the gods is followed not only by those knowing the vidyās which specially mention the going on that road, but by all who are acquainted with the *saguṇa*-vidyās of Brahman.—The explanation given in the *Śrī-bhāṣya* (in which *Sūtras* 31 and 32 have exchanged places) is similar, with the difference however that all who meditate on Brahman—without any reference to the distinction of *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa*—proceed after death on the road of the gods. (The *Śrī-bhāṣya* reads ‘*sarvēśām*,’ i. e. all worshippers, not ‘*sarvāsām*,’ all *saguṇa*-vidyās.)

Adhik. XIX (32) decides that, although the general effect of true knowledge is release from all forms of body, yet even such beings as have reached perfect knowledge may retain a body for the purpose of discharging certain offices.—In the *Śrī-bhāṣya*, where the *Sūtra* follows immediately on *Sūtra* 30, the *adhikarṇa* determines, in close connexion with 30, that, although those who know Brahman as a rule divest themselves of the gross body—there remaining only a subtle body which enables them to move—and no longer experience pleasure and pain, yet certain beings, although having reached the cognition of Brahman, remain invested with a gross body, and hence liable to pleasure and pain until they have fully performed certain duties.

Adhik. XX (33) teaches that the negative attributes of Brahman mentioned in some vidyās—such as its being not gross, not subtle, &c.—are to be included in all meditations on Brahman.—Adhik. XXI (34) determines that *Kāṭha* Up. III, 1, and *Mu. Up.* III, 1, constitute one vidyā only, because both passages refer to the highest Brahman. According to *Rāmānuga* the *Sūtra* contains a reply to an objection raised against the conclusion arrived at in the preceding *Sūtra*.—Adhik. XXII (35, 36) maintains that the two passages, *Bṛi. Up.* III, 4 and III, 5, constitute one vidyā only, the object of knowledge being in both cases Brahman viewed as the inner Self of all.—Adhik. XXIII (37) on the contrary decides that the passage *Ait. Ār.* II, 2, 4, 6 constitutes not one but two meditations.—Adhik. XXIV (38) again determines that the vidyā of the True contained in *Bṛi. Up.* V, 4, 5, is one only.—According to *Rāmānuga*,

Sûtras 35-38 constitute one *adhikaraṇa* only whose subject is the same as that of XXII according to Saṅkara.

Adhik. XXV (39) proves that the passages *Kh. Up. VIII, 1* and *Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 22* cannot constitute one *vidyā*, since the former refers to Brahman as possessing qualities, while the latter is concerned with Brahman as destitute of qualities.—Adhik. XXVI (40, 41) treats, according to Saṅkara, of a minor question connected with *Kh. Up. V, 11 ff.*—According to the *Srī-bhāṣya*, Sûtras 39-41 form one *adhikaraṇa* whose first Sûtra reaches essentially the same conclusion as Saṅkara under 39. Sûtras 40, 41 thereupon discuss a general question concerning the meditations on Brahman. The qualities, an opponent is supposed to remark, which in the two passages discussed are predicated of Brahman—such as *vaśitva*, *satyakāmatva*, &c.—cannot be considered real (*pāramārthika*), since other passages (*sa eṣha neti neti*, and the like) declare Brahman to be devoid of all qualities. Hence those qualities cannot be admitted into meditations whose purpose is final release.—To this objection Sûtra 40 replies, ‘(Those qualities) are not to be left out (from the meditations on Brahman), since (in the passages under discussion as well as in other passages) they are stated with emphasis¹.’—But, another objection is raised, Scripture says that he who meditates on Brahman as *satyakāma*, &c. obtains a mere perishable reward, viz. the world of the fathers, and similar results specified in *Kh. Up. VIII, 2*; hence, he who is desirous of final release, must not include those qualities of Brahman in his meditation.—To this objection Sûtra 41 replies, ‘Because that (i. e. the free roaming in all the worlds, the world of the fathers, &c.) is stated as proceeding therefrom (i. e. the approach to Brahman which is final release) in the case of (the soul) which has approached Brahman;’ (therefore a person desirous of release, may include *satyakāmatva*, &c. in his meditations.)

¹ Rāmānuja has here some strong remarks on the improbability of qualities emphatically attributed to Brahman, in more than one passage, having to be set aside in any meditation: ‘Na ka mātāpitṛisahasrebhyo * pi vatsalataraṁ śāstram pratārakavad apāramārthikau nirasantyaṁ gūṇau pramāṇāntarāpratīpannau ādareṇopadiśya saṁsāratākraparivartanena pūrvam eva bambhramya-mānaṁ mumukṣhūn bhūyo * pi bhramayitum alam.’

Adhik. XXVII (42) decides that those meditations which are connected with certain matters forming constituent parts of sacrificial actions, are not to be considered as permanently requisite parts of the latter.—Adhik. XXVIII (43) teaches that, in a *Bri.* Up. passage and a similar *Kh.* Up. passage, Vāyu and Prāṇa are not to be identified, but to be held apart.—Adhik. XXIX (44–52) decides that the fire-altars made of mind, &c., which are mentioned in the Agni-rahasya, do not constitute parts of the sacrificial action (so that the mental, &c. construction of the altar could optionally be substituted for the actual one), but merely subjects of meditations.

Adhik. XXX (53, 54) treats, according to Saṅkara, in the way of digression, of the question whether to the Self an existence independent of the body can be assigned, or not (as the Materialists maintain).—According to the *Srī-bhāshya* the *adhikaraṇa* does not refer to this wide question, but is concerned with a point more immediately connected with the meditations on Brahman, viz. the question as to the form under which, in those meditations, the Self of the meditating devotee has to be viewed. The two Sūtras then have to be translated as follows: ‘Some (maintain that the soul of the devotee has, in meditations, to be viewed as possessing those attributes only which belong to it in its embodied state, such as *gñātrīva* and the like), because the Self is (at the time of meditation) in the body.’—The next Sūtra rejects this view, ‘This is not so, but the separatedness (i. e. the pure isolated state in which the Self is at the time of final release when it is freed from all evil, &c.) (is to be transferred to the meditating Self), because that will be¹ the state (of the Self in the condition of final release).’

Adhik. XXXI (55, 56) decides that meditations connected with constituent elements of the sacrifice, such as the udgītha, are, in spite of difference of *svara* in the udgītha, &c., valid, not only for that *sākhā* in which the meditation actually is met with, but for all *sākhās*.—Adhik.

¹ The *Srī-bhāshya* as well as several other commentaries reads *tadbhāva-bhāvitvāt* for Saṅkara's *tadbhāvābhāvitvāt*.

XXXII (57) decides that the Vaisvânara Agni of *Kh. Up. V*, 11 ff. is to be meditated upon as a whole, not in his single parts.—Adhik. XXXIII (58) teaches that those meditations which refer to one subject, but as distinguished by different qualities, have to be held apart as different meditations. Thus the *daharavidyâ*, *Sândilyavidyâ*, &c. remain separate.

Adhik. XXXIV (59) teaches that those meditations on Brahman for which the texts assign one and the same fruit are optional, there being no reason for their being cumulated.—Adhik. XXXV (60) decides that those meditations, on the other hand, which refer to special wishes may be cumulated or optionally employed according to choice.—Adhik. XXXVI (61-66) extends this conclusion to the meditations connected with constituent elements of action, such as the *udgîtha*:

PÂDA IV.

Adhik. I (1-17) proves that the knowledge of Brahman is not *kratvartha*, i. e. subordinate to action, but independent.—Adhik. II (18-20) confirms this conclusion by showing that the state of the *pravrâgins* is enjoined by the sacred law, and that for them *vidyâ* only is prescribed, not action.—Adhik. III (21, 22) decides that certain clauses forming part of *vidyâs* are not mere *stutis* (*arthavâdas*), but themselves enjoin the meditation.—The legends recorded in the *Vedânta*-texts are not to be used as subordinate members of acts, but have the purpose of glorifying—as *arthavâdas*—the injunctions with which they are connected (Adhik. IV, 23, 24).—For all these reasons the *ûrdhvare-tasaḥ* require no actions but only knowledge (Adhik. V, 25).—Nevertheless the actions enjoined by Scripture, such as sacrifices, conduct of certain kinds, &c., are required as conducive to the rise of *vidyâ* in the mind (Adhik. VI, 26, 27).—Certain relaxations, allowed by Scripture, of the laws regarding food, are meant only for cases of extreme need (Adhik. VII, 28-31).—The *âsramakarmâni* are obligatory on him also who does not strive after *mukti* (Adhik. VIII,

32-35).—Those also who, owing to poverty and so on, are anāśrama have claims to vidyā (Adhik. IX, 36-39).—An ūrdhvaretas cannot revoke his vow (Adhik. X, 40).—Expiation of the fall of an ūrdhvaretas (Adhik. XI, 41, 42).—Exclusion of the fallen ūrdhvaretas in certain cases (Adhik. XII, 43).—Those meditations, which are connected with subordinate members of the sacrifice, are the business of the priest, not of the yagamāna (Adhik. XIII, 44-46).—*Bṛi. Up.* III, 5, 1 enjoins mauna as a third in addition to bālya and pāṇḍitya (Adhik. XIV, 47-49).—By bālya is to be understood a childlike innocent state of mind (Adhik. XV, 50).

Sūtras 51 and 52 discuss, according to Rāmānuga, the question when the vidyā, which is the result of the means described in III, 4, arises. Sūtra 51 treats of that vidyā whose result is mere exaltation (abhyudaya), and states that 'it takes place in the present life, if there is not present an obstacle in the form of a prabalakarmāntara (in which latter case the vidyā arises later only), on account of Scripture declaring this (in various passages).—Sūtra 52, 'Thus there is also absence of a definite rule as to (the time of origination of) that knowledge whose fruit is release, it being averred concerning that one also that it is in the same condition (i.e. of sometimes having an obstacle, sometimes not).—Saṅkara, who treats the two Sūtras as two adhikarāṇas, agrees as to the explanation of 51, while, putting a somewhat forced interpretation on 52, he makes it out to mean that a more or less is possible only in the case of the saguṇa-vidyās.

FOURTH ADHYĀYA.

PĀDA I.

Adhikarāṇa I (1, 2).—The meditation on the Ātman enjoined by Scripture is not an act to be accomplished once only, but is to be repeated again and again.

Adhik. II (3).—The devotee engaged in meditation on Brahman is to view it as constituting his own Self.

Adhik. III (4).—To the rule laid down in the preceding *adhikarāṇa* the so-called *pratīkopāśanas*, i.e. those meditations in which Brahman is viewed under a symbol or outward manifestation (as, for instance, *mano brahmety upāśita*) constitute an exception, i.e. the devotee is not to consider the *pratīka* as constituting his own Self.

Adhik. IV (5).—In the *pratīkopāśanas* the *pratīka* is to be meditatively viewed as being one with Brahman, not Brahman as being one with the *pratīka*.—Rāmānuja takes Sūtra 5 as simply giving a reason for the decision arrived at under Sūtra 4, and therefore as not constituting a new *adhikarāṇa*.

Adhik. V (6).—In meditations connected with constitutives of sacrificial works (as, for instance, *ya evāsau tapati tam udgītham upāśita*) the idea of the divinity, &c. is to be transferred to the sacrificial item, not vice versâ. In the example quoted, for instance, the *udgītha* is to be viewed as *Āditya*, not *Āditya* as the *udgītha*.

Adhik. VI (7-10).—The devotee is to carry on his meditations in a sitting posture.—Saṅkara maintains that this rule does not apply to those meditations whose result is *saṃyagdarsana*; but the Sūtra gives no hint to that effect.

Adhik. VII (11).—The meditations may be carried on at any time, and in any place, favourable to concentration of mind.

Adhik. VIII (12).—The meditations are to be continued until death.—Saṅkara again maintains that those meditations which lead to *saṃyagdarsana* are excepted.

Adhik. IX (13).—When through those meditations the knowledge of Brahman has been reached, the *vidvân* is no longer affected by the consequences of either past or future evil deeds.

Adhik. X (14).—Good deeds likewise lose their efficiency.—The literal translation of the Sūtra is, 'There is likewise non-attachment (to the *vidvân*) of the other (i.e. of the deeds other than the evil ones, i.e. of good deeds), but on the fall (of the body, i.e. when death takes place).' The last words of the Sūtra, 'but on the fall,' are separated by Saṅkara from the preceding part of the Sūtra and interpreted to mean, 'when death takes place (there results *mukti* of

the vidvân, who through his knowledge has freed himself from the bonds of works).’—According to Râmânuga the whole Sûtra simply means, ‘There is likewise non-attachment of good deeds (not at once when knowledge is reached), but on the death of the vidvân¹.’

Adhik. XI (15).—The non-operation of works stated in the two preceding *adhikarâṇas* holds good only in the case of *anârabdhakârya* works, i.e. those works which have not yet begun to produce their effects, while it does not extend to the *ârabdhakârya* works on which the present existence of the devotee depends.

Adhik. XII (16, 17).—From the rule enunciated in Adhik. X are excepted such sacrificial performances as are enjoined permanently (*nitya*): so, for instance, the *agnihotra*, for they promote the origination of knowledge.

Adhik. XIII (18).—The origination of knowledge is promoted also by such sacrificial works as are not accompanied with the knowledge of the *upâsanâs* referring to the different members of those works.

Adhik. XIV (19).—The *ârabdhakârya* works have to be worked out fully by the fruition of their effects; whereupon the vidvân becomes united with Brahman.—The ‘*bhoga*’ of the Sûtra is, according to Saṅkara, restricted to the present existence of the devotee, since the complete knowledge obtained by him destroys the nescience which otherwise would lead to future embodiments. According to Râmânuga a number of embodied existences may have to be gone through before the effects of the *ârabdhakârya* works are exhausted.

PĀDA II.

This and the two remaining *pâdas* of the fourth *adhyâya* describe the fate of the vidvân after death. According to Saṅkara we have to distinguish the vidvân who possesses the highest knowledge, viz. that he is one with the highest

¹ *Nanu vidusho's pi setikartavyatâkopaśananirvṛttaye vṛishṭyannâdiphalânishṭhany eva katham teshâm virodhâd vinâśa ucyate. Tatrâha pâte tv iti. Sarîrapâte tu teshâm vinâśa sarîrapâtâd ūrdhvaṁ tu vidyânuganadrishṭaphalâni sukrîtâni nasyantîty arthaḥ.*

Brahman, and the vidvân who knows only the lower Brahman, and have to refer certain Sûtras to the former and others to the latter. According to Râmânuga the vidvân is one only.

Adhik. I, II, III (1-6).—On the death of the vidvân (i.e. of him who possesses the lower knowledge, according to Saṅkara) his senses are merged in the manas, the manas in the chief vital air (*prâṇa*), the vital air in the individual soul (*gīva*), the soul in the subtle elements.—According to Râmânuga the combination (*sampatti*) of the senses with the manas, &c. is a mere conjunction (*samyoga*), not a merging (*laya*).

Adhik. IV (7).—The vidvân (i.e. according to Saṅkara, he who possesses the lower knowledge) and the avidvân, i.e. he who does not possess any knowledge of Brahman, pass through the same stages (i.e. those described hitherto) up to the entrance of the soul, together with the subtle elements, and so on into the *nâḍīs*.—The vidvân also remains connected with the subtle elements because he has not yet completely destroyed avidyâ, so that the immortality which Scripture ascribes to him (*amṛitatvam hi vidvân abhyasṇute*) is only a relative one.—Râmânuga quotes the following text regarding the immortality of the vidvân :

‘Yadâ sarve pramukhyante kâma ye=sya hrīdi sthitâḥ
atha martyo=mrīto bhavaty atra brahma samasṇute,’
and explains that the immortality which is here ascribed to the vidvân as soon as he abandons all desires can only mean the destruction—mentioned in the preceding pāda—of all the effects of good and evil works, while the ‘reaching of Brahman’ can only refer to the intuition of Brahman vouchsafed to the meditating devotee.

Adhik. V (8-11) raises, according to Saṅkara, the question whether the subtle elements of which Scripture says that they are combined with the highest deity (*tegalī parasyām devatâyām*) are completely merged in the latter or not. The answer is that a complete absorption of the elements takes place only when final emancipation is reached; that, on the other hand, as long as the *samsāra* state lasts, the elements, although somehow combined with

Brahman, remain distinct so as to be able to form new bodies for the soul.

According to Rāmānuja the Sūtras 8-11 do not constitute a new *adhikarana*, but continue the discussion of the point mooted in 7. The immortality there spoken of does not imply the separation of the soul from the body, 'because Scripture declares *samsāra*, i. e. embodiedness up to the reaching of Brahman' (*tasya tāvad eva kīram yāvan na vimokshye atha sampatsye*) (8).—That the soul after having departed from the gross body is not disconnected from the subtle elements, is also proved hereby, that the subtle body accompanies it, as is observed from authority¹ (9).—Hence the immortality referred to in the scriptural passage quoted is not effected by means of the total destruction of the body (10).

Adhik. VI (12-14) is of special importance.—According to Saṅkara the Sūtras now turn from the discussion of the departure of him who possesses the lower knowledge only to the consideration of what becomes of him who has reached the higher knowledge. So far it has been taught that in the case of relative immortality (ensuing on the *apara vidyā*) the subtle elements, together with the senses and so on, depart from the body of the dying devotee; this implies at the same time that they do not depart from the body of the dying sage who knows himself to be one with Brahman.—Against this latter implied doctrine Sūtra 12 is supposed to formulate an objection. 'If it be said that the departure of the *prāṇas* from the body of the dying sage is denied (*viz.* in *Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 5, na tasya prāṇā utkrānti*, of him the *prāṇas* do not pass out); we reply that in that passage the genitive "*tasya*" has the sense of the ablative "*tasmāt*," so that the sense of the passage is, "from him, i. e. from the *gīva* of the dying sage, the *prāṇas* do not depart, but remain with it."—This objection Saṅkara supposes to be disposed of in Sūtra 13. 'By some there is given a clear denial of the departure of the *prāṇas* in the case of the

¹ Upalabhyate hi devayānena panthā gakkhato vidushas tam pratibrūyāt satyam brūyād iti śāndramasā samvādavaśanena sarīrasadbhāvaś, ataś sūkshma-sarīram anuvartate.

dying sage,' viz. in the passage *Bṛi. Up. III, 2, 11*, where Yâgñavalkya instructs Ârtabhâga that, when this man dies, the *prâṇas* do not depart from it (*asmât*; the context showing that *asmât* means 'from it,' viz. from the body, and not 'from him,' viz. the *gīva*).—The same view is, moreover, confirmed by *Smṛiti* passages.

According to Râmânuga the three Sûtras forming Saṅkara's sixth *adhikaraṇa* do not constitute a new *adhikaraṇa* at all, and, moreover, have to be combined into two Sûtras. The topic continuing to be discussed is the *utkrânti* of the *vidvân*. If, Sûtra 12 says, the *utkrânti* of the *prâṇas* is not admitted, on the ground of the denial supposed to be contained in *Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 5*; the reply is that the sense of the *tasya* there is '*sârîrât*' (so that the passage means, 'from him, i.e. the *gīva*, the *prâṇas* do not depart'); for this is clearly shown by the reading of some, viz. the Mâdhyandinas, who, in their text of the passage, do not read '*tasya*' but '*tasmât*.'—With reference to the instruction given by Yâgñavalkya to Ârtabhâga, it is to be remarked that nothing there shows the '*ayam puruṣa*' to be the sage who knows Brahman.—And, finally, there are *Smṛiti* passages declaring that the sage also when dying departs from the body.

Adhik. VII and VIII (15, 16) teach, according to Saṅkara, that, on the death of him who possesses the higher knowledge, his *prâṇas*, elements, &c. are merged in Brahman, so as to be no longer distinct from it in any way.

According to Râmânuga the two Sûtras continue the teaching about the *prâṇas*, *bhûtas*, &c. of the *vidvân* in general, and declare that they are finally merged in Brahman, not merely in the way of conjunction (*samyoga*), but completely¹.

Adhik. IX (17).—Saṅkara here returns to the owner of the *aparâ vidyâ*, while Râmânuga continues the description of the *utkrânti* of his *vidvân*.—The *gīva* of the dying man

¹ When the *gīva* has passed out of the body and ascends to the world of Brahman, it remains enveloped by the subtle body until it reaches the river *Vigārâ*. There it divests itself of the subtle body, and the latter is merged in Brahman.

passes into the heart, and thence departs out of the body by means of the *nâḍis* ; the *vidvân* by means of the *nâḍi* called *sushumṇâ*, the *avidvân* by means of some other *nâḍi*.

Adhik. X (18, 19).—The departing soul passes up to the sun by means of a ray of light which exists at night as well as during day.

Adhik. XI (20, 21).—Also that *vidvân* who dies during the *dakṣiṇâyana* reaches Brahman.

PĀDA III.

Adhik. I, II, III (1-3) reconcile the different accounts given in the Upanishads as to the stations of the way which leads the *vidvân* up to Brahman.

Adhik. IV (4-6).—By the 'stations' we have, however, to understand not only the subdivisions of the way but also the divine beings which lead the soul on.

The remaining part of the *pāda* is by *Śaṅkara* divided into two *adhikaraṇas*. Of these the former one (7-14) teaches that the Brahman to which the departed soul is led by the guardians of the path of the gods is not the highest Brahman, but the effected (*kārya*) or qualified (*saguna*) Brahman. This is the opinion propounded in *Sūtras* 7-11 by *Bādari*, and, finally, accepted by *Śaṅkara* in his commentary on *Sūtra* 14. In *Sūtras* 12-14 *Gaimini* defends the opposite view, according to which the soul of the *vidvân* goes to the highest Brahman, not to the *kāryam brahma*. But *Gaimini*'s view, although set forth in the latter part of the *adhikaraṇa*, is, according to *Śaṅkara*, a mere *pūrvapakṣa*, while *Bādari*'s opinion represents the *siddhānta*.—The latter of the two *adhikaraṇas* (VI of the whole *pāda* ; 15, 16) records the opinion of *Bādarāyana* on a collateral question, viz. whether, or not, all those who worship the effected Brahman are led to it. The decision is that those only are guided to Brahman who have not worshipped it under a *pratika* form.

According to *Rāmānuga*, *Sūtras* 7-16 form one *adhikaraṇa* only, in which the views of *Bādari* and of *Gaimini* represent two *pūrvapakṣas*, while *Bādarāyana*'s opinion is adopted

as the *siddhânta*. The question is whether the guardians of the path lead to Brahman only those who worship the effected Brahman, i.e. *Hiranyagarbha*, or those who worship the highest Brahman, or those who worship the individual soul as free from *Prakṛiti*, and having Brahman for its Self (ye *pratyagâtmanam prakṛitivyuktam brahmâtmakam upâsate*).—The first view is maintained by Bâdari in Sûtra 7, 'The guardians lead to Brahman those who worship the effected Brahman, because going is possible towards the latter only ;' for no movement can take place towards the highest and as such omnipresent Brahman.—The explanation of Sûtra 9 is similar to that of Saṅkara ; but more clearly replies to the objection (that, if *Hiranyagarbha* were meant in the passage, '*purusho-mânavaḥ sa etân brahma gamayati*,' the text would read '*sa etân brahmânām gamayati*') that *Hiranyagarbha* is called Brahman on account of his nearness to Brahman, i.e. on account of his *prathamagatva*.—The explanation of 10, 11 is essentially the same as in Saṅkara ; so also of 12–14.—The *siddhânta* view is established in Sûtra 13, 'It is the opinion of Bâdarâyana that it, i.e. the *gana* of the guardians, leads to Brahman those who do not take their stand on what is *pratika*, i.e. those who worship the highest Brahman, and those who meditate on the individual Self as dissociated from *prakṛiti*, and having Brahman for its Self, but not those who worship Brahman under *pratikas*. For both views—that of *Gaimini* as well as that of Bâdari—are faulty.' The *kârya* view contradicts such passages as '*asmâk kharirât samutthâya param gyotir upasampadya*,' &c. ; the *para* view, such passages as that in the *pañcâgni-vidyâ*, which declares that *ya ittham viduḥ*, i.e. those who know the *pañcâgni-vidyâ*, are also led up to Brahman.

PÂDA IV.

Adhik. I (1–3) returns, according to Saṅkara, to the owner of the *parâ vidyâ*, and teaches that, when on his death his soul obtains final release, it does not acquire any new characteristics, but merely manifests itself in its true nature.—The explanation given by Râmânuga is essentially

the same, but of course refers to that vidvân whose going to Brahman had been described in the preceding pāda.

Adhik. II (4) determines that the relation in which the released soul stands to Brahman is that of avibhāga, non-separation. This, on Saṅkara's view, means absolute non-separation, identity.—According to Rāmānuga the question to be considered is whether the released soul views itself as separate (*prīthagbhūta*) from Brahman, or as non-separate because being a mode of Brahman. The former view is favoured by those *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* passages which speak of the soul as being with, or equal to, Brahman; the latter by such passages as *tat tvam asi* and the like¹.

Adhik. III (5-7) discusses the characteristics of the released soul (i.e. of the truly released soul, according to Saṅkara). According to *Gaimini* the released soul, when manifesting itself in its true nature, possesses all those qualities which in *Kh. Up. VIII, 7, 1* and other places are ascribed to Brahman, such as *apahatapāpmatva*, *satyasamkalpatva*, &c., *aisvarya*.—According to *Auḍulomi* the only characteristic of the released soul is *kāitanya*.—According to *Bādarāyana* the two views can be combined (Saṅkara remarking that *satyasamkalpatva*, &c. are ascribed to the released soul *vyavahārāpekshayā*).

Adhik. IV (8-9) returns, according to Saṅkara, to the *aparā vidyā*, and discusses the question whether the soul of

¹ Kim *ayam param gyotir upasampannaḥ sarvabandhavinirmuktaḥ pratyagātmā svātmānam paramātmanaḥ prīthagbhūtam anubhavati uta tatprakāratayā tadavibhaktam iti visaye so 's nute sarvān kāmān saha brahmaṇā vipaścitā paryaḥ paryate rukmavarṇaḥ kartāram īsaḥ puruṣaḥ brahmayoniḥ tadā vidvān puṇyapāpe vidhūya niraṅganaḥ paramaḥ sāmānyam upaiti idam gñānam upāsṛitya mama sādharmaḥ āgatāḥ sarve 'pi nopagāyante pralayaṇa vyathanti ketyādīruṣisṛtibhyo muktasya pareṇa sādhyasāmānyasādharmyāvagamāt prīthagbhūtam anubhavatīti prāpte ucyate. Avibhāgeneti. Parasmād brahmaṇaḥ svātmānam avibhāgenānubhavati muktaḥ. Kutaḥ. *Drīṣṭatvāt. Param brahmapasampadya nivrīṭtāvidyātirodhānasya yāthātathyena svātmano drīṣṭatvāt. Svātmanaḥ svarūpaḥ hi tat tvam asy ayam ātmā brahma aīdadātmyam idam sarvaḥ sarvaḥ khalv idam brahmetyādisāmānādhikaraṇyanirdeśaiḥ ya ātmani tishṭhan ātmano 'ntaro yam ātmā na veda yasyātmā sarīraḥ ya ātmānam antaro yamayati ātmāntaryāmy amṛitāḥ antaḥ pravishṭāḥ sāsṭā gñānānām ityādibhis ka paramātmātmakam takṣṇaḥarīratayā tatprakārabhūtam iti pratipāditam avasthiter iti kāsakṛtsnety atrāto 'vibhāgenāham brahmāsmīty evānubhavati.**

the pious effects its desires by its mere determination, or uses some other means. The former alternative is accepted.—According to Râmânuga the *adhikarâna* simply continues the consideration of the state of the released, begun in the preceding *adhikarâna*. Of the released soul it is said in *Kh. Up. VIII, 12, 3* that after it has manifested itself in its true nature it moves about playing and rejoicing with women, carriages, and so on. The question then arises whether it effects all this by its mere *samkalpa* (it having been shown in the preceding *adhikarâna* that the released soul is, like the Lord, *satyasamkalpa*), or not. The answer is in favour of the former alternative, on account of the explicit declaration made in *Kh. Up. VIII, 2*, ‘By his mere will the fathers come to receive him.’

Adhik. V (10–14) decides that the released are embodied or disembodied according to their wish and will.

Adhik. VI (11, 12) explains how the soul of the released can animate several bodies at the same time.—Sûtra 12 gives, according to Saṅkara, the additional explanation that those passages which declare the absence of all specific cognition on the part of the released soul do not refer to the partly released soul of the devotee, but either to the soul in the state of deep sleep (*svâpyaya* = *sushupti*), or to the fully released soul of the sage (*sampatti* = *kaivalya*).—Râmânuga explains that the passages speaking of absence of consciousness refer either to the state of deep sleep, or to the time of dying (*sampatti* = *maranam* according to ‘*vân manasi sampadyate*,’ &c.).

Adhik. VII (17–21).—The released *gīvas* participate in all the perfections and powers of the Lord, with the exception of the power of creating and sustaining the world. They do not return to new forms of embodied existence.

After having, in this way, rendered ourselves acquainted with the contents of the Brahma-sûtras according to the views of Saṅkara as well as Râmânuga, we have now to consider the question which of the two modes of interpretation represents—or at any rate more closely approximates to—the true meaning of the Sûtras. That

few of the Sūtras are intelligible if taken by themselves, we have already remarked above; but this does not exclude the possibility of our deciding with a fair degree of certainty which of the two interpretations proposed agrees better with the text, at least in a certain number of cases.

We have to note in the first place that, in spite of very numerous discrepancies,—of which only the more important ones have been singled out in the conspectus of contents,—the two commentators are at one as to the general drift of the Sūtras and the arrangement of topics. As a rule, the *adhikaraṇas* discuss one or several Vedic passages bearing upon a certain point of the system, and in the vast majority of cases the two commentators agree as to which are the special texts referred to. And, moreover, in a very large number of cases the agreement extends to the interpretation to be put on those passages and on the Sūtras. This far-reaching agreement certainly tends to inspire us with a certain confidence as to the existence of an old tradition concerning the meaning of the Sūtras on which the bulk of the interpretations of Saṅkara as well as of Rāmānuja are based.

But at the same time we have seen that, in a not inconsiderable number of cases, the interpretations of Saṅkara and Rāmānuja diverge more or less widely, and that the Sūtras affected thereby are, most of them, especially important because bearing on fundamental points of the Vedānta system. The question then remains which of the two interpretations is entitled to preference.

Regarding a small number of Sūtras I have already (in the conspectus of contents) given it as my opinion that Rāmānuja's explanation appears to be more worthy of consideration. We meet, in the first place, with a number of cases in which the two commentators agree as to the literal meaning of a Sūtra, but where Saṅkara sees himself reduced to the necessity of supplementing his interpretation by certain additions and reservations of his own for which the text gives no occasion, while Rāmānuja is able to take the Sūtra as it stands. To exemplify this remark, I again direct attention to all those Sūtras which in

clear terms represent the individual soul as something different from the highest soul, and concerning which Saṅkara is each time obliged to have recourse to the plea of the Sūtra referring, not to what is true in the strict sense of the word, but only to what is conventionally looked upon as true. It is, I admit, not altogether impossible that Saṅkara's interpretation should represent the real meaning of the Sūtras; that the latter, indeed, to use the terms employed by Dr. Deussen, should for the nonce set forth an exoteric doctrine adapted to the common notions of mankind, which, however, can be rightly understood by him only to whose mind the esoteric doctrine is all the while present. This is not impossible, I say; but it is a point which requires convincing proofs before it can be allowed.—We have had, in the second place, to note a certain number of *adhikaraṇas* and Sūtras concerning whose interpretation Saṅkara and Rāmānuga disagree altogether; and we have seen that not unfrequently the explanations given by the latter commentator appear to be preferable because falling in more easily with the words of the text. The most striking instance of this is afforded by the 13th *adhikaraṇa* of II, 3, which treats of the size of the *gīva*, and where Rāmānuga's explanation seems to be decidedly superior to Saṅkara's, both if we look to the arrangement of the whole *adhikaraṇa* and to the wording of the single Sūtras. The *adhikaraṇa* is, moreover, a specially important one, because the nature of the view held as to the size of the individual soul goes far to settle the question what kind of Vedānta is embodied in Bādarāyaṇa's work.

But it will be requisite not only to dwell on the interpretations of a few detached Sūtras, but to make the attempt at least of forming some opinion as to the relation of the Vedānta-sūtras as a whole to the chief distinguishing doctrines of Saṅkara as well as Rāmānuga. Such an attempt may possibly lead to very slender positive results; but in the present state of the enquiry even a merely negative result, viz. the conclusion that the Sūtras do not teach particular doctrines found in them by certain commentators, will not be without its value.

The first question we wish to consider in some detail is whether the Sūtras in any way favour Śaṅkara's doctrine that we have to distinguish a twofold knowledge of Brahman, a higher knowledge which leads to the immediate absorption, on death, of the individual soul in Brahman, and a lower knowledge which raises its owner merely to an exalted form of individual existence. The adhyāya first to be considered in this connexion is the fourth one. According to Śaṅkara the three latter pādas of that adhyāya are chiefly engaged in describing the fate of him who dies in the possession of the lower knowledge, while two sections (IV, 2, 12-14; IV, 4, 1-7) tell us what happens to him who, before his death, had risen to the knowledge of the highest Brahman. According to Rāmānuja, on the other hand, the three pādas, referring throughout to one subject only, give an uninterrupted account of the successive steps by which the soul of him who knows the Lord through the Upanishads passes, at the time of death, out of the gross body which it had tenanted, ascends to the world of Brahman, and lives there for ever without returning into the *samsāra*.

On an *à priori* view of the matter it certainly appears somewhat strange that the concluding section of the Sūtras should be almost entirely taken up with describing the fate of him who has after all acquired an altogether inferior knowledge only, and has remained shut out from the true sanctuary of Vedāntic knowledge, while the fate of the fully initiated is disposed of in a few occasional Sūtras. It is, I think, not too much to say that no unbiassed student of the Sūtras would—before having allowed himself to be influenced by Śaṅkara's interpretations—imagine for a moment that the solemn words, 'From thence is no return, from thence is no return,' with which the Sūtras conclude, are meant to describe, not the lasting condition of him who has reached final release, the highest aim of man, but merely a stage on the way of that soul which is engaged in the slow progress of gradual release, a stage which is indeed greatly superior to any earthly form of existence, but yet itself belongs to the essentially fictitious *samsāra*,

and as such remains infinitely below the bliss of true mukti. And this à priori impression—which, although no doubt significant, could hardly be appealed to as decisive—is confirmed by a detailed consideration of the two sets of Sûtras which Saṅkara connects with the knowledge of the higher Brahman. How these Sûtras are interpreted by Saṅkara and Rāmānuga has been stated above in the conspectus of contents; the points which render the interpretation given by Rāmānuga more probable are as follows. With regard to IV, 2, 12–14, we have to note, in the first place, the circumstance—relevant although not decisive in itself—that Sûtra 12 does not contain any indication of a new topic being introduced. In the second place, it can hardly be doubted that the text of Sûtra 13, ‘spashṭo hy ekeshâm,’ is more appropriately understood, with Rāmānuga, as furnishing a reason for the opinion advanced in the preceding Sûtra, than—with Saṅkara—as embodying the refutation of a previous statement (in which latter case we should expect not ‘hi’ but ‘tu’). And, in the third place, the ‘eke,’ i.e. ‘some,’ referred to in Sûtra 13 would, on Saṅkara’s interpretation, denote the very same persons to whom the preceding Sûtra had referred, viz. the followers of the Kāṇva-sākhâ (the two Vedic passages referred to in 12 and 13 being *Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 5*, and *III, 2, 11*, according to the Kāṇva recension); while it is the standing practice of the Sûtras to introduce, by means of the designation ‘eke,’ members of Vedic sākhâs, teachers, &c. other than those alluded to in the preceding Sûtras. With this practice Rāmānuga’s interpretation, on the other hand, fully agrees; for, according to him, the ‘eke’ are the Mādhyandinas, whose reading in *Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 5*, viz. ‘tasmât,’ clearly indicates that the ‘tasya’ in the corresponding passage of the Kāṇvas denotes the sârira, i.e. the gîva. I think it is not saying too much that Saṅkara’s explanation, according to which the ‘eke’ would denote the very same Kāṇvas to whom the preceding Sûtra had referred—so that the Kāṇvas would be distinguished from themselves as it were—is altogether impossible.

The result of this closer consideration of the first set of

Sûtras, alleged by Saṅkara to concern the owner of the higher knowledge of Brahman, entitles us to view with some distrust Saṅkara's assertion that another set also—IV, 4, 1-7—has to be detached from the general topic of the fourth adhyâya, and to be understood as depicting the condition of those who have obtained final absolute release. And the Sûtras themselves do not tend to weaken this preliminary want of confidence. In the first place their wording also gives no indication whatever of their having to be separated from what precedes as well as what follows. And, in the second place, the last Sûtra of the set (7) obliges Saṅkara to ascribe to his truly released souls qualities which clearly cannot belong to them; so that he finally is obliged to make the extraordinary statement that those qualities belong to them 'vyavahârâpekshayâ,' while yet the purport of the whole *adhikarana* is said to be the description of the truly released soul for which no *vyavahâra* exists! Very truly Saṅkara's commentator here remarks, 'atra keśin muhyanti akhandakīnmâtragñânân muktasyâgñânâbhâvât kuta âgñânika-dharmayogaḥ,' and the way in which thereupon he himself attempts to get over the difficulty certainly does not improve matters.

In connexion with the two passages discussed, we meet in the fourth adhyâya with another passage, which indeed has no direct bearing on the distinction of *aparâ* and *parâ vidyâ*, but may yet be shortly referred to in this place as another and altogether undoubted instance of Saṅkara's interpretations not always agreeing with the text of the Sûtras. The Sûtras 7-16 of the third pâda state the opinions of three different teachers on the question to which Brahman the soul of the *vidvân* repairs on death, or—according to *Râmânuga*—the worshippers of which Brahman repair to (the highest) Brahman. *Râmânuga* treats the views of *Bâdari* and *Gaimini* as two *pûrvapakshas*, and the opinion of *Bâdarâyana*—which is stated last—as the *siddhânta*. Saṅkara, on the other hand, detaching the Sûtras in which *Bâdarâyana*'s view is set forth from the preceding part of the *adhikarana* (a proceeding which, although not

plausible, yet cannot be said to be altogether illegitimate), maintains that Bādari's view, which is expounded first, represents the siddhânta, while Gaimini's view, set forth subsequently, is to be considered a mere pûrva-paksha. This, of course, is altogether inadmissible, it being the invariable practice of the Vedânta-sûtras as well as the Pûrva Mîmâmsâ-sûtras to conclude the discussion of contested points with the statement of that view which is to be accepted as the authoritative one. This is so patent that Saṅkara feels himself called upon to defend his deviation from the general rule (Commentary on IV, 4, 13), without, however, bringing forward any arguments but such as are valid only if Saṅkara's system itself is already accepted.

The previous considerations leave us, I am inclined to think, no choice but to side with Rāmānuga as to the general subject-matter of the fourth adhyāya of the Sûtras. We need not accept him as our guide in all particular interpretations, but we must acknowledge with him that the Sûtras of the fourth adhyāya describe the ultimate fate of one and the same vidvân, and do not afford any basis for the distinction of a higher and lower knowledge of Brahman in Saṅkara's sense.

If we have not to discriminate between a lower and a higher knowledge of Brahman, it follows that the distinction of a lower and a higher Brahman is likewise not valid. But this is not a point to be decided at once on the negative evidence of the fourth adhyāya, but regarding which the entire body of the Vedânta-sûtras has to be consulted. And intimately connected with this investigation—in fact, one with it from a certain point of view—is the question whether the Sûtras afford any evidence of their author having held the doctrine of Mâyâ, the principle of illusion, by the association with which the highest Brahman, in itself transcending all qualities, appears as the lower Brahman or Īsvara. That Rāmānuga denies the distinction of the two Brahman and the doctrine of Mâyâ we have seen above; we shall, however, in the subsequent investigation, pay less attention to his views and inter-

pretations than to the indications furnished by the Sūtras themselves.

Placing myself at the point of view of a Sāṅkara, I am startled at the outset by the second Sūtra of the first adhyāya, which undertakes to give a definition of Brahman. 'Brahman is that whence the origination and so on (i.e. the sustentation and reabsorption) of this world proceed.' What, we must ask, is this Sūtra meant to define?—That Brahman, we are inclined to answer, whose cognition the first Sūtra declares to constitute the task of the entire Vedānta ; that Brahman whose cognition is the only road to final release ; that Brahman in fact which Sāṅkara calls the highest.—But, here we must object to ourselves, the highest Brahman is not properly defined as that from which the world originates. In later Vedāntic writings, whose authors were clearly conscious of the distinction of the higher absolute Brahman and the lower Brahman related to Māyā or the world, we meet with definitions of Brahman of an altogether different type. I need only remind the reader of the current definition of Brahman as *saḥ-kid-ānanda*, or, to mention one individual instance, refer to the introductory *ślokas* of the *Pañcadasī* dilating on the *saṃvid svayam-prabhā*, the self-luminous principle of thought which in all time, past or future, neither starts into being nor perishes (P. D. I, 7). 'That from which the world proceeds' can by a Sāṅkara be accepted only as a definition of *Īśvara*, of Brahman which by its association with Māyā is enabled to project the false appearance of this world, and it certainly is as improbable that the Sūtras should open with a definition of that inferior principle, from whose cognition there can accrue no permanent benefit, as, according to a remark made above, it is unlikely that they should conclude with a description of the state of those who know the lower Brahman only, and thus are debarred from obtaining true release. As soon, on the other hand, as we discard the idea of a twofold Brahman and conceive Brahman as one only, as the all-enfolding being which sometimes emits the world from its own substance and sometimes again retracts it into itself, ever remaining one in all its

various manifestations—a conception which need not by any means be modelled in all its details on the views of the Rāmānugas—the definition of Brahman given in the second Sūtra becomes altogether unobjectionable.

We next enquire whether the impression left on the mind by the manner in which Bādarāyana defines Brahman, viz. that he does not distinguish between an absolute Brahman and a Brahman associated with Māyā, is confirmed or weakened by any other parts of his work. The Sūtras being throughout far from direct in their enunciations, we shall have to look less to particular terms and turns of expression than to general lines of reasoning. What in this connexion seems specially worthy of being taken into account, is the style of argumentation employed by the Sūtrakāra against the Sāṅkhya doctrine, which maintains that the world has originated, not from an intelligent being, but from the non-intelligent pradhāna. The most important Sūtras relative to this point are to be met with in the first pāda of the second adhyāya. Those Sūtras are indeed almost unintelligible if taken by themselves, but the unanimity of the commentators as to their meaning enables us to use them as steps in our investigation. The sixth Sūtra of the pāda mentioned replies to the Sāṅkhya objection that the non-intelligent world cannot spring from an intelligent principle, by the remark that 'it is thus seen,' i.e. it is a matter of common observation that non-intelligent things are produced from beings endowed with intelligence; hair and nails, for instance, springing from animals, and certain insects from dung.—Now, an argumentation of this kind is altogether out of place from the point of view of the true Sāṅkara. According to the latter the non-intelligent world does not spring from Brahman in so far as the latter is intelligence, but in so far as it is associated with Māyā. Māyā is the upādāna of the material world, and Māyā itself is of a non-intelligent nature, owing to which it is by so many Vedāntic writers identified with the prakṛiti of the Sāṅkhyas. Similarly the illustrative instances, adduced under Sūtra 9 for the purpose of showing that effects when being reabsorbed into their causal sub-

stances do not impart to the latter their own qualities, and that hence the material world also, when being refunded into Brahman, does not impart to it its own imperfections, are singularly inappropriate if viewed in connexion with the doctrine of Mâyâ, according to which the material world is no more in Brahman at the time of a pralaya than during the period of its subsistence. According to Saṅkara the world is not merged in Brahman, but the special forms into which the upâdâna of the world, i.e. Mâyâ, had modified itself are merged in non-distinct Mâyâ, whose relation to Brahman is not changed thereby.—The illustration, again, given in Sûtra 24 of the mode in which Brahman, by means of its inherent power, transforms itself into the world without employing any extraneous instruments of action, ‘kshîravat dhi,’ ‘as milk (of its own accord turns into curds),’ would be strangely chosen indeed if meant to bring nearer to our understanding the mode in which Brahman projects the illusive appearance of the world; and also the analogous instance given in the Sûtra next following, ‘as Gods and the like (create palaces, chariots, &c. by the mere power of their will)’—which refers to the real creation of real things—would hardly be in its place if meant to illustrate a theory which considers unreality to be the true character of the world. The mere cumulation of the two essentially heterogeneous illustrative instances (kshîravat dhi; devâdivat), moreover, seems to show that the writer who had recourse to them held no very definite theory as to the particular mode in which the world springs from Brahman, but was merely concerned to render plausible in some way or other that an intelligent being can give rise to what is non-intelligent without having recourse to any extraneous means¹.

That the Mâyâ doctrine was not present to the mind of the Sûtrakâra, further appears from the latter part of the fourth pâda of the first adhyâya, where it is shown that Brahman is not only the operative but also the material cause of the world. If anywhere, there would have been

¹ Saṅkara's favourite illustrative instance of the magician producing illusive sights is—significantly enough—not known to the Sûtras.

the place to indicate, had such been the author's view, that Brahman is the material cause of the world through *Mâyâ* only, and that the world is unreal; but the *Sûtras* do not contain a single word to that effect. *Sûtra* 26, on the other hand, exhibits the significant term '*pariṇâmât*;' Brahman produces the world by means of a modification of itself. It is well known that later on, when the terminology of the *Vedānta* became definitely settled, the term '*pariṇāmavāda*' was used to denote that very theory to which the followers of *Saṅkara* are most violently opposed, viz. the doctrine according to which the world is not a mere *vivarta*, i.e. an illusory manifestation of Brahman, but the effect of Brahman undergoing a real change, may that change be conceived to take place in the way taught by *Rāmānuga* or in some other manner.—With regard to the last-quoted *Sûtra*, as well as to those touched upon above, the commentators indeed maintain that whatever terms and modes of expression are apparently opposed to the *vivartavāda* are in reality reconcilable with it; to *Sûtra* 26, for instance, *Govindānanda* remarks that the term '*pariṇāma*' only denotes an effect in general (*kāryamātra*), without implying that the effect is real. But in cases of this nature we are fully entitled to use our own judgment, even if we were not compelled to do so by the fact that other commentators, such as *Rāmānuga*, are satisfied to take '*pariṇāma*' and similar terms in their generally received sense.

A further section treating of the nature of Brahman is met with in III, 2, 11 ff. It is, according to *Saṅkara*'s view, of special importance, as it is alleged to set forth that (Brahman is in itself destitute of all qualities,) and is affected with qualities only through its limiting adjuncts (*upādhis*), the offspring of *Mâyâ*. I have above (in the conspectus of contents) given a somewhat detailed abstract of the whole section as interpreted by *Saṅkara* on the one hand, and *Rāmānuga* on the other hand, from which it appears that the latter's opinion as to the purport of the group of *Sûtras* widely diverges from that of *Saṅkara*. The wording of the *Sûtras* is so eminently concise and vague that I find it impossible to decide which of the two commentators—if

indeed either—is to be accepted as a trustworthy guide ; regarding the sense of some Sūtras Saṅkara's explanation seems to deserve preference, in the case of others Rāmānuga seems to keep closer to the text. I decidedly prefer, for instance, Rāmānuga's interpretation of Sūtra 22, as far as the sense of the entire Sūtra is concerned, and more especially with regard to the term 'prakṛitāvat-tvam,' whose proper force is brought out by Rāmānuga's explanation only. So much is certain that none of the Sūtras decidedly favours the interpretation proposed by Saṅkara. Whichever commentator we follow, we greatly miss coherence and strictness of reasoning, and it is thus by no means improbable that the section is one of those—perhaps not few in number—in which both interpreters had less regard to the literal sense of the words and to tradition than to their desire of forcing Bādarāyaṇa's Sūtras to bear testimony to the truth of their own philosophic theories.

With special reference to the Māyā doctrine one important Sūtra has yet to be considered, the only one in which the term 'māyā' itself occurs, viz. III, 2, 3. According to Saṅkara the Sūtra signifies that the environments of the dreaming soul are not real but mere Māyā, i.e. unsubstantial illusion, because they do not fully manifest the character of real objects. Rāmānuga (as we have seen in the conspectus) gives a different explanation of the term 'māyā,' but in judging of Saṅkara's views we may for the time accept Saṅkara's own interpretation. Now, from the latter it clearly follows that if the objects seen in dreams are to be called Māyā, i.e. illusion, because not evincing the characteristics of reality, the objective world surrounding the waking soul must not be called Māyā. But that the world perceived by waking men is Māyā, even in a higher sense than the world presented to the dreaming consciousness, is an undoubted tenet of the Saṅkara Vedānta ; and the Sūtra therefore proves either that Bādarāyaṇa did not hold the doctrine of the illusory character of the world, or else that, if after all he did hold that doctrine, he used the term 'māyā' in a sense altogether different from that

in which Saṅkara employs it.—If, on the other hand, we, with Rāmānuga, understand the word ‘mâyâ’ to denote a wonderful thing, the Sûtra of course has no bearing whatever on the doctrine of Mâyâ in its later technical sense.

We now turn to the question as to the relation of the individual soul to Brahman. Do the Sûtras indicate anywhere that their author held Saṅkara’s doctrine, according to which the *gīva* is in reality identical with Brahman, and separated from it, as it were, only by a false surmise due to *avidyâ*, or do they rather favour the view that the souls, although they have sprung from Brahman, and constitute elements of its nature, yet enjoy a kind of individual existence apart from it? This question is in fact only another aspect of the Mâyâ question, but yet requires a short separate treatment.

In the conspectus I have given it as my opinion that the Sûtras in which the size of the individual soul is discussed can hardly be understood in Saṅkara’s sense, and rather seem to favour the opinion, held among others by Rāmānuga, that the soul is of minute size. We have further seen that Sûtra 18 of the third pāda of the second adhyâya, which describes the soul as ‘*gñā*,’ is more appropriately understood in the sense assigned to it by Rāmānuga; and, again, that the Sûtras which treat of the soul being an agent, can be reconciled with Saṅkara’s views only if supplemented in a way which their text does not appear to authorise.—We next have the important Sûtra II, 3, 43 in which the soul is distinctly said to be a part (*amsa*) of Brahman, and which, as we have already noticed, can be made to fall in with Saṅkara’s views only if *amsa* is explained, altogether arbitrarily, by ‘*amsa iva*,’ while Rāmānuga is able to take the Sûtra as it stands.—We also have already referred to Sûtra 50, ‘*ābhāsa eva ka*,’ which Saṅkara interprets as setting forth the so-called *pratibimbavāda* according to which the individual Self is merely a reflection of the highest Self. But almost every Sûtra—and Sûtra 50 forms no exception—being so obscurely expressed, that viewed by itself it admits of various, often totally opposed, interpretations, the only safe method is to keep in view, in the case of each ambiguous

aphorism, the general drift and spirit of the whole work, and that, as we have seen hitherto, is by no means favourable to the pratibimba doctrine. How indeed could Sūtra 50, if setting forth that latter doctrine, be reconciled with Sūtra 43, which says distinctly that the soul is a part of Brahman? For that 43 contains, as Saṅkara and his commentators aver, a statement of the *avakṣhedavāda*, can itself be accepted only if we interpret *amsa* by *amsa iva*, and to do so there is really no valid reason whatever. I confess that Rāmānuga's interpretation of the Sūtra (which however is accepted by several other commentators also) does not appear to me particularly convincing; and the Sūtras unfortunately offer us no other passages on the ground of which we might settle the meaning to be ascribed to the term *ābhāsa*, which may mean 'reflection,' but may mean *hetvābhāsa*, i. e. fallacious argument, as well. But as things stand, this one Sūtra cannot, at any rate, be appealed to as proving that the pratibimbavāda which, in its turn, presupposes the *mâyāvāda*, is the teaching of the Sūtras.

To the conclusion that the Sūtrakāra did not hold the doctrine of the absolute identity of the highest and the individual soul in the sense of Saṅkara, we are further led by some other indications to be met with here and there in the Sūtras. In the conspectus of contents we have had occasion to direct attention to the important Sūtra II, 1, 22, which distinctly enunciates that the Lord is *adhika*, i. e. additional to, or different from, the individual soul, since Scripture declares the two to be different. Analogously I, 2, 20 lays stress on the fact that the *sārīra* is not the *antaryāmin*, because the *Mādhyandinas*, as well as the *Kānvas*, speak of him in their texts as different (*bhedena enam adhīyate*), and in 22 the *sārīra* and the *pradhāna* are referred to as the two 'others' (*itarau*) of whom the text predicates distinctive attributes separating them from the highest Lord. The word '*itara*' (the other one) appears in several other passages (I, 1, 16; I, 3, 16; II, 1, 21) as a kind of technical term denoting the individual soul in contradistinction from the Lord. The Sāṅkaras indeed maintain that all those passages refer to an unreal distinction

due to avidyâ. But this is just what we should like to see proved, and the proof offered in no case amounts to more than a reference to the system which demands that the Sûtras should be thus understood. If we accept the interpretations of the school of Saṅkara, it remains altogether unintelligible why the Sûtrakâra should never hint even at what Saṅkara is anxious again and again to point out at length, viz. that the greater part of the work contains a kind of exoteric doctrine only, ever tending to mislead the student who does not keep in view what its nature is. If other reasons should make it probable that the Sûtrakâra was anxious to hide the true doctrine of the Upanishads as a sort of esoteric teaching, we might be more ready to accept Saṅkara's mode of interpretation. But no such reasons are forthcoming; nowhere among the avowed followers of the Sâṅkara system is there any tendency to treat the kernel of their philosophy as something to be jealously guarded and hidden. On the contrary, they all, from Gauḍapâda down to the most modern writer, consider it their most important, nay, only task to inculcate again and again in the clearest and most unambiguous language that all appearance of multiplicity is a vain illusion, that the Lord and the individual souls are in reality one, and that all knowledge but this one knowledge is without true value.

There remains one more important passage concerning the relation of the individual soul to the highest Self, a passage which attracted our attention above, when we were reviewing the evidence for early divergence of opinion among the teachers of the Vedânta. I mean I, 4, 20-22, which three Sûtras state the views of Āsmārathya, Audulomi, and Kâsakṛitsna as to the reason why, in a certain passage of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, characteristics of the individual soul are ascribed to the highest Self. The siddhânta view is enounced in Sûtra 22, 'avasthiter iti Kâsakṛitsnaḥ,' i. e. Kâsakṛitsna (accounts for the circumstance mentioned) on the ground of the 'permanent abiding or abode.' By this 'permanent abiding' Saṅkara understands the Lord's abiding as, i. e. existing as—or in the condition of—the individual soul, and thus sees in the Sûtra an enuncia-

tion of his own view that the individual soul is nothing but the highest Self, 'avikṛitah paramesvaro givo nānyaḥ.' Rāmānuga, on the other hand, likewise accepting Kāsakṛitsna's opinion as the siddhānta view, explains 'avasthiti' as the Lord's permanent abiding within the individual soul, as described in the antaryāmin-brāhmaṇa.—We can hardly maintain that the term 'avasthiti' cannot have the meaning ascribed to it by Saṅkara, viz. special state or condition, but so much must be urged in favour of Rāmānuga's interpretation that in the five other places where avasthiti (or anavasthiti) is met with in the Sūtras (I, 2, 17; II, 2, 4; II, 2, 13; II, 3, 24; III, 3, 32) it regularly means permanent abiding or permanent abode within something.

If, now, I am shortly to sum up the results of the preceding enquiry as to the teaching of the Sūtras, I must give it as my opinion that they do not set forth the distinction of a higher and lower knowledge of Brahman; that they do not acknowledge the distinction of Brahman and Īśvara in Saṅkara's sense; that they do not hold the doctrine of the unreality of the world; and that they do not, with Saṅkara, proclaim the absolute identity of the individual and the highest Self. I do not wish to advance for the present beyond these negative results. Upon Rāmānuga's mode of interpretation—although I accept it without reserve in some important details—I look on the whole as more useful in providing us with a powerful means of criticising Saṅkara's explanations than in guiding us throughout to the right understanding of the text. The author of the Sūtras may have held views about the nature of Brahman, the world, and the soul differing from those of Saṅkara, and yet not agreeing in all points with those of Rāmānuga. If, however, the negative conclusions stated above should be well founded, it would follow even from them that the system of Bādarāyaṇa had greater affinities with that of the Bhāgavatas and Rāmānuga than with the one of which the Saṅkara-bhāṣya is the classical exponent.

It appears from the above review of the teaching of the Sūtras that only a comparatively very small proportion of them contribute matter enabling us to form a judgment

as to the nature of the philosophical doctrine advocated by Bâdarâyana. The reason of this is that the greater part of the work is taken up with matters which, according to Saṅkara's terminology, form part of the so-called lower knowledge, and throw no light upon philosophical questions in the stricter sense of the word. This circumstance is not without significance. In later works belonging to Saṅkara's school in which the distinction of a higher and lower vidyâ is clearly recognised, the topics constituting the latter are treated with great shortness; and rightly so, for they are unable to accomplish the highest aim of man, i.e. final release. When we therefore, on the other hand, find that the subjects of the so-called lower vidyâ are treated very fully in the Vedânta-sûtras, when we observe, for instance, the almost tedious length to which the investigation of the unity of vidyâs (most of which are so-called *saguna*, i.e. lower vidyâs) is carried in the third adhyâya, or the fact of almost the whole fourth adhyâya being devoted to the ultimate fate of the possessor of the lower vidyâ; we certainly feel ourselves confirmed in our conclusion that what Saṅkara looked upon as comparatively unimportant formed in Bâdarâyana's opinion part of that knowledge higher than which there is none, and which therefore is entitled to the fullest and most detailed exposition.

The question as to what kind of system is represented by the Vedânta-sûtras may be approached in another way also. While hitherto we have attempted to penetrate to the meaning of the Sûtras by means of the different commentaries, we might try the opposite road, and, in the first place, attempt to ascertain independently of the Sûtras what doctrine is set forth in the Upanishads, whose teaching the Sûtras doubtless aim at systematising. If, it might be urged, the Upanishads can be convincingly shown to embody a certain settled doctrine, we must consider it at the least highly probable that that very same doctrine—of whatever special nature it may be—is hidden in the enigmatical aphorisms of Bâdarâyana¹.

I do not, however, consider this line of argumentation

¹ Cp. Gough's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, pp. 240 ff.

a safe one. Even if it could be shown that the teaching of all the chief Upanishads agrees in all essential points (a subject to which some attention will be paid later on), we should not on that account be entitled unhesitatingly to assume that the Sūtras set forth the same doctrine. Whatever the true philosophy of the Upanishads may be, there remains the undeniable fact that there exist and have existed since very ancient times not one but several essentially differing systems, all of which lay claim to the distinction of being the true representatives of the teaching of the Upanishads as well as of the Sūtras. Let us suppose, for argument's sake, that, for instance, the doctrine of Mâyâ is distinctly enunciated in the Upanishads; nevertheless Rāmânuga and, for all we know to the contrary, the whole series of more ancient commentators on whom he looked as authorities in the interpretation of the Sūtras, denied that the Upanishads teach Mâyâ, and it is hence by no means impossible that Bādarāyaṇa should have done the same. The *à priori* style of reasoning as to the teaching of the Sūtras is therefore without much force.

But apart from any intention of arriving thereby at the meaning of the Sūtras there, of course, remains for us the all-important question as to the true teaching of the Upanishads, a question which a translator of the Sūtras and Saṅkara cannot afford to pass over in silence, especially after reason has been shown for the conclusion that the Sūtras and the Saṅkara-bhāṣhya do not agree concerning most important points of Vedāntic doctrine. The Sūtras as well as the later commentaries claim, in the first place, to be nothing more than systematisations of the Upanishads, and for us a considerable part at least of their value and interest lies in this their nature. Hence the further question presents itself by whom the teaching of the Upanishads has been most adequately systematised, whether by Bādarāyaṇa, or Saṅkara, or Rāmânuga, or some other commentator. This question requires to be kept altogether separate from the enquiry as to which commentator most faithfully renders the contents of the Sūtras, and it is by no means impossible that Saṅkara, for instance, should in

the end have to be declared a more trustworthy guide with regard to the teaching of the Upanishads than concerning the meaning of the Sûtras.

We must remark here at once that, whatever commentator may be found to deserve preference on the whole, it appears fairly certain already at the outset that none of the systems which Indian ingenuity has succeeded in erecting on the basis of the Upanishads can be accepted in its entirety. The reason for this lies in the nature of the Upanishads themselves. To the Hindu commentator and philosopher the Upanishads came down as a body of revealed truth whose teaching had, somehow or other, to be shown to be thoroughly consistent and free from contradictions; a system had to be devised in which a suitable place could be allotted to every one of the multitudinous statements which they make on the various points of Vedântic doctrine. But to the European scholar, or in fact to any one whose mind is not bound by the doctrine of *Sruti*, it will certainly appear that all such attempts stand self-condemned. If anything is evident even on a cursory review of the Upanishads—and the impression so created is only strengthened by a more careful investigation—it is that they do not constitute a systematic whole. They themselves, especially the older ones, give the most unmistakable indications on that point. Not only are the doctrines expounded in the different Upanishads ascribed to different teachers, but even the separate sections of one and the same Upanishad are assigned to different authorities. It would be superfluous to quote examples of what a mere look at the *Kāṇḍogya* Upanishad, for instance, suffices to prove. It is of course not impossible that even a multitude of teachers should agree in imparting precisely the same doctrine; but in the case of the Upanishads that is certainly not antecedently probable. For, in the first place, the teachers who are credited with the doctrines of the Upanishads manifestly belonged to different sections of Brahminical society, to different Vedic *sâkhâs*; nay, some of them the tradition makes out to have been *kshattriyas*. And, in the second place, the period, whose

mental activity is represented in the Upanishads, was a creative one, and as such cannot be judged according to the analogy of later periods of Indian philosophic development. The later philosophic schools as, for instance, the one of which Saṅkara is the great representative, were no longer free in their speculations, but strictly bound by a traditional body of texts considered sacred, which could not be changed or added to, but merely systematised and commented upon. Hence the rigorous uniformity of doctrine characteristic of those schools. But there had been a time when, what later writers received as a sacred legacy, determining and confining the whole course of their speculations, first sprang from the minds of creative thinkers not fettered by the tradition of any school, but freely following the promptings of their own heads and hearts. By the absence of school traditions, I do not indeed mean that the great teachers who appear in the Upanishads were free to make an entirely new start, and to assign to their speculations any direction they chose; for nothing can be more certain than that, at the period as the outcome of whose philosophical activity the Upanishads have to be considered, there were in circulation certain broad speculative ideas overshadowing the mind of every member of Brahminical society. But those ideas were neither very definite nor worked out in detail, and hence allowed themselves to be handled and fashioned in different ways by different individuals. With whom the few leading conceptions traceable in the teaching of all Upanishads first originated, is a point on which those writings themselves do not enlighten us, and which we have no other means for settling; most probably they are to be viewed not as the creation of any individual mind, but as the gradual outcome of speculations carried on by generations of Vedic theologians. In the Upanishads themselves, at any rate, they appear as floating mental possessions which may be seized and moulded into new forms by any one who feels within himself the required inspiration. A certain vague knowledge of Brahman, the great hidden being in which all this manifold world is one, seems to be

spread everywhere, and often issues from the most unexpected sources. Svetaketu receives instruction from his father Uddālaka; the proud Gārgya has to become the pupil of Agātarātru, the king of Kāśi; Bhugyu Sāhyāyāni receives answers to his questions from a Gandharva possessing a maiden; Satyakāma learns what Brahman is from the bull of the herd he is tending, from Agni and from a flamingo; and Upakosala is taught by the sacred fires in his teacher's house. All this is of course legend, not history; but the fact that the philosophic and theological doctrines of the Upanishads are clothed in this legendary garb certainly does not strengthen the expectation of finding in them a rigidly systematic doctrine.

And a closer investigation of the contents of the Upanishads amply confirms this preliminary impression. If we avail ourselves, for instance, of M. Paul Régnaud's *Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Philosophie de l'Inde*, in which the philosophical lucubrations of the different Upanishads are arranged systematically according to topics, we can see with ease how, together with a certain uniformity of general leading conceptions, there runs throughout divergence in details, and very often not unimportant details. A look, for instance, at the collection of passages relative to the origination of the world from the primitive being, suffices to show that the task of demonstrating that whatever the Upanishads teach on that point can be made to fit into a homogeneous system is an altogether hopeless one. The accounts there given of the creation belong, beyond all doubt, to different stages of philosophic and theological development or else to different sections of priestly society. None but an Indian commentator would, I suppose, be inclined and sufficiently courageous to attempt the proof that, for instance, the legend of the ātman purushavidha, the Self in the shape of a person which is as large as man and woman together, and then splits itself into two halves from which cows, horses, asses, goats, &c. are produced in succession (*Bṛi. Up. I, 1, 4*), can be reconciled with the account given of the creation in the *Kāṇḍogya* Upanishad, where it is said that in the beginning there existed nothing but the sat,

‘that which is,’ and that feeling a desire of being many it emitted out of itself ether, and then all the other elements in due succession. The former is a primitive cosmogonic myth, which in its details shows striking analogies with the cosmogonic myths of other nations; the latter account is fairly developed Vedānta (although not Vedānta implying the Māyā doctrine). We may admit that both accounts show a certain fundamental similarity in so far as they derive the manifold world from one original being; but to go beyond this and to maintain, as Saṅkara does, that the ātman purushavidha of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* is the so-called Virāg of the latter Vedānta—implying thereby that that section consciously aims at describing only the activity of one special form of Īsvara, and not simply the whole process of creation—is the ingenious shift of an orthodox commentator in difficulties, but nothing more.

How all those more or less conflicting texts came to be preserved and handed down to posterity, is not difficult to understand. As mentioned above, each of the great sections of Brahminical priesthood had its own sacred texts, and again in each of those sections there existed more ancient texts which it was impossible to discard when deeper and more advanced speculations began in their turn to be embodied in literary compositions, which in the course of time likewise came to be looked upon as sacred. When the creative period had reached its termination, and the task of collecting and arranging was taken in hand, older and newer pieces were combined into wholes, and thus there arose collections of such heterogeneous character as the *Khândogya* and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishads*. On later generations, to which the whole body of texts came down as revealed truth, there consequently devolved the inevitable task of establishing systems on which no exception could be taken to any of the texts; but that the task was, strictly speaking, an impossible one, i. e. one which it was impossible to accomplish fairly and honestly, there really is no reason to deny.

For a comprehensive criticism of the methods which the different commentators employ in systematising the contents

of the Upanishads there is no room in this place. In order, however, to illustrate what is meant by the 'impossibility,' above alluded to, of combining the various doctrines of the Upanishads into a whole without doing violence to a certain number of texts, it will be as well to analyse in detail some few at least of Saṅkara's interpretations, and to render clear the considerations by which he is guided.

We begin with a case which has already engaged our attention when discussing the meaning of the Sūtras, viz. the question concerning the ultimate fate of those who have attained the knowledge of Brahman. As we have seen, Saṅkara teaches that the soul of him who has risen to an insight into the nature of the higher Brahman does not, at the moment of death, pass out of the body, but is directly merged in Brahman by a process from which all departing and moving, in fact all considerations of space, are altogether excluded. The soul of him, on the other hand, who has not risen above the knowledge of the lower qualified Brahman departs from the body by means of the artery called sushumṇā, and following the so-called devayāna, the path of the gods, mounts up to the world of Brahman. A review of the chief Upanishad texts on which Saṅkara founds this distinction will show how far it is justified.

In a considerable number of passages the Upanishads contrast the fate of two classes of men, viz. of those who perform sacrifices and meritorious works only, and of those who in addition possess a certain kind of knowledge. Men of the former kind ascend after death to the moon, where they live for a certain time, and then return to the earth into new forms of embodiment; persons of the latter kind proceed on the path of the gods—on which the sun forms one stage—up to the world of Brahman, from which there is no return. The chief passages to that effect are *Kh.* Up. V, 10; *Kaush.* Up. I, 2 ff.; *Mund.* Up. I, 2, 9 ff.; *Bri.* Up. VI, 2, 15 ff.; *Prasna* Up. I, 9 ff.—In other passages only the latter of the two paths is referred to, cp. *Kh.* Up. IV, 15; VIII, 6, 5; *Taitt.* Up. I, 6; *Bri.* Up. IV, 4, 8, 9; V, 10; *Maitr.* Up. VI, 30, to mention only the more important ones.

Now an impartial consideration of those passages shows

I think, beyond any doubt, that what is meant there by the knowledge which leads through the sun to the world of Brahman is the highest knowledge of which the devotee is capable, and that the world of Brahman to which his knowledge enables him to proceed denotes the highest state which he can ever reach, the state of final release, if we choose to call it by that name.—*Kh. Up.* V, 10 says, 'Those who know this (viz. the doctrine of the five fires), and those who in the forest follow faith and austerities go to light,' &c.—*Kh. Up.* IV, 15 is manifestly intended to convey the true knowledge of Brahman; Upakosala's teacher himself represents the instruction given by him as superior to the teaching of the sacred fires.—*Kh. Up.* VIII, 6, 5 quotes the old sloka which says that the man moving upwards by the artery penetrating the crown of the head reaches the Immortal.—*Kaush. Up.* I, 2—which gives the most detailed account of the ascent of the soul—contains no intimation whatever of the knowledge of Brahman, which leads up to the Brahman world, being of an inferior nature.—*Mund. Up.* I, 2, 9 agrees with the *Khândogya* in saying that 'Those who practise penance and faith in the forest, tranquil, wise, and living on alms, depart free from passion, through the sun, to where that immortal Person dwells whose nature is imperishable,' and nothing whatever in the context countenances the assumption that not the highest knowledge and the highest Person are there referred to.—*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 8 quotes old slokas clearly referring to the road of the gods ('the small old path'), on which 'sages who know Brahman move on to the svargaloka and thence higher on as entirely free.—That path was found by Brahman, and on it goes whoever knows Brahman.'—*Bri. Up.* VI, 2, 15 is another version of the *Pañikāgnividyā*, with the variation, 'Those who know this, and those who in the forest worship faith and the True, go to light,' &c.—*Prasna Up.* I, 10 says, 'Those who have sought the Self by penance, abstinence, faith, and knowledge gain by the northern path *Āditya*, the sun. There is the home of the spirits, the immortal free from danger, the highest. From thence they do not return, for it is the end.'—*Maitr. Up.* VI, 30 quotes

slokas, 'One of them (the arteries) leads upwards, piercing the solar orb: by it, having stepped beyond the world of Brahman, they go to the highest path.'

All these passages are as clear as can be desired. The soul of the sage who knows Brahman passes out by the sushumṇā, and ascends by the path of the gods to the world of Brahman, there to remain for ever in some blissful state. But, according to Saṅkara, all these texts are meant to set forth the result of a certain inferior knowledge only, of the knowledge of the conditioned Brahman. Even in a passage apparently so entirely incapable of more than one interpretation as *Bṛi. Up. VI, 2, 15*, the 'True,' which the holy hermits in the forest are said to worship, is not to be the highest Brahman, but only *Hiraṇyagarbha*!—And why?—Only because the system so demands it, the system which teaches that those who know the highest Brahman become on their death one with it, without having to resort to any other place. The passage on which this latter tenet is chiefly based is *Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 6, 7*, where, with the fate of him who at his death has desires, and whose soul therefore enters a new body after having departed from the old one, accompanied by all the *prāṇas*, there is contrasted the fate of the sage free from all desires. 'But as to the man who does not desire, who not desiring, freed from desires is satisfied in his desires, or desires the Self only, the vital spirits of him (*tasya*) do not depart—being Brahman he goes to Brahman.'

We have seen above (p. lxxx) that this passage is referred to in the important *Sūtras* on whose right interpretation it, in the first place, depends whether or not we must admit the *Sūtrakāra* to have acknowledged the distinction of a *parā* and an *aparā vidyā*. Here the passage interests us as throwing light on the way in which Saṅkara systematises. He looks on the preceding part of the chapter as describing what happens to the souls of all those who do not know the highest Brahman, inclusive of those who know the lower Brahman only. They pass out of the old bodies followed by all *prāṇas* and enter new bodies. He, on the other hand, section 6 continues, who knows the true Brahman, does not pass out of the body, but becomes one with Brahman then

and there. This interpretation of the purport of the entire chapter is not impossibly right, although I am rather inclined to think that the chapter aims at setting forth in its earlier part the future of him who does not know Brahman at all, while the latter part of section 6 passes on to him who does know Brahman (i. e. Brahman pure and simple, the text knowing of no distinction of the so-called lower and higher Brahman). In explaining section 6 Saṅkara lays stress upon the clause 'na tasya prāṇā utkrāmanti,' 'his vital spirits do not pass out,' taking this to signify that the soul with the vital spirits does not move at all, and thus does not ascend to the world of Brahman ; while the purport of the clause may simply be that the soul and vital spirits do not go anywhere else, i. e. do not enter a new body, but are united, somehow or other, with Brahman. On Saṅkara's interpretation there immediately arises a new difficulty. In the slokas, quoted under sections 8 and 9, the description of the small old path which leads to the svargaloka and higher on clearly refers—as noticed already above—to the path through the veins, primarily the sushumṇā, on which, according to so many other passages, the soul of the wise mounts upwards. But that path is, according to Saṅkara, followed by him only who has not risen above the lower knowledge, and yet the slokas have manifestly to be connected with what is said in the latter half of 6 about the owner of the parā vidyā. Hence Saṅkara sees himself driven to explain the slokas in 8 and 9 (of which a faithful translation is given in Professor Max Müller's version) as follows :

8. 'The subtle old path (i. e. the path of knowledge on which final release is reached ; which path is subtle, i. e. difficult to know, and old, i. e. to be known from the eternal Veda) has been obtained and fully reached by me. On it the sages who know Brahman reach final release (svargalokasabdaḥ samnihitaprakaraṇāt mokshābhidhāyakaḥ).

9. 'On that path they say that there is white or blue or yellow or green or red (i. e. others maintain that the path to final release is, in accordance with the colour of the arteries, either white or blue, &c. ; but that is false, for the

paths through the arteries lead at the best to the world of Brahman, which itself forms part of the *samsāra*); that path (i.e. the only path to release, viz. the path of true knowledge) is found by Brahman, i.e. by such *Brāhmaṇas* as through true knowledge have become like Brahman,' &c.

A significant instance in truth of the straits to which thorough-going systematisers of the Upanishads see themselves reduced occasionally!

But we return to the point which just now chiefly interests us. Whether Śaṅkara's interpretation of the chapter, and especially of section 6, be right or wrong, so much is certain that we are not entitled to view all those texts which speak of the soul going to the world of Brahman as belonging to the so-called lower knowledge, because a few other passages declare that the sage does not go to Brahman. The text which declares the sage free from desires to become one with Brahman could not, without due discrimination, be used to define and limit the meaning of other passages met with in the same Upanishad even—for as we have remarked above the *Brhadāraṇyaka* contains pieces manifestly belonging to different stages of development;—much less does it entitle us to put arbitrary constructions on passages forming part of other Upanishads. Historically the disagreement of the various accounts is easy to understand. The older notion was that the soul of the wise man proceeds along the path of the gods to Brahman's abode. A later—and, if we like, more philosophic—conception is that, as Brahman already is a man's Self, there is no need of any motion on man's part to reach Brahman. We may even apply to those two views the terms *aparā* and *parā*—lower and higher—knowledge. But we must not allow any commentator to induce us to believe that what he from his advanced standpoint looks upon as an inferior kind of cognition, was viewed in the same light by the authors of the Upanishads.

We turn to another Upanishad text likewise touching upon the point considered in what precedes, viz. the second *Brāhmaṇa* of the third *adhyāya* of the *Brhadāraṇyaka*. The discussion there first turns upon the *grahas* and *ati-*

grahas, i. e. the senses and organs and their objects, and Yâgñavalkya thereupon explains that death, by which everything is overcome, is itself overcome by water; for death is fire. The colloquy then turns to what we must consider an altogether new topic, Ârtabhâga asking, 'When this man (ayam purusha) dies, do the vital spirits depart from him or not?' and Yâgñavalkya answering, 'No, they are gathered up in him; he swells, he is inflated; inflated the dead (body) is lying.'—Now this is for Saṅkara an important passage, as we have already seen above (p. lxxxix); for he employs it, in his comment on Ved.-sûtra IV, 2, 13, for the purpose of proving that the passage Bri. Up. IV, 4, 6 really means that the vital spirits do not, at the moment of death, depart from the true sage. Hence the present passage also must refer to him who possesses the highest knowledge; hence the 'ayam purusha' must be 'that man,' i. e. the man who possesses the highest knowledge, and the highest knowledge then must be found in the preceding clause which says that death itself may be conquered by water. But, as Râmânuga also remarks, neither does the context favour the assumption that the highest knowledge is referred to, nor do the words of section 11 contain any indication that what is meant is the merging of the Self of the true Sage in Brahman. With the interpretation given by Râmânuga himself, viz. that the prâṇas do not depart from the gîva of the dying man, but accompany it into a new body, I can agree as little (although he no doubt rightly explains the 'ayam purusha' by 'man' in general), and am unable to see in the passage anything more than a crude attempt to account for the fact that a dead body appears swollen and inflated.—A little further on (section 13) Ârtabhâga asks what becomes of this man (ayam purusha) when his speech has entered into the fire, his breath into the air, his eye into the sun, &c. So much here is clear that we have no right to understand by the 'ayam purusha' of section 13 anybody different from the 'ayam purusha' of the two preceding sections; in spite of this Saṅkara—according to whose system the organs of the true sage do not enter into the elements, but are directly

merged in Brahman—explains the 'ayam puruṣa' of section 13 to be the 'asamyagdarsin,' i. e. the person who has not risen to the cognition of the highest Brahman. And still a further limiting interpretation is required by the system. The *asamyagdarsin* also—who as such has to remain in the *samsāra*—cannot do without the organs, since his *gīva* when passing out of the old body into a new one is invested with the subtle body; hence section 13 cannot be taken as saying what it clearly does say, viz. that at death the different organs pass into the different elements, but as merely indicating that the organs are abandoned by the divinities which, during lifetime, presided over them!

The whole third *adhyāya* indeed of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* affords ample proof of the artificial character of Śaṅkara's attempts to show that the teaching of the Upanishads follows a definite system. The eighth *brāhmaṇa*, for instance, is said to convey the doctrine of the highest non-related Brahman, while the preceding *brāhmaṇas* had treated only of *Īsvara* in his various aspects. But, as a matter of fact, *brāhmaṇa* 8, after having, in section 8, represented Brahman as destitute of all qualities, proceeds, in the next section, to describe that very same Brahman as the ruler of the world, 'By the command of that Imperishable sun and moon stand apart,' &c.; a clear indication that the author of the Upanishad does not distinguish a higher and lower Brahman in Śaṅkara's sense.—The preceding *brāhmaṇa* (7) treats of the *antaryāmin*, i. e. Brahman viewed as the internal ruler of everything. This, according to Śaṅkara, is the lower form of Brahman called *Īsvara*; but we observe that the *antaryāmin* as well as the so-called highest Brahman described in section 8 is, at the termination of the two sections, characterised by means of the very same terms (7, 23: Unseen but seeing, unheard but hearing, &c. There is no other seer but he, there is no other hearer but he, &c.; and 8, 11: That Brahman is unseen but seeing, unheard but hearing, &c. There is nothing that sees but it, nothing that hears but it, &c.).—Nothing can be clearer than that all these sections aim at describing one and the same being, and know nothing of the distinctions made by the developed

Vedānta, however valid the latter may be from a purely philosophic point of view.

We may refer to one more similar instance from the *Khândogya Upanishad*. We there meet in III, 14 with one of the most famous vidyās describing the nature of Brahman, called after its reputed author the *Sândilya-vidyā*. This small vidyā is decidedly one of the finest and most characteristic texts; it would be difficult to point out another passage setting forth with greater force and eloquence and in an equally short compass the central doctrine of the Upanishads. Yet this text, which, beyond doubt, gives utterance to the highest conception of Brahman's nature that *Sândilya's* thought was able to reach, is by *Saṅkara* and his school again declared to form part of the lower vidyā only, because it represents Brahman as possessing qualities. It is, according to their terminology, not *gñāna*, i. e. knowledge, but the injunction of a mere *upāsana*, a devout meditation on Brahman in so far as possessing certain definite attributes such as having light for its form, having true thoughts, and so on. The *Rāmānujas*, on the other hand, quote this text with preference as clearly describing the nature of their highest, i. e. their one Brahman. We again allow that *Saṅkara* is free to deny that any text which ascribes qualities to Brahman embodies absolute truth; but we also again remark that there is no reason whatever for supposing that *Sândilya*, or whoever may have been the author of that vidyā, looked upon it as anything else but a statement of the highest truth accessible to man.

We return to the question as to the true philosophy of the Upanishads, apart from the systems of the commentators.—From what precedes it will appear with sufficient distinctness that, if we understand by philosophy a philosophical system coherent in all its parts, free from all contradictions and allowing room for all the different statements made in all the chief Upanishads, a philosophy of the Upanishads cannot even be spoken of. The various lucubrations on Brahman, the world, and the human soul of which the Upanishads consist do not allow themselves to be systematised simply because they were never meant to

form a system. *Sāṇḍilya*'s views as to the nature of Brahman did not in all details agree with those of *Yāgñavalkya*, and *Uddālaka* differed from both. In this there is nothing to wonder at, and the burden of proof rests altogether with those who maintain that a large number of detached philosophic and theological dissertations, ascribed to different authors, doubtless belonging to different periods, and not seldom manifestly contradicting each other, admit of being combined into a perfectly consistent whole.

The question, however, assumes a different aspect, if we take the terms 'philosophy' and 'philosophical system,' not in the strict sense in which *Saṅkara* and other commentators are not afraid of taking them, but as implying merely an agreement in certain fundamental features. In this latter sense we may indeed undertake to indicate the outlines of a philosophy of the Upanishads, only keeping in view that precision in details is not to be aimed at. And here we finally see ourselves driven back altogether on the texts themselves, and have to acknowledge that the help we receive from commentators, to whatever school they may belong, is very inconsiderable. Fortunately it cannot be asserted that the texts on the whole oppose very serious difficulties to a right understanding, however obscure the details often are. Concerning the latter we occasionally depend entirely on the explanations vouchsafed by the scholiasts, but as far as the general drift and spirit of the texts are concerned, we are quite able to judge by ourselves, and are even specially qualified to do so by having no particular system to advocate.

The point we will first touch upon is the same from which we started when examining the doctrine of the *Sūtras*, viz. the question whether the Upanishads acknowledge a higher and lower knowledge in *Saṅkara*'s sense, i. e. [a knowledge of a higher and a lower Brahman. Now this we find not to be the case. Knowledge is in the Upanishads frequently opposed to *avidyā*, by which latter term we have to understand ignorance as to Brahman, absence of philosophic knowledge; and, again, in several places we find the knowledge of the sacrificial part of the Veda with its supple-

mentary disciplines contrasted as inferior with the knowledge of the Self; to which latter distinction the *Mundaka Up.* (I, 4) applies the terms *aparā* and *parā vidyā*. But a formal recognition of the essential difference of Brahman being viewed, on the one hand, as possessing distinctive attributes, and, on the other hand, as devoid of all such attributes is not to be met with anywhere. Brahman is indeed sometimes described as *saguṇa* and sometimes as *nirguṇa* (to use later terms); but it is nowhere said that thereon rests a distinction of two different kinds of knowledge leading to altogether different results. The knowledge of Brahman is one, under whatever aspects it is viewed; hence the circumstance (already exemplified above) that in the same *vidyās* it is spoken of as *saguṇa* as well as *nirguṇa*. When the mind of the writer dwells on the fact that Brahman is that from which all this world originates, and in which it rests, he naturally applies to it distinctive attributes pointing at its relation to the world; Brahman, then, is called the Self and life of all, the inward ruler, the omniscient Lord, and so on. When, on the other hand, the author follows out the idea that Brahman may be viewed in itself as the mysterious reality of which the whole expanse of the world is only an outward manifestation, then it strikes him that no idea or term derived from sensible experience can rightly be applied to it, that nothing more may be predicated of it but that it is neither this nor that. But these are only two aspects of the cognition of one and the same entity.

Closely connected with the question as to the double nature of the Brahman of the Upanishads is the question as to their teaching *Mâyā*.—From Colebrooke downwards the majority of European writers have inclined towards the opinion that the doctrine of *Mâyā*, i. e. of the unreal illusory character of the sensible world, does not constitute a feature of the primitive philosophy of the Upanishads, but was introduced into the system at some later period, whether by *Bādarāyana* or *Śaṅkara* or somebody else. The opposite view, viz. that the doctrine of *Mâyā* forms an integral element of the teaching of the Upanishads, is implied in them everywhere, and enunciated more or less distinctly in

more than one place, has in recent times been advocated with much force by Mr. Gough in the ninth chapter of his *Philosophy of the Upanishads*.

In his *Matériaux*, &c. M. Paul Régnaud remarks that 'the doctrine of *Mâyâ*, although implied in the teaching of the Upanishads, could hardly become clear and explicit before the system had reached a stage of development necessitating a choice between admitting two co-existent eternal principles (which became the basis of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy), and accepting the predominance of the intellectual principle, which in the end necessarily led to the negation of the opposite principle.'—To the two alternatives here referred to as possible we, however, have to add a third one, viz. that form of the *Vedānta* of which the theory of the *Bhāgavatas* or *Rāmānujas* is the most eminent type, and according to which Brahman carries within its own nature an element from which the material universe originates; an element which indeed is not an independent entity like the *pradhāna* of the *Sāṅkhyas*, but which at the same time is not an unreal *Mâyâ* but quite as real as any other part of Brahman's nature. That a doctrine of this character actually developed itself on the basis of the Upanishads, is a circumstance which we clearly must not lose sight of, when attempting to determine what the Upanishads themselves are teaching concerning the character of the world.

In enquiring whether the Upanishads maintain the *Mâyâ* doctrine or not, we must proceed with the same caution as regards other parts of the system, i. e. we must refrain from using unhesitatingly, and without careful consideration of the merits of each individual case, the teaching—direct or inferred—of any one passage to the end of determining the drift of the teaching of other passages. We may admit that some passages, notably of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, contain at any rate the germ of the later developed *Mâyâ* doctrine¹, and thus render it quite intelligible that a system like *Saṅkara's*

¹ It is well known that, with the exception of the *Svetāsvatara* and *Maitrāyaṇīya*, none of the chief Upanishads exhibits the word '*mâyâ*.' The term indeed occurs in one place in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*; but that passage is a quotation from the *R̥ik Saṃhitā* in which *mâyâ* means 'creative power.' Cp. P. Régnaud, *La Mâyâ*, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, tome xii, No. 3 (1885).

should evolve itself, among others, out of the Upanishads ; but that affords no valid reason for interpreting Mâyâ into other texts which give a very satisfactory sense without that doctrine, or are even clearly repugnant to it. This remark applies in the very first place to all the accounts of the creation of the physical universe. There, if anywhere, the illusional character of the world should have been hinted at, at least, had that theory been held by the authors of those accounts ; but not a word to that effect is met with anywhere. The most important of those accounts—the one given in the sixth chapter of the *Kāndogya* Upanishad—forms no exception. There is absolutely no reason to assume that the ‘sending forth’ of the elements from the primitive Sat, which is there described at length, was by the writer of that passage meant to represent a vivarta rather than a parivâma, that the process of the origination of the physical universe has to be conceived as anything else but a real manifestation of real powers hidden in the primeval Self. The introductory words, addressed to Svetaketu by Uddâlaka, which are generally appealed to as intimating the unreal character of the evolution about to be described, do not, if viewed impartially, intimate any such thing¹. For what is capable of being proved, and manifestly meant to be proved, by the illustrative instances of the lump of clay and the nugget of gold, through which there are known all things made of clay and gold ? Merely that this whole world has Brahman for its causal substance, just as clay is the causal matter of every earthen pot, and gold of every golden ornament, but not that the process through which any causal substance becomes an effect is an unreal one. We—including Uddâlaka—may surely say that all earthen pots are in reality nothing but earth—the earthen pot being merely a special modification (*vikâra*) of clay which has a name of its own—without thereby committing ourselves to the doctrine that the change of form, which a lump of clay undergoes when being fashioned into a pot, is not real but a mere baseless illusion.

In the same light we have to view numerous other passages

¹ As is demonstrated very satisfactorily by Rāmānuja.

which set forth the successive emanations proceeding from the first principle. When, for instance, we meet in the *Kātha* Up. I, 3, 10, in the serial enumeration of the forms of existence intervening between the gross material world and the highest Self (the Person), with the 'avyākṛita,' the Undeveloped, immediately below the puruṣa; and when again the *Mundaka* Up. II, 1, 2, speaks of the 'high Imperishable' higher than which is the heavenly Person; there is no reason whatever to see in that 'Undeveloped' and that 'high Imperishable' anything but that real element in Brahman from which, as in the Rāmāṇuga system, the material universe springs by a process of real development. We must of course render it quite clear to ourselves in what sense the terms 'real' and 'unreal' have to be understood. The Upanishads no doubt teach emphatically that the material world does not owe its existence to any principle independent from the Lord like the pradhāna of the Sāṅkhyas; the world is nothing but a manifestation of the Lord's wonderful power, and hence is unsubstantial, if we take the term 'substance' in its strict sense. And, again, everything material is immeasurably inferior in nature to the highest spiritual principle from which it has emanated, and which it now hides from the individual soul. But neither unsubstantiality nor inferiority of the kind mentioned constitutes unreality in the sense in which the Mâyā of Saṅkara is unreal. According to the latter the whole world is nothing but an erroneous appearance, as unreal as the snake, for which a piece of rope is mistaken by the belated traveller, and disappearing just as the imagined snake does as soon as the light of true knowledge has risen. But this is certainly not the impression left on the mind by a comprehensive review of the Upanishads which dwells on their general scope, and does not confine itself to the undue urging of what may be implied in some detached passages. The Upanishads do not call upon us to look upon the whole world as a baseless illusion to be destroyed by knowledge; the great error which they admonish us to relinquish is rather that things have a separate individual existence, and are not tied together by the bond of being all of them effects

of Brahman, or Brahman itself. They do not say that true knowledge sublates this false world, as Saṅkara says, but that it enables the sage to extricate himself from the world—the inferior mūrta rūpa of Brahman, to use an expression of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*—and to become one with Brahman in its highest form. ‘We are to see everything in Brahman, and Brahman in everything;’ the natural meaning of this is, ‘we are to look upon this whole world as a true manifestation of Brahman, as sprung from it and animated by it.’ The māyāvādin has indeed appropriated the above saying also, and interpreted it so as to fall in with his theory; but he is able to do so only by perverting its manifest sense. For him it would be appropriate to say, not that everything we see is in Brahman, but rather that everything we see is out of Brahman, viz. as a false appearance spread over it and hiding it from us.

Stress has been laid¹ upon certain passages of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* which seem to hint at the unreality of this world by qualifying terms, indicative of duality or plurality of existence, by means of an added ‘iva,’ i.e. ‘as it were’ (yatrānyad iva syāt; yatra dvaitam iva bhavati; ātmā dhyāyati va lelayati va). Those passages no doubt readily lend themselves to Māyā interpretations, and it is by no means impossible that in their author’s mind there was something like an undeveloped Māyā doctrine. I must, however, remark that they, on the other hand, also admit of easy interpretations not in any way presupposing the theory of the unreality of the world. If Yâgñavalkya refers to the latter as that ‘where there is something else as it were, where there is duality as it were,’ he may simply mean to indicate that the ordinary opinion, according to which the individual forms of existence of the world are opposed to each other as altogether separate, is a mistaken one, all things being one in so far as they spring from—and are parts of—Brahman. This would in no way involve duality or plurality being unreal in Saṅkara’s sense, not any more than, for instance, the modes of Spinoza are unreal because, according to that philosopher, there is only one universal

¹ Gough, *Philosophy of the Upanishads* pp. 243 ff.

substance. And with regard to the clause 'the Self thinks as it were' it has to be noted that according to the commentators the 'as it were' is meant to indicate that truly not the Self is thinking, but the upâdhis, i. e. especially the manas with which the Self is connected. But whether these upâdhis are the mere offspring of Mâyâ, as Saṅkara thinks, or real forms of existence, as Rāmānuga teaches, is an altogether different question.

I do not wish, however, to urge these last observations, and am ready to admit that not impossibly those *iva's* indicate that the thought of the writer who employed them was darkly labouring with a conception akin to—although much less explicit than—the Mâyâ of Saṅkara. But what I object to is, that conclusions drawn from a few passages of, after all, doubtful import should be employed for introducing the Mâyâ doctrine into other passages which do not even hint at it, and are fully intelligible without it ¹.

The last important point in the teaching of the Upanishads we have to touch upon is the relation of the *gīvas*, the individual souls to the highest Self. The special views regarding that point held by Saṅkara and Rāmānuga have been stated before. Confronting their theories with the texts of the Upanishads we must, I think, admit without hesitation, that Saṅkara's doctrine faithfully represents the prevailing teaching of the Upanishads in one important point at least, viz. therein that the soul or Self of the sage—whatever its original relation to Brahman may be—is in the end completely merged and indistinguishably lost in the universal Self. A distinction, repeatedly alluded to before, has indeed to be kept in view here also. Certain texts of the Upanishads describe the soul's going upwards, on the path of the gods, to the world of Brahman, where it dwells for unnumbered years, i. e. for ever. Those texts, as a type of which we may take the passage Kaushît. Up. I—the fundamental text of the Rāmānugas concerning the soul's

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¹ I cannot discuss in this place the Mâyâ passages of the Svetâsvatara and the Maitrâyanîya Upanishads. Reasons which want of space prevents me from setting forth in detail induce me to believe that neither of those two treatises deserves to be considered by us when wishing to ascertain the true unmingled doctrine of the Upanishads.

fate after death—belong to an earlier stage of philosophic development; they manifestly ascribe to the soul a continued individual existence. But mixed with texts of this class there are others in which the final absolute identification of the individual Self with the universal Self is indicated in terms of unmistakable plainness. ‘He who knows Brahman and becomes Brahman;’ ‘he who knows Brahman becomes all this;’ ‘as the flowing rivers disappear in the sea losing their name and form, thus a wise man goes to the divine person.’ And if we look to the whole, to the prevailing spirit of the Upanishads, we may call the doctrine embodied in passages of the latter nature the doctrine of the Upanishads. It is, moreover, supported by the frequently and clearly stated theory of the individual souls being merged in Brahman in the state of deep dreamless sleep.

It is much more difficult to indicate the precise teaching of the Upanishads concerning the [original relation] of the individual soul to the highest Self, although there can be no doubt that it has to be viewed as proceeding from the latter, and somehow forming a part of it. Negatively we are entitled to say that the doctrine, according to which the soul is merely *brahma bhrāntam* or *brahma māyopādhikam*, is in no way countenanced by the majority of the passages bearing on the question. If the emission of the elements, described in the *Khândogya* and referred to above, is a real process—of which we saw no reason to doubt—the *gīva ātman* with which the highest Self enters into the emitted elements is equally real, a true part or emanation of Brahman itself.

After having in this way shortly reviewed the chief elements of Vedāntic doctrine according to the Upanishads, we may briefly consider Saṅkara’s system and mode of interpretation—with whose details we had frequent opportunities of finding fault—as a whole. It has been said before that the task of reducing the teaching of the whole of the Upanishads to a system consistent and free from contradictions is an intrinsically impossible one. But the task once being given, we are quite ready to admit that Saṅkara’s system is most probably the best which can be devised.

While unable to allow that the Upanishads recognise a lower and higher knowledge of Brahman, in fact the distinction of a lower and higher Brahman, we yet acknowledge that the adoption of that distinction furnishes the interpreter with an instrument of extraordinary power for reducing to an orderly whole the heterogeneous material presented by the old theosophic treatises. This becomes very manifest as soon as we compare Saṅkara's system with that of Rāmānuga. The latter recognises only one Brahman which is, as we should say, a personal God, and he therefore lays stress on all those passages of the Upanishads which ascribe to Brahman the attributes of a personal God, such as omniscience and omnipotence. Those passages, on the other hand, whose decided tendency it is to represent Brahman as transcending all qualities, as one undifferentenced mass of impersonal intelligence, Rāmānuga is unable to accept frankly and fairly, and has to misinterpret them more or less to make them fall in with his system. The same remark holds good with regard to those texts which represent the individual soul as finally identifying itself with Brahman; Rāmānuga cannot allow a complete identification but merely an assimilation carried as far as possible. Saṅkara, on the other hand, by skilfully ringing the changes on a higher and a lower doctrine, somehow manages to find room for whatever the Upanishads have to say. Where the text speaks of Brahman as transcending all attributes, the highest doctrine is set forth. Where Brahman is called the All-knowing ruler of the world, the author means to propound the lower knowledge of the Lord only. And where the legends about the primary being and its way of creating the world become somewhat crude and gross, Hiraṇyagarbha and Virāṅ are summoned forth and charged with the responsibility. Of Virāṅ Mr. Gough remarks (p. 55) that in him a place is provided by the poets of the Upanishads for the puruṣa of the ancient ṛishis, the divine being out of whom the visible and tangible world proceeded. This is quite true if only we substitute for the 'poets of the Upanishads' the framers of the orthodox Vedānta system—for the Upanishads give no indication whatever

that by their puruṣha they understand not the simple old puruṣha but the Virāḡ occupying a definite position in a highly elaborate system ;—but the mere phrase, 'providing a place' intimates with sufficient clearness the nature of the work in which systematisers of the Vedāntic doctrine are engaged.

Saṅkara's method thus enables him in a certain way to do justice to different stages of historical development, to recognise clearly existing differences which other systematisers are intent on obliterating. And there has yet to be made a further and even more important admission in favour of his system. It is not only more pliable, more capable of amalgamating heterogeneous material than other systems, but its fundamental doctrines are manifestly in greater harmony with the essential teaching of the Upanishads than those of other Vedāntic systems. Above we were unable to allow that the distinction made by Saṅkara between Brahman and Īśvara is known to the Upanishads ; but we must now admit that if, for the purpose of determining the nature of the highest being, a choice has to be made between those texts which represent Brahman as nirguṇa, and those which ascribe to it personal attributes, Saṅkara is right in giving preference to texts of the former kind. The Brahman of the old Upanishads, from which the souls spring to enjoy individual consciousness in their waking state, and into which they sink back temporarily in the state of deep dreamless sleep and permanently in death, is certainly not represented adequately by the strictly personal Īśvara of Rāmānuga, who rules the world in wisdom and mercy. The older Upanishads, at any rate, lay very little stress upon personal attributes of their highest being, and hence Saṅkara is right in so far as he assigns to his hypostatized personal Īśvara¹ a lower place than to his absolute Brahman. That he also faithfully represents the prevailing spirit of the Upanishads in his theory of the ultimate fate

¹ The Īśvara who allots to the individual souls their new forms of embodiment in strict accordance with their merit or demerit cannot be called anything else but a personal God. That this personal conscious being is at the same time identified with the totality of the individual souls in the unconscious state of deep dreamless sleep, is one of those extraordinary contradictions which thorough-going systematisers of Vedāntic doctrine are apparently unable to avoid altogether.

of the soul, we have already remarked above. And although the Mâyâ doctrine cannot, in my opinion, be said to form part of the teaching of the Upanishads, it cannot yet be asserted to contradict it openly, because the very point which it is meant to elucidate, viz. the mode in which the physical universe and the multiplicity of individual souls originate, is left by the Upanishads very much in the dark. The later growth of the Mâyâ doctrine on the basis of the Upanishads is therefore quite intelligible, and I fully agree with Mr. Gough when he says regarding it that there has been no addition to the system from without but only a development from within, no graft but only growth. The lines of thought which finally led to the elaboration of the full-blown Mâyâ theory may be traced with considerable certainty. In the first place, deepening speculation on Brahman tended to the notion of advaita being taken in a more and more strict sense, as implying not only the exclusion of any second principle external to Brahman, but also the absence of any elements of duality or plurality in the nature of the one universal being itself; a tendency agreeing with the spirit of a certain set of texts from the Upanishads. And as the fact of the appearance of a manifold world cannot be denied, the only way open to thoroughly consistent speculation was to deny at any rate its reality, and to call it a mere illusion due to an unreal principle, with which Brahman is indeed associated, but which is unable to break the unity of Brahman's nature just on account of its own unreality. And, in the second place, a more thorough following out of the conception that the union with Brahman is to be reached through true knowledge only, not unnaturally led to the conclusion that what separates us in our unenlightened state from Brahman is such as to allow itself to be completely sublated by an act of knowledge; is, in other words, nothing else but an erroneous notion, an illusion.—A further circumstance which may not impossibly have co-operated to further the development of the theory of the world's unreality will be referred to later on¹.

¹ That section of the introduction in which the point referred to in the text

We have above been obliged to leave it an open question what kind of Vedānta is represented by the Vedānta-sūtras, although reason was shown for the supposition that in some important points their teaching is more closely related to the system of Rāmānuga than to that of Saṅkara. If so, the philosophy of Saṅkara would on the whole stand nearer to the teaching of the Upanishads than the Sūtras of Bādarāyana. This would indeed be a somewhat unexpected conclusion—for, judging *à priori*, we should be more inclined to assume a direct propagation of the true doctrine of the Upanishads through Bādarāyana to Saṅkara—but *à priori* considerations have of course no weight against positive evidence to the contrary. There are, moreover, other facts in the history of Indian philosophy and theology which help us better to appreciate the possibility of Bādarāyana's Sūtras already setting forth a doctrine that lays greater stress on the personal character of the highest being than is in agreement with the prevailing tendency of the Upanishads. That the pure doctrine of those ancient Brahminical treatises underwent at a rather early period amalgamations with beliefs which most probably had sprung up in altogether different—priestly or non-priestly—communities is a well-known circumstance; it suffices for our purposes to refer to the most eminent of the early literary monuments in which an amalgamation of the kind mentioned is observable, viz. the Bhagavadgītā. The doctrine of the Bhagavadgītā represents a fusion of the Brahman theory of the Upanishads with the belief in a personal highest being—*Kṛishṇa* or *Vishṇu*—which in many respects approximates very closely to the system of the Bhāgavatas; the attempts of a certain set of Indian commentators to explain it as setting forth pure Vedānta, i. e. the pure doctrine of the Upanishads, may simply be set aside. But this same Bhagavadgītā is quoted in Bādarāyana's Sūtras (at least according to the unanimous explanations of the most eminent scholiasts of different schools) as inferior to *Sruti* only in authority. The Sūtras,

is touched upon will I hope form part of the second volume of the translation. The same remark applies to a point concerning which further information had been promised above on page v.

moreover, refer in different places to certain Vedântic portions of the Mahâbhârata, especially the twelfth book, several of which represent forms of Vedânta distinctly differing from Saṅkara's teaching, and closely related to the system of the Bhâgavatas.

Facts of this nature—from entering into the details of which we are prevented by want of space—tend to mitigate the *primâ facie* strangeness of the assumption that the Vedânta-sûtras, which occupy an intermediate position between the Upanishads and Saṅkara, should yet diverge in their teaching from both. The Vedânta of Gauḍapâda and Saṅkara would in that case mark a strictly orthodox reaction against all combinations of non-Vedic elements of belief and doctrine with the teaching of the Upanishads. But although this form of doctrine has ever since Saṅkara's time been the one most generally accepted by Brahminic students of philosophy, it has never had any wide-reaching influence on the masses of India. It is too little in sympathy with the wants of the human heart, which, after all, are not so very different in India from what they are elsewhere. Comparatively few, even in India, are those who rejoice in the idea of a universal non-personal essence in which their own individuality is to be merged and lost for ever, who think it sweet 'to be wrecked on the ocean of the Infinite¹.' The only forms of Vedântic philosophy which are—and can at any time have been—really popular, are those in which the Brahman of the Upanishads has somehow transformed itself into a being, between which and the devotee there can exist a personal relation, love and faith on the part of man, justice tempered by mercy on the part of the divinity. The only religious books of widespread influence are such as the Râmâyan of Tulsidâs, which lay no stress on the distinction between an absolute Brahman inaccessible to all human wants and sympathies, and a shadowy Lord whose very conception depends on the illusory principle of Mâyâ, but love to dwell on the delights of devotion

¹ Così tra questa
 Immensità s'annega il pensier mio,
 E il naufrago m'è dolce in questo mare.
 LEOPARDI.

to one all-wise and merciful ruler, who is able and willing to lend a gracious ear to the supplication of the worshipper.

The present translation of the Vedānta-sūtras does not aim at rendering that sense which their author may have aimed at conveying, but strictly follows Saṅkara's interpretation. The question as to how far the latter agrees with the views held by Bādarāyaṇa has been discussed above, with the result that for the present it must, on the whole, be left an open one. In any case it would not be feasible to combine a translation of Saṅkara's commentary with an independent version of the Sūtras which it explains. Similar considerations have determined the method followed in rendering the passages of the Upanishads referred to in the Sūtras and discussed at length by Saṅkara. There also the views of the commentator have to be followed closely; otherwise much of the comment would appear devoid of meaning. Hence, while of course following on the whole the critical translation published by Professor Max Müller in the earlier volumes of this Series, I had, in a not inconsiderable number of cases, to modify it so as to render intelligible Saṅkara's explanations and reasonings. I hope to find space in the introduction to the second volume of this translation for making some general remarks on the method to be followed in translating the Upanishads.

I regret that want of space has prevented me from extracting fuller notes from later scholiasts. The notes given are based, most of them, on the *ṭīkā*s composed by Ānandagiri and Govindānanda (the former of which is unpublished as yet, so far as I know), and on the *Bhāmati*.

My best thanks are due to *Pandits* Rāma Mīśra Sāstrin and Gaṅgādhara Sāstrin of the Benares Sanskrit College, whom I have consulted on several difficult passages. Greater still are my obligations to *Pandit* Kṛṣṇa Sāstrin, of the same institution, who most kindly undertook to read a proof of the whole of the present volume, and whose advice has enabled me to render my version of more than one passage more definite or correct.

VEDÂNTA-SÛTRAS

WITH

SAÑKARA BHÂSHYA.

SANĀKARA'S INTRODUCTION.

FIRST ADHYĀYA.

FIRST PĀDA.

REVERENCE TO THE AUGUST VĀSUDEVA!

IT is a matter not requiring any proof that the object and the subject¹ whose respective spheres are the notion of the 'Thou' (the Non-Ego²) and the 'Ego,' and which are opposed to each other as much as darkness and light are, cannot be identified. All the less can their respective attributes be identified. Hence it follows that it is wrong to superimpose³ upon the subject—whose Self is intelligence, and which has for its sphere the notion of the Ego—the object whose sphere is the notion of the Non-Ego, and the attributes of the object, and vice versâ to superimpose the subject and the attributes of the subject on the object. In spite of this it is on the part of man a natural⁴ procedure—

¹ The subject is the universal Self whose nature is intelligence (*ĥit*); the object comprises whatever is of a non-intelligent nature, viz. bodies with their sense-organs, internal organs, and the objects of the senses, i.e. the external material world.

² The object is said to have for its sphere the notion of the 'thou' (*yushmat*), not the notion of the 'this' or 'that' (*idam*), in order better to mark its absolute opposition to the subject or Ego. Language allows of the co-ordination of the pronouns of the first and the third person ('It is I,' 'I am he who,' &c.; *ete vayam, ime vayam āsmahe*), but not of the co-ordination of the pronouns of the first and second person.

³ *Adhyāsa*, literally 'superimposition' in the sense of (mistaken) ascription or imputation, to something, of an essential nature or attributes not belonging to it. See later on.

⁴ Natural, i.e. original, beginningless; for the modes of speech

which has its cause in wrong knowledge—not to distinguish the two entities (object and subject) and their respective attributes, although they are absolutely distinct, but to superimpose upon each the characteristic nature and the attributes of the other, and thus, coupling the Real and the Unreal¹, to make use of expressions such as ‘That am I,’ ‘That is mine².’—But what have we to understand by the term ‘superimposition?’—The apparent presentation, in the form of remembrance, to consciousness of something previously observed, in some other thing³.

Some indeed define the term ‘superimposition’ as the superimposition of the attributes of one thing on another thing⁴. Others, again, define superimposition as the error

and action which characterise transmigratory existence have existed, with the latter, from all eternity.

¹ I.e. the intelligent Self which is the only reality and the non-real objects, viz. body and so on, which are the product of wrong knowledge.

² ‘The body, &c. is my Self;’ ‘sickness, death, children, wealth, &c., belong to my Self.’

³ Literally ‘in some other place.’ The clause ‘in the form of remembrance’ is added, the Bhāmatī remarks, in order to exclude those cases where something previously observed is recognised in some other thing or place; as when, for instance, the generic character of a cow which was previously observed in a black cow again presents itself to consciousness in a grey cow, or when Devadatta whom we first saw in Pāṇaliputra again appears before us in Māhishmatī. These are cases of recognition where the object previously observed again presents itself to our senses; while in mere remembrance the object previously perceived is not in renewed contact with the senses. Mere remembrance operates in the case of adhyāsa, as when we mistake mother-of-pearl for silver which is at the time not present but remembered only.

⁴ The so-called anyathākhyātivādin maintain that in the act of adhyāsa the attributes of one thing, silver for instance, are superimposed on a different thing existing in a different place, mother-of-pearl for instance (if we take for our example of adhyāsa the case of some man mistaking a piece of mother-of-pearl before him for a piece of silver). The ātmakhyātivādin maintain that in adhyāsa the modification, in the form of silver, of the internal organ

founded on the non-apprehension of the difference of that which is superimposed from that on which it is superimposed¹. Others², again, define it as the fictitious assumption of attributes contrary to the nature of that thing on which something else is superimposed. But all these definitions agree in so far as they represent superimposition as the apparent presentation of the attributes of one thing in another thing. And therewith agrees also the popular view which is exemplified by expressions such as the following : 'Mother-of-pearl appears like silver,' 'The moon although one only appears as if she were double.' But how is it possible that on the interior Self which itself is not an object there should be superimposed objects and their attributes? For every one superimposes an object only on such other objects as are placed before him (i.e. in contact with his sense-organs), and you have said before that the interior Self which is entirely disconnected from the idea of the Thou (the Non-Ego) is never an object. It is not, we reply, non-object in the absolute sense. For it is the object of the notion of the Ego³, and the interior Self is well known to exist on account of its immediate (intuitive) presentation⁴. Nor is it an exceptionless rule that objects

is superimposed on the external thing mother-of-pearl and thus itself appears external. Both views fall under the above definition.

¹ This is the definition of the akhyātivādins.

² Some anyathākhyātivādins and the Mādhyamikas according to Ānanda Giri.

³ The pratyagātman is in reality non-object, for it is *svayam-prakāśa*, self-luminous, i.e. the subjective factor in all cognition. But it becomes the object of the idea of the Ego in so far as it is limited, conditioned by its adjuncts which are the product of *Nescience*, viz. the internal organ, the senses and the subtle and gross bodies, i.e. in so far as it is *gīva*, individual or personal soul. Cp. *Bhāmatī*, pp. 22, 23 : '*kīdātmāiva svayamprakāśo'pi buddhyādivishayavikkhuranāt kathamkīd āsmatpratyayavishayo'hamkārāspadam gīva iti ka gantur iti ka kshetragñā iti kākhyāyate.*'

⁴ Translated according to the *Bhāmatī*. We deny, the objector says, the possibility of *adhyāsa* in the case of the Self, not on the ground that it is not an object because self-luminous (for that it

can be superimposed only on such other objects as are before us, i.e. in contact with our sense-organs; for non-discerning men superimpose on the ether, which is not the object of sensuous perception, dark-blue colour.

Hence it follows that the assumption of the Non-Self being superimposed on the interior Self is not unreasonable.

This superimposition thus defined, learned men consider to be Nescience (avidyā), and the ascertainment of the true nature of that which is (the Self) by means of the discrimination of that (which is superimposed on the Self), they call knowledge (vidyā). There being such knowledge (neither the Self nor the Non-Self) are affected in the least by any blemish or (good) quality produced by their mutual superimposition¹. The mutual superimposition of the Self and the Non-Self, which is termed Nescience, is the pre-supposition on which there base all the practical distinctions—those made in ordinary life as well as those laid down by the Veda—between means of knowledge, objects of knowledge (and knowing persons), and all scriptural texts, whether they are concerned with injunctions and prohibitions (of meritorious and non-meritorious actions), or with final release².—But how can the means of right

may be an object although it is self-luminous you have shown), but on the ground that it is not an object because it is not manifested either by itself or by anything else.—It is known or manifest, the Vedāntin replies, on account of its immediate presentation (aparokshatvāt), i.e. on account of the intuitional knowledge we have of it. Ānanda Giri construes the above clause in a different way: *asmatpratyayāviśayaṭve • py aparokshatvād ekāntenāviśaya-tvābbāvat tasminn ahaṅkāradhyāsa ity arthaḥ*. Aparokshatvam api kaisid ātmano nesham ity āsaṅkyāha pratyagātmeti.

¹ *Tatraivam sati evambhūtavastutattvādhāraṇe sati*. Bhā. *Tasminn adhyāse uktaṛitā • vidyāvmake sati*. Go. *Yatrātmani buddhyādau vā yasya buddhyāder ātmano vādhyāsaḥ tena buddhyādinā • tmānā va kr̥tenā • sanayādidosheṇa kaitanyaguneṇa kāmānātmā vā vastuto na svalpenāpi yugyate*. Ānanda Giri.

² Whether they belong to the *karmakāṇḍā*, i.e. that part of the Veda which enjoins active religious duty or the *gñānakāṇḍā*, i.e. that part of the Veda which treats of Brahman.

knowledge such as perception, inference, &c., and scriptural texts have for their object that which is dependent on Nescience¹?—Because, we reply, the means of right knowledge cannot operate unless there be a knowing personality, and because the existence of the latter depends on the erroneous notion that the body, the senses, and so on, are identical with, or belong to, the Self of the knowing person. For without the employment of the senses, perception and the other means of right knowledge cannot operate. And without a basis (i.e. the body²) the senses cannot act. Nor does anybody act by means of a body on which the nature of the Self is not superimposed³. Nor can, in the absence of all that⁴, the Self which, in its own nature is free from all contact, become a knowing agent. And if there is no knowing agent, the means of right knowledge cannot operate (as said above). Hence perception and the other means of right knowledge, and the Vedic texts have for their object that which is dependent on Nescience. (That human cognitional activity has for its presupposition the superimposition described above), follows also from the non-difference in that respect of men from animals. Animals, when sounds or other sensible qualities affect their sense of hearing or other senses, recede or advance according as the idea derived from the sensation is a comforting or disquieting one. A cow, for instance, when she sees a man approaching with a raised stick in his hand, thinks that he wants to beat her, and therefore moves away; while she walks up to a man who advances with some fresh grass in his hand. Thus men also—who possess a higher intelligence—run away when

¹ It being of course the function of the means of right knowledge to determine Truth and Reality.

² The Bhāmaṇ takes *adhishṭhānam* in the sense of superintendence, guidance. The senses cannot act unless guided by a superintending principle, i.e. the individual soul.

³ If activity could proceed from the body itself, non-identified with the Self, it would take place in deep sleep also.

⁴ I.e. in the absence of the mutual superimposition of the Self and the Non-Self and their attributes.

they see strong fierce-looking fellows drawing near with shouts and brandishing swords; while they confidently approach persons of contrary appearance and behaviour. We thus see that men and animals follow the same course of procedure with reference to the means and objects of knowledge. Now it is well known that the procedure of animals bases on the non-distinction (of Self and Non-Self); we therefore conclude that, as they present the same appearances, men also—although distinguished by superior intelligence—proceed with regard to perception and so on, in the same way as animals do; as long, that is to say, as the mutual superimposition of Self and Non-Self lasts. With reference again to that kind of activity which is founded on the Veda (sacrifices and the like), it is true indeed that the reflecting man who is qualified to enter on it, does so not without knowing that the Self has a relation to another world; yet that qualification does not depend on the knowledge, derivable from the Vedānta-texts, of the true nature of the Self as free from all wants, raised above the distinctions of the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya-classes and so on, transcending transmigratory existence. For such knowledge is useless and even contradictory to the claim (on the part of sacrificers, &c. to perform certain actions and enjoy their fruits). And before such knowledge of the Self has arisen, the Vedic texts continue in their operation, to have for their object that which is dependent on Nescience. For such texts as the following, 'A Brāhmaṇa is to sacrifice,' are operative only on the supposition that on the Self are superimposed particular conditions such as caste, stage of life, age, outward circumstances, and so on. That by superimposition we have to understand the notion of something in some other thing we have already explained. (The superimposition of the Non-Self will be understood more definitely from the following examples.) Extra-personal attributes are superimposed on the Self, if a man considers himself sound and entire, or the contrary, as long as his wife, children, and so on are sound and entire or not. Attributes of the body are superimposed on the Self, if a man

thinks of himself (his Self) as stout, lean, fair, as standing, walking, or jumping. Attributes of the sense-organs, if he thinks 'I am mute, or deaf, or one-eyed, or blind.' Attributes of the internal organ when he considers himself subject to desire, intention, doubt, determination, and so on. Thus the producer of the notion of the Ego (i.e. the internal organ) is superimposed on the interior Self, which, in reality, is the witness of all the modifications of the internal organ, and vice versâ the interior Self, which is the witness of everything, is superimposed on the internal organ, the senses, and so on. In this way there goes on this natural beginning—and endless superimposition, which appears in the form of wrong conception, is the cause of individual souls appearing as agents and enjoyers (of the results of their actions), and is observed by every one.

With a view to freeing one's self from that wrong notion which is the cause of all evil and attaining thereby the knowledge of the absolute unity of the Self the study of the Vedânta-texts is begun. That all the Vedânta-texts have the mentioned purport we shall show in this so-called *Sâriraka-mimâmsâ* ¹.

Of this Vedânta-mimâmsâ about to be explained by us the first Sûtra is as follows.

1. Then therefore the enquiry into Brahman.

The word 'then' is here to be taken as denoting immediate consecution; not as indicating the introduction of a new subject to be entered upon; for the enquiry into Brahman (more literally, the desire of knowing Brahman) is not of that nature ². Nor has the word 'then' the sense

¹ The *Mîmâmsâ*, i.e. the enquiry whose aim it is to show that the embodied Self, i.e. the individual or personal soul is one with Brahman. This *Mîmâmsâ* being an enquiry into the meaning of the Vedânta-portions of the Veda, it is also called *Vedânta-mîmâmsâ*.

² *Nâdhikârârtha iti. Tatra hetur brahmeti. Asyârthaḥ, kim ayam ahasabdo brahmagñānekkhâyāḥ kim vāntarñitavikāśasya athavekkhāvīśeshanagñānasyārambhârthaḥ. Nādyāḥ tasyā mîmāmsāpravartikāyās tadapravartyatvād anārabhyatvāt tasyās kottaratra*

of auspiciousness (or blessing) ; for a word of that meaning could not be properly construed as a part of the sentence. The word 'then' rather acts as an auspicious term by being pronounced and heard merely, while it denotes at the same time something else, viz. immediate consecution as said above. That the latter is its meaning follows moreover from the circumstance that the relation in which the result stands to the previous topic (viewed as the cause of the result) is non-separate from the relation of immediate consecution¹.

If, then, the word 'then' intimates immediate consecution it must be explained on what antecedent the enquiry into Brahman specially depends ; just as the enquiry into active religious duty (which forms the subject of the Pûrvā Mīmāṃsā) specially depends on the antecedent reading of the Veda. The reading of the Veda indeed is the common antecedent (for those who wish to enter on an enquiry into religious duty as well as for those desirous of knowing Brahman). The special question with regard to the enquiry into Brahman is whether it presupposes as its antecedent the understanding of the acts of religious duty (which is acquired by means of the Pûrvā Mīmāṃsā). To this question we reply in the negative, because for a man who has read the Vedānta-parts of the Veda it is possible to enter on the enquiry into Brahman even before engaging in the enquiry into religious duty. Nor is it the purport of the word 'then' to indicate order of succession ; a purport which it serves in other passages, as, for instance, in the one enjoining the cutting off of pieces from the heart and other

pratyadhikarāṇam apratipādanāt. Na dvitīyo = thasabdenānantar-yoktidvārā viśiṣṭādhikāryasamarpane sādhanakāṭushayāsampan-nānām brahmadhītadvikārayor anarthitvād vikāranārambhān na ka vikāravidhivasād adhikāri kalpyaḥ prārambhasyāpi tulyatvād adhi-kārinas ka vidhyapekshitopādhitvān na trūṭiyaḥ brahmagñānasyā-nandasākshātkāratvenādhikāryatve = pyaprādhānyād athasabdāsam-bandhāt tasmān nārambhārthateti. Ānanda Giri.

¹ Any relation in which the result, i.e. here the enquiry into Brahman may stand to some antecedent of which it is the effect may be comprised under the relation of ānantarya.

parts of the sacrificial animal¹. (For the intimation of order of succession could be intended only if the agent in both cases were the same; but this is not the case), because there is no proof for assuming the enquiry into religious duty and the enquiry into Brahman to stand in the relation of principal and subordinate matter or the relation of qualification (for a certain act) on the part of the person qualified²; and because the result as well as the object of the enquiry differs in the two cases. The knowledge of active religious duty has for its fruit transitory felicity, and that again depends on the performance of religious acts. The enquiry into Brahman, on the other hand, has for its fruit eternal bliss, and does not depend on the performance of any acts. Acts of religious duty do not yet exist at the time when they are enquired into, but are something to be accomplished (in the future); for they depend on the activity of man. In the *Brahma-mīmāṃsā*, on the other hand, the object of enquiry, i.e. Brahman, is something already accomplished (existent),—for it is eternal,—and does not depend on human energy. The two enquiries differ moreover in so far as the operation of their respective fundamental texts is concerned. For the fundamental texts on which active religious duty depends convey information to man in so far only as they enjoin on him their own particular subjects (sacrifices, &c.); while the fundamental texts about Brahman merely instruct man, without laying on him the injunction of being instructed, instruction being their immediate result. The case is analogous to that of the information regarding objects of sense which ensues as soon as the objects are approximated to the senses. It therefore is requisite that something should be

¹ He cuts off from the heart, then from the tongue, then from the breast.

² Where one action is subordinate to another as, for instance, the offering of the prayâgas is to the *darsapûṛṇamâsa*-sacrifice, or where one action qualifies a person for another as, for instance, the offering of the *darsapûṛṇamâsa* qualifies a man for the performance of the Soma-sacrifice, there is unity of the agent, and consequently an intimation of the order of succession of the actions is in its right place.

stated subsequent to which the enquiry into Brahman is proposed.—Well, then, we maintain that the antecedent conditions are the discrimination of what is eternal and what is non-eternal; the renunciation of all desire to enjoy the fruit (of one's actions) both here and hereafter; the acquirement of tranquillity, self-restraint, and the other means¹, and the desire of final release. If these conditions exist, a man may, either before entering on an enquiry into active religious duty or after that, engage in the enquiry into Brahman and come to know it; but not otherwise. The word 'then' therefore intimates that the enquiry into Brahman is subsequent to the acquisition of the above-mentioned (spiritual) means.

The word 'therefore' intimates a reason. Because the Veda, while declaring that the fruit of the agnihotra and similar performances which are means of happiness is non-eternal (as, for instance, *Kṛ. Up. VIII, 1, 6*, 'As here on earth whatever has been acquired by action perishes so perishes in the next world whatever is acquired by acts of religious duty'), teaches at the same time that the highest aim of man is realised by the knowledge of Brahman (as, for instance, *Taitt. Up. II, 1*, 'He who knows Brahman attains the highest'); therefore the enquiry into Brahman is to be undertaken subsequently to the acquirement of the mentioned means.

By Brahman is to be understood that the definition of which will be given in the next Sūtra (*I, 1, 2*); it is therefore not to be supposed that the word Brahman may here denote something else, as, for instance, the brahminical caste. In the Sūtra the genitive case ('of Brahman;') the literal translation of the Sūtra being 'then therefore the desire of knowledge of Brahman') denotes the object, not something generally supplementary (*śeṣa*²); for the desire of knowledge

¹ The 'means' in addition to *sama* and *dama* are discontinuance of religious ceremonies (*uparati*), patience in suffering (*titikṣhā*), attention and concentration of the mind (*samādhāna*), and faith (*śraddhā*).

² According to *Pāṇini II, 3, 50* the sixth (genitive) case expresses the relation of one thing being generally supplementary to, or connected with, some other thing.

demands an object of desire and no other such object is stated.—But why should not the genitive case be taken as expressing the general complementary relation (to express which is its proper office)? Even in that case it might constitute the object of the desire of knowledge, since the general relation may base itself on the more particular one.—This assumption, we reply, would mean that we refuse to take Brahman as the direct object, and then again indirectly introduce it as the object; an altogether needless procedure.—Not needless; for if we explain the words of the Sûtra to mean ‘the desire of knowledge connected with Brahman’ we thereby virtually promise that also all the heads of discussion which bear on Brahman will be treated.—This reason also, we reply, is not strong enough to uphold your interpretation. For the statement of some principal matter already implies all the secondary matters connected therewith. Hence if Brahman, the most eminent of all objects of knowledge, is mentioned, this implies already all those objects of enquiry which the enquiry into Brahman presupposes, and those objects need therefore not be mentioned, especially in the Sûtra. Analogously the sentence ‘there the king is going’ implicitly means that the king together with his retinue is going there. Our interpretation (according to which the Sûtra represents Brahman as the direct object of knowledge) moreover agrees with Scripture, which directly represents Brahman as the object of the desire of knowledge; compare, for instance, the passage, ‘That from whence these beings are born, &c., desire to know that. That is Brahman’ (Taitt. Up. III, 1). With passages of this kind the Sûtra only agrees if the genitive case is taken to denote the object. Hence we do take it in that sense. The object of the desire is the knowledge of Brahman up to its complete comprehension, desires having reference to results¹. Knowledge thus constitutes the

¹ In the case of other transitive verbs, object and result may be separate; so, for instance, when it is said ‘grāmam gakkhati,’ the village is the object of the action of going, and the arrival at the village its result. But in the case of verbs of desiring object and result coincide.

means by which the complete comprehension of Brahman is desired to be obtained. For the complete comprehension of Brahman is the highest end of man, since it destroys the root of all evil such as Nescience, the seed of the entire *Samsāra*. Hence the desire of knowing Brahman is to be entertained.

But, it may be asked, is Brahman known or not known (previously to the enquiry into its nature)? If it is known we need not enter on an enquiry concerning it; if it is not known we can not enter on such an enquiry.

We reply that Brahman is known. Brahman, which is all-knowing and endowed with all powers, whose essential nature is eternal purity, intelligence, and freedom, exists. For if we consider the derivation of the word 'Brahman,' from the root *br̥h*, 'to be great,' we at once understand that eternal purity, and so on, belong to Brahman¹. Moreover the existence of Brahman is known on the ground of its being the Self of every one. For every one is conscious of the existence of (his) Self, and never thinks 'I am not.' If the existence of the Self were not known, every one would think 'I am not.' And this Self (of whose existence all are conscious) is Brahman. But if Brahman is generally known as the Self, there is no room for an enquiry into it! Not so, we reply; for there is a conflict of opinions as to its special nature. Unlearned people and the Lokāyatikas are of opinion that the mere body endowed with the quality of intelligence is the Self; others that the organs endowed with intelligence are the Self; others maintain that the internal organ is the Self; others, again, that the Self is a mere momentary idea; others, again, that it is the Void. Others, again (to proceed to the opinion of such as acknowledge the authority of the Veda), maintain that there is a transmigrating being different from the body, and so on, which is both agent and enjoyer (of the fruits of action); others teach

¹ That Brahman exists we know, even before entering on the *Brahma-mīmāṃsā*, from the occurrence of the word in the Veda, &c., and from the etymology of the word we at once infer Brahman's chief attributes.

that that being is enjoying only, not acting ; others believe that in addition to the individual souls, there is an all-knowing, all-powerful Lord¹. Others, finally, (i.e. the Vedāntins) maintain that the Lord is the Self of the enjoyer (i.e. of the individual soul whose individual existence is apparent only, the product of Nescience).

Thus there are many various opinions, basing part of them on sound arguments and scriptural texts, part of them on fallacious arguments and scriptural texts misunderstood². If therefore a man would embrace some one of these opinions without previous consideration, he would bar himself from the highest beatitude and incur grievous loss. For this reason the first Sūtra proposes, under the designation of an enquiry into Brahman, a disquisition of the Vedānta-texts, to be carried on with the help of conformable arguments, and having for its aim the highest beatitude.

So far it has been said that Brahman is to be enquired into. The question now arises what the characteristics of that Brahman are, and the reverend author of the Sūtras therefore propounds the following aphorism.

2. (Brahman is that) from which the origin, &c. (i.e. the origin, subsistence, and dissolution) of this (world proceed).

The term, &c. implies subsistence and re-absorption. That the origin is mentioned first (of the three) depends on the declaration of Scripture as well as on the natural development of a substance. Scripture declares the order

¹ The three last opinions are those of the followers of the Nyāya, the Sāṅkhya, and the Yoga-philosophy respectively. The three opinions mentioned first belong to various materialistic schools ; the two subsequent ones to two sects of Bauddha philosophers.

² As, for instance, the passages 'this person consists of the essence of food ;' 'the eye, &c. spoke ;' 'non-existing this was in the beginning,' &c.

of succession of origin, subsistence, and dissolution in the passage, Taitt. Up. III, 1, 'From whence these beings are born,' &c. And with regard to the second reason stated, it is known that a substrate of qualities can subsist and be dissolved only after it has entered, through origination, on the state of existence. The words 'of this' denote that substrate of qualities which is presented to us by perception and the other means of right knowledge; the genitive case indicates it to be connected with origin, &c. The words 'from which' denote the cause. The full sense of the Sūtra therefore is: That omniscient omnipotent cause from which proceed the origin, subsistence, and dissolution of this world—which world is differentiated by names and forms, contains many agents and enjoyers, is the abode of the fruits of actions, these fruits having their definite places, times, and causes¹, and the nature of whose arrangement cannot even be conceived by the mind,—that cause, we say, is Brahman. Since the other forms of existence (such as increase, decline, &c.) are included in origination, subsistence, and dissolution, only the three latter are referred to in the Sūtra. As the six stages of existence enumerated by Yāska² are possible only during the period of the world's subsistence, it might—were they referred to in the Sūtra—be suspected that what is meant are not the origin, subsistence, and dissolution (of the world) as dependent on the first cause. To preclude this suspicion the Sūtra is to be taken as referring, in addition to the world's origination from Brahman, only to its subsistence in Brahman, and final dissolution into Brahman.

The origin, &c. of a world possessing the attributes stated above cannot possibly proceed from anything else but a Lord possessing the stated qualities; not either from a non-intelligent prādhana³, or from atoms, or from non-

¹ So the compound is to be divided according to Ân. Gi. and Go.; the Bhâ. proposes another less plausible division.

² According to Nirukta I, 2 the six bhāvavikârah are: origination, existence, modification, increase, decrease, destruction.

³ The pradhâna, called also prakṛiti, is the primal causal matter of the world in the Sāṅkhya-system. It will be fully discussed in

being, or from a being subject to transmigration¹; nor, again, can it proceed from its own nature (i.e. spontaneously, without a cause), since we observe that (for the production of effects) special places, times, and causes have invariably to be employed.

(Some of) those who maintain a Lord to be the cause of the world², think that the existence of a Lord different from mere transmigrating beings can be inferred by means of the argument stated just now (without recourse being had to Scripture at all).—But, it might be said, you yourself in the Sûtra under discussion have merely brought forward the same argument!—By no means, we reply. The Sûtras (i.e. literally ‘the strings’) have merely the purpose of stringing together the flowers of the Vedânta-passages. In reality the Vedânta-passages referred to by the Sûtras are discussed here. For the comprehension of Brahman is effected by the ascertainment, consequent on discussion, of the sense of the Vedânta-texts, not either by inference or by the other means of right knowledge. While, however, the Vedânta-passages primarily declare the cause of the origin, &c., of the world, inference also, being an instrument of right knowledge in so far as it does not contradict the Vedânta-texts, is not to be excluded as a means of confirming the meaning ascertained. Scripture itself, moreover, allows argumentation; for the passages, *Bri. Up.* II, 4, 5 (‘the Self is to be heard, to be considered’), and *Kh. Up.* VI, 14, 2 (‘as the man, &c., having been informed, and being able to judge for himself, would arrive at Gandhâra, in the same way a man who meets with a teacher obtains knowledge’), declare that human understanding assists Scripture³.

Scriptural text, &c.⁴, are not, in the enquiry into Brahman,

later parts of this work. To avoid ambiguities, the term *pradhâna* has been left untranslated. Cp. *Sânkhya Kârikâ* 3.

¹ *Keçit tu hiranyagarbham samsârinam evâgamâg gagaddhetum âtakshate.* Ânanda Giri.

² Viz. the *Vaiśeṣikas*.

³ *Âtmanaḥ sruter ity arthaḥ.* Ânanda Giri.

⁴ Text (or direct statement), suggestive power (*linga*), syntactical

the only means of knowledge, as they are in the enquiry into active duty (i.e. in the *Pûrva Mīmāṃsā*), but scriptural texts on the one hand, and intuition¹, &c., on the other hand, are to be had recourse to according to the occasion: firstly, because intuition is the final result of the enquiry into Brahman; secondly, because the object of the enquiry is an existing (accomplished) substance. If the object of the knowledge of Brahman were something to be accomplished, there would be no reference to intuition, and text, &c., would be the only means of knowledge. The origination of something to be accomplished depends, moreover, on man since any action either of ordinary life, or dependent on the Veda may either be done or not be done, or be done in a different way. A man, for instance, may move on either by means of a horse, or by means of his feet, or by some other means, or not at all. And again (to quote examples of actions dependent on the Veda), we meet in Scripture with sentences such as the following: 'At the atirātra he takes the shoḍaśin cup,' and 'at the atirātra he does not take the shoḍaśin cup;' or, 'he makes the oblation after the sun has risen,' and, 'he makes the oblation when the sun has not yet risen.' Just as in the quoted instances, injunctions and prohibitions, allowances of optional procedure, general rules and exceptions have their place, so they would have their place with regard to Brahman also (if the latter were a thing to be accomplished). But the fact is that no option is possible as to whether a substance is to be thus or thus, is to be or not to be. All option depends on the notions of man; but the knowledge of the real nature of a thing does not depend on the notions of man, but only on the thing itself. For to think with regard to a post, 'this is a post or a man, or something else,' is not knowledge of truth; the two ideas, 'it is a man or something else,' being false, and only the third idea, 'it

connection (*vākya*), &c., being the means of proof made use of in the *Pûrva Mīmāṃsā*.

¹ The so-called *sākshātkāra* of Brahman. The &c. comprises inference and so on.

is a post,' which depends on the thing itself, falling under the head of true knowledge. Thus true knowledge of all existing things depends on the things themselves, and hence the knowledge of Brahman also depends altogether on the thing, i.e. Brahman itself.—But, it might be said, as Brahman is an existing substance, it will be the object of the other means of right knowledge also, and from this it follows that a discussion of the Vedānta-texts is purposeless.—This we deny; for as Brahman is not an object of the senses, it has no connection with those other means of knowledge. For the senses have, according to their nature, only external things for their objects, not Brahman. If Brahman were an object of the senses, we might perceive that the world is connected with Brahman as its effect; but as the effect only (i.e. the world) is perceived, it is impossible to decide (through perception) whether it is connected with Brahman or something else. Therefore the Sūtra under discussion is not meant to propound inference (as the means of knowing Brahman), but rather to set forth a Vedānta-text.—Which, then, is the Vedānta-text which the Sūtra points at as having to be considered with reference to the characteristics of Brahman?—It is the passage Taitt. Up. III, 1, 'Bhrigu Vāruṇi went to his father Varuṇa, saying, Sir, teach me Brahman,' &c., up to 'That from whence these beings are born, that by which, when born, they live, that into which they enter at their death, try to know that. That is Brahman.' The sentence finally determining the sense of this passage is found III, 6: 'From bliss these beings are born; by bliss, when born, they live; into bliss they enter at their death.' Other passages also are to be adduced which declare the cause to be the almighty Being, whose essential nature is eternal purity, intelligence, and freedom.

That Brahman is omniscient we have been made to infer from it being shown that it is the cause of the world. To confirm this conclusion, the Sūtrakāra continues as follows:

3. (The omniscience of Brahman follows) from its being the source of Scripture.

Brahman is the source, i.e. the cause of the great body of Scripture, consisting of the *Rig-veda* and other branches, which is supported by various disciplines (such as grammar, *nyāya*, *purāṇa*, &c.) ; which lamp-like illuminates all things ; which is itself all-knowing as it were. For the origin of a body of Scripture possessing the quality of omniscience cannot be sought elsewhere but in omniscience itself. It is generally understood that the man from whom some special body of doctrine referring to one province of knowledge only originates, as, for instance, grammar from Pāṇini possesses a more extensive knowledge than his work, comprehensive though it be ; what idea, then, shall we have to form of the supreme omniscience and omnipotence of that great Being, which in sport as it were, easily as a man sends forth his breath, has produced the vast mass of holy texts known as the *Rig-veda*, &c., the mine of all knowledge, consisting of manifold branches, the cause of the distinction of all the different classes and conditions of gods, animals, and men ! See what Scripture says about him, 'The *Rig-veda*, &c., have been breathed forth from that great Being' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 10*).

Or else we may interpret the Sūtra to mean that Scripture consisting of the *Rig-veda*, &c., as described above, is the source or cause, i.e. the means of right knowledge through which we understand the nature of Brahman. So that the sense would be : through Scripture only as a means of knowledge Brahman is known to be the cause of the origin, &c., of the world. The special scriptural passage meant has been quoted under the preceding Sūtra 'from which these beings are born,' &c.—But as the preceding Sūtra already has pointed out a text showing that Scripture is the source of Brahman, of what use then is the present Sūtra ?—The words of the preceding Sūtra, we reply, did not clearly indicate the scriptural passage, and room was thus left for the suspicion that the origin, &c., of the world were adduced merely as determining an inference (independent of Scripture). To obviate this suspicion the Sūtra under discussion has been propounded.

But, again, how can it be said that Scripture is the means of knowing Brahman ? Since it has been declared that Scripture aims at action (according to the *Pūrva Mimāṃsā*

Sûtra I, 2, 1, 'As the purport of Scripture is action, those scriptural passages whose purport is not action are purportless'); the Vedânta-passages whose purport is not action are purportless. Or else if they are to have some sense, they must either, by manifesting the agent, the divinity or the fruit of the action, form supplements to the passages enjoining actions, or serve the purpose of themselves enjoining a new class of actions, such as devout meditation and the like. For the Veda cannot possibly aim at conveying information regarding the nature of accomplished substances, since the latter are the objects of perception and the other means of proof (which give sufficient information about them; while it is the recognised object of the Veda to give information about what is not known from other sources). And if it did give such information, it would not be connected with things to be desired or shunned, and thus be of no use to man. For this very reason Vedic passages, such as 'he howled, &c.,' which at first sight appear purposeless, are shown to have a purpose in so far as they glorify certain actions (cp. Pû. Mî. Sû. I, 2, 7, 'Because they stand in syntactical connection with the injunctions, therefore their purport is to glorify the injunctions'). In the same way mantras are shown to stand in a certain relation to actions, in so far as they notify the actions themselves and the means by which they are accomplished. So, for instance, the mantra, 'For strength thee (I cut;)' which accompanies the cutting of a branch employed in the darsapûrnâmsâ-sacrifice). In short, no Vedic passage is seen or can be proved to have a meaning but in so far as it is related to an action. And injunctions which are defined as having actions for their objects cannot refer to accomplished existent things. Hence we maintain that the Vedânta-texts are mere supplements to those passages which enjoin actions; notifying the agents, divinities, and results connected with those actions. Or else, if this be not admitted, on the ground of its involving the introduction of a subject-matter foreign to the Vedânta-texts (viz. the subject-matter of the Karmakânda of the Veda), we must admit (the second of the two alternatives proposed above viz.) that the

Vedānta-texts refer to devout meditation (upāsana) and similar actions which are mentioned in those very (Vedānta) texts. The result of all of which is that Scripture is not the source of Brahman.

To this argumentation the Sūtrakāra replies as follows :

4. But that (Brahman is to be known from Scripture), because it is connected (with the Vedānta-texts) as their purport.

The word 'but' is meant to rebut the pūrva-paksha (the primâ facie view as urged above). That all-knowing, all-powerful Brahman, which is the cause of the origin, subsistence, and dissolution of the world, is known from the Vedānta-part of Scripture. How? Because in all the Vedānta-texts the sentences construe in so far as they have for their purport, as they intimate that matter (viz. Brahman). Compare, for instance, 'Being only this was in the beginning, one, without a second' (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 1*); 'In the beginning all this was Self, one only' (*Ait. Ār. II, 4, 1, 1*); 'This is the Brahman without cause and without effect, without anything inside or outside; this Self is Brahman perceiving everything' (*Bri. Up. II, 5, 19*); 'That immortal Brahman is before' (*Mu. Up. II, 2, 11*); and similar passages. If the words contained in these passages have once been determined to refer to Brahman, and their purport is understood thereby, it would be improper to assume them to have a different sense; for that would involve the fault of abandoning the direct statements of the text in favour of mere assumptions. Nor can we conclude the purport of these passages to be the intimation of the nature of agents, divinities, &c. (connected with acts of religious duty); for there are certain scriptural passages which preclude all actions, actors, and fruits, as, for instance, *Bri. Up. II, 4, 13*, 'Then by what should he see whom?' (which passage intimates that there is neither an agent, nor an object of action, nor an instrument.) Nor again can Brahman, though it is of the nature of an accomplished thing, be the object of perception and the other means of

knowledge; for the fact of everything having its Self in Brahman cannot be grasped without the aid of the scriptural passage 'That art thou' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 7*). Nor can it rightly be objected that instruction is purportless if not connected with something either to be striven after or shunned; for from the mere comprehension of Brahman's Self, which is not something either to be avoided or endeavoured after, there results cessation of all pain, and thereby the attainment of man's highest aim. That passages notifying certain divinities, and so on, stand in subordinate relation to acts of devout meditation mentioned in the same chapters may readily be admitted. But it is impossible that Brahman should stand in an analogous relation to injunctions of devout meditation, for if the knowledge of absolute unity has once arisen there exists no longer anything to be desired or avoided, and thereby the conception of duality, according to which we distinguish actions, agents, and the like, is destroyed. If the conception of duality is once uprooted by the conception of absolute unity, it cannot arise again, and so no longer be the cause of Brahman being looked upon as the complementary object of injunctions of devotion. Other parts of the Veda may have no authority except in so far as they are connected with injunctions; still it is impossible to impugn on that ground the authoritativeness of passages conveying the knowledge of the Self; for such passages have their own result. Nor, finally, can the authoritativeness of the Veda be proved by inferential reasoning so that it would be dependent on instances observed elsewhere. From all which it follows that the Veda possesses authority as a means of right knowledge of Brahman. {

Here others raise the following objection:—Although the Veda is the means of gaining a right knowledge of Brahman, yet it intimates Brahman only as the object of certain injunctions, just as the information which the Veda gives about the sacrificial post, the āhavaniya-fire and other objects not known from the practice of common life is merely supplementary to certain injunctions¹. Why so?

¹ So, for instance, the passage 'he carves the sacrificial post and

Because the Veda has the purport of either instigating to action or restraining from it. For men fully acquainted with the object of the Veda have made the following declaration, 'The purpose of the Veda is seen to be the injunction of actions' (Bhâshya on Gaimini Sûtra I, 1, 1); 'Injunction means passages impelling to action' (Bh. on Gaim. Sû. I, 1, 2); 'Of this (viz. active religious duty) the knowledge comes from injunction' (part of Gaim. Sû. I, 1, 5); 'The (words) denoting those (things) are to be connected with (the injunctive verb of the vidhi-passage) whose purport is action' (Gaim. Sû. I, 1, 25); 'As action is the purport of the Veda, whatever does not refer to action is purportless' (Gaim. Sû. I, 2, 1). Therefore the Veda has a purport in so far only as it rouses the activity of man with regard to some actions and restrains it with regard to others; other passages (i.e. all those passages which are not directly injunctive) have a purport only in so far as they supplement injunctions and prohibitions. Hence the Vedânta-texts also as likewise belonging to the Veda can have a meaning in the same way only. And if their aim is injunction, then just as the agnihotra-oblation and other rites are enjoined as means for him who is desirous of the heavenly world, so the knowledge of Brahman is enjoined as a means for him who is desirous of immortality.—But—somebody might object—it has been declared that there is a difference in the character of the objects enquired into, the object of enquiry in the karma-kânda (that part of the Veda which treats of active religious duty) being something to be accomplished, viz. duty, while here the object is the already existent absolutely accomplished Brahman. From this it follows that the fruit of the knowledge of Brahman must be of a different nature from the fruit of the knowledge of duty which depends on the performance of actions¹.—We reply that it must not be such because the

makes it eight-cornered,' has a purpose only as being supplementary to the injunction 'he ties the victim to the sacrificial post.'

¹ If the fruits of the two sâstras were not of a different nature, there would be no reason for the distinction of two sâstras; if they

Vedānta-texts give information about Brahman only in so far as it is connected with injunctions of actions. We meet with injunctions of the following kind, 'Verily the Self is to be seen' (*Bṛi. Up.* II, 4, 5); 'The Self which is free from sin that it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 7, 1); 'Let a man worship him as Self' (*Bṛi. Up.* I, 4, 7); 'Let a man worship the Self only as his true state' (*Bṛi. Up.* I, 4, 15); 'He who knows Brahman becomes Brahman' (*Mu. Up.* III, 2, 9). These injunctions rouse in us the desire to know what that Brahman is. It, therefore, is the task of the Vedānta-texts to set forth Brahman's nature, and they perform that task by teaching us that Brahman is eternal, all-knowing, absolutely self-sufficient, ever pure, intelligent and free, pure knowledge, absolute bliss. From the devout meditation on this Brahman there results as its fruit, final release, which, although not to be discerned in the ordinary way, is discerned by means of the sâstra. If, on the other hand, the Vedānta-texts were considered to have no reference to injunctions of actions, but to contain statements about mere (accomplished) things, just as if one were saying 'the earth comprises seven dvîpas,' 'that king is marching on,' they would be purportless, because then they could not possibly be connected with something to be shunned or endeavoured after.—Perhaps it will here be objected that sometimes a mere statement about existent things has a purpose, as, for instance, the affirmation, 'This is a rope, not a snake,' serves the purpose of removing the fear engendered by an erroneous opinion, and that so likewise the Vedānta-passages making statements about the non-transmigrating Self, have a purport of their own (without reference to any action), viz. in so far as they remove the erroneous opinion of the Self being liable to transmigration.—We reply that this might

are of a different nature, it cannot be said that the knowledge of Brahman is enjoined for the purpose of final release, in the same way as sacrifices are enjoined for the purpose of obtaining the heavenly world and the like.

be so if just as the mere hearing of the true nature of the rope dispels the fear caused by the imagined snake, so the mere hearing of the true nature of Brahman would dispel the erroneous notion of one's being subject to transmigration. But this is not the case; for we observe that even men to whom the true nature of Brahman has been stated continue to be affected by pleasure, pain, and the other qualities attaching to the transmigratory condition. Moreover, we see from the passage, *Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 5*, 'The Self is to be heard, to be considered, to be reflected upon,' that consideration and reflection have to follow the mere hearing. From all this it results that the śāstra can be admitted as a means of knowing Brahman in so far only as the latter is connected with injunctions.

To all this, we, the Vedāntins, make the following reply:—The preceding reasoning is not valid, on account of the different nature of the fruits of actions on the one side, and of the knowledge of Brahman on the other side. The enquiry into those actions, whether of body, speech, or mind, which are known from *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*, and are comprised under the name 'religious duty' (*dharma*), is carried on in the *Gaimini Sūtra*, which begins with the words 'then therefore the enquiry into duty;' the opposite of duty also (*adharma*), such as doing harm, &c., which is defined in the prohibitory injunctions, forms an object of enquiry to the end that it may be avoided. The fruits of duty, which is good, and its opposite, which is evil, both of which are defined by original Vedic statements, are generally known to be sensible pleasure and pain, which make themselves felt to body, speech, and mind only, are produced by the contact of the organs of sense with the objects, and affect all animate beings from Brahman down to a tuft of grass. Scripture, agreeing with observation, states that there are differences in the degree of pleasure of all embodied creatures from men upward to Brahman. From those differences it is inferred that there are differences in the degrees of the merit acquired by actions in accordance with religious duty; therefrom again are inferred differences in degree between those qualified to perform

acts of religious duty. Those latter differences are moreover known to be affected by the desire of certain results (which entitles the man so desirous to perform certain religious acts), worldly possessions, and the like. It is further known from Scripture that those only who perform sacrifices proceed, in consequence of the pre-eminence of their knowledge and meditation, on the northern path (of the sun; *Kh. Up. V, 10, 1*), while mere minor offerings, works of public utility and alms, only lead through smoke and the other stages to the southern path. And that there also (viz. in the moon which is finally reached by those who have passed along the southern path) there are degrees of pleasure and the means of pleasure is understood from the passage 'Having dwelt there till their works are consumed.' Analogously it is understood that the different degrees of pleasure which are enjoyed by the embodied creatures, from man downward to the inmates of hell and to immovable things, are the mere effects of religious merit as defined in Vedic injunctions. On the other hand, from the different degrees of pain endured by higher and lower embodied creatures, there is inferred difference of degree in its cause, viz. religious demerit as defined in the prohibitory injunctions, and in its agents. This difference in the degree of pain and pleasure, which has for its antecedent embodied existence, and for its cause the difference of degree of merit and demerit of animated beings, liable to faults such as ignorance and the like, is well known—from *Sruti*, *Smṛiti*, and reasoning—to be non-eternal, of a fleeting, changing nature (*samsâra*). The following text, for instance, 'As long as he is in the body he cannot get free from pleasure and pain' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 12, 1*), refers to the *samsâra*-state as described above. From the following passage, on the other hand, 'When he is free from the body then neither pleasure nor pain touches him,' which denies the touch of pain or pleasure, we learn that the unembodied state called 'final release' (*moksha*) is declared not to be the effect of religious merit as defined by Vedic injunctions. For if it were the effect of merit it would not be denied that it is subject to pain and pleasure. Should it be said

that the very circumstance of its being an unembodied state is the effect of merit, we reply that that cannot be, since Scripture declares that state to be naturally and originally an unembodied one. 'The wise who knows the Self as bodiless within the bodies, as unchanging among changing things, as great and omnipresent does never grieve' (Ka. Up. II, 22); 'He is without breath, without mind, pure' (Mu. Up. II, 1, 2); 'That person is not attached to anything' (Bri. Up. IV, 3, 15)¹. All which passages establish the fact that so-called release differs from all the fruits of action, and is an eternally and essentially disembodied state. Among eternal things, some indeed may be 'eternal, although changing' (parināmīnitya), viz. those, the idea of whose identity is not destroyed, although they may undergo changes; such, for instance, are earth and the other elements in the opinion of those who maintain the eternity of the world, or the three *guṇas* in the opinion of the Sāṅkhyas. But this (moksha) is eternal in the true sense, i.e. eternal without undergoing any changes (kūṭasthānitya), omnipresent as ether, free from all modifications, absolutely self-sufficient, not composed of parts, of self-luminous nature. That bodiless entity in fact, to which merit and demerit with their consequences and threefold time do not apply, is called release; a definition agreeing with scriptural passages, such as the following: 'Different from merit and demerit, different from effect and cause, different from past and future' (Ka. Up. I, 2, 14). It² (i.e. moksha) is, therefore, the same as Brahman in the enquiry into which we are at present engaged. If Brahman were represented as supplementary to certain actions, and re-

¹ The first passage shows that the Self is not joined to the gross body; the second that it is not joined to the subtle body; the third that is independent of either.

² Ānanda Giri omits 'atah.' His comment is: *prithaggrigṛhāsā-vishayatvāḥ ka dharmādyasprishatvam brahmano yuktam ityāha | tad iti | atah sabdapāṭhe dharmādyasparse karmaphalavailakshanyam hetūkrītam.*—The above translation follows Govindānanda's first explanation. *Tat kaivalyam brahmaiva karmaphalavilakshanatvād ity arthaḥ.*

lease were assumed to be the effect of those actions, it would be non-eternal, and would have to be considered merely as something holding a pre-eminent position among the described non-eternal fruits of actions with their various degrees. But that release is something eternal is acknowledged by whoever admits it at all, and the teaching concerning Brahman can therefore not be merely supplementary to actions.

There are, moreover, a number of scriptural passages which declare release to follow immediately on the cognition of Brahman, and which thus preclude the possibility of an effect intervening between the two; for instance, 'He who knows Brahman becomes Brahman' (Mu. Up. III, 2, 9); 'All his works perish when He has been beheld, who is the higher and the lower' (Mu. Up. II, 2, 8); 'He who knows the bliss of Brahman fears nothing' (Taitt. Up. II, 9); 'O Ganaka, you have indeed reached fearlessness' (Bri. Up. IV, 2, 4); 'That Brahman knew its Self only, saying, I am Brahman. From it all this sprang' (Bri. Up. I, 4, 10); 'What sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who beholds that unity?' (Īs. Up. 7.) We must likewise quote the passage, Bri. Up. I, 4, 10, ('Seeing this the Rishi Vāmadeva understood: I was Manu, I was the sun,') in order to exclude the idea of any action taking place between one's seeing Brahman and becoming one with the universal Self; for that passage is analogous to the following one, 'standing he sings,' from which we understand that no action due to the same agent intervenes between the standing and the singing. Other scriptural passages show that the removal of the obstacles which lie in the way of release is the only fruit of the knowledge of Brahman; so, for instance, 'You indeed are our father, you who carry us from our ignorance to the other shore' (Pr. Up. VI, 8); 'I have heard from men like you that he who knows the Self overcomes grief. I am in grief. Do, Sir, help me over this grief of mine' (Kṛ. Up. VII, 1, 3); 'To him after his faults had been rubbed out, the venerable Sanatkumāra showed the other side of darkness' (Kṛ. Up. VII, 26, 2). The same is the purport of the Sūtra, supported by arguments, of (Gautama) Ākārya, 'Final release

results from the successive removal of wrong knowledge, faults, activity, birth, pain, the removal of each later member of the series depending on the removal of the preceding member' (Nyây. Sû. I, 1, 2); and wrong knowledge itself is removed by the knowledge of one's Self being one with the Self of Brahman.

Nor is this knowledge of the Self being one with Brahman a mere (fanciful) combination¹, as is made use of, for instance, in the following passage, 'For the mind is endless, and the Visvedevas are endless, and he thereby gains the endless world' (*Bri. Up. III, 1, 9*)²; nor is it an (in reality unfounded) ascription (superimposition)³, as in the passages, 'Let him meditate on mind as Brahman,' and 'Âditya is Brahman, this is the doctrine' (*Kh. Up. III, 18, 1; 19, 1*), where the contemplation as Brahman is superimposed on the mind, Âditya and so on; nor, again, is it (a figurative conception of identity) founded on the connection (of the things viewed as identical) with some special activity, as in the passage, 'Air is indeed the absorber; breath is indeed the absorber'⁴ (*Kh. Up. IV, 3, 1; 3*); nor is it a mere (ceremonial) purification of (the Self constituting a subordinate member) of an action (viz. the action of seeing, &c., Brahman), in the same way as, for instance, the act of looking at the sacri-

¹ Sampat. Sampan nāmâlpe vastuny âlambane sāmānyena kenākin mahato vastunah sampādanam. Ânanda Giri.

² In which passage the mind, which may be called endless on account of the infinite number of modifications it undergoes, is identified with the Visvedevas, which thereby constitute the chief object of the meditation; the fruit of the meditation being immortality. The identity of the Self with Brahman, on the other hand, is real, not only meditatively imagined, on account of the attribute of intelligence being common to both.

³ Adhyāsaḥ sāstrato tasmims taddhīḥ. Sampadi sampādyamānasya prādhānyenānudhyānam, adhyāse tu âlambanasyeti viśeṣaḥ. Ânanda Giri.

⁴ Air and breath each absorb certain things, and are, therefore, designated by the same term 'absorber.' Seyam samvargadriṣṭīr vāyau prāṇe ka darśāgatam gagad darsayati yathā gīvātmani brimhanakriyayā brahmadriṣṭīramritatvāya phalāya kalpata iti. Bhāmati.

ficial butter¹. For if the knowledge of the identity of the Self and Brahman were understood in the way of combination and the like, violence would be done thereby to the connection of the words whose object, in certain passages, it clearly is to intimate the fact of Brahman and the Self being really identical; so, for instance, in the following passages, 'That art thou' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 7*); 'I am Brahman' (*Bri. Up. I, 4, 10*); 'This Self is Brahman' (*Bri. Up. II, 5, 19*). And other texts which declare that the fruit of the cognition of Brahman is the cessation of Ignorance would be contradicted thereby; so, for instance, 'The fetter of the heart is broken, all doubts are solved' (*Mu. Up. II, 2, 8*). Nor, finally, would it be possible, in that case, satisfactorily to explain the passages which speak of the individual Self becoming Brahman: such as 'He who knows Brahman becomes Brahman' (*Mu. Up. III, 2, 9*). Hence the knowledge of the unity of Brahman and the Self cannot be of the nature of figurative combination and the like. The knowledge of Brahman does, therefore, not depend on the active energy of man, but is analogous to the knowledge of those things which are the objects of perception, inference, and so on, and thus depends on the object of knowledge only. Of such a Brahman or its knowledge it is impossible to establish, by reasoning, any connection with actions.

Nor, again, can we connect Brahman with acts by representing it as the object of the action of knowing. For that it is not such is expressly declared in two passages, viz. 'It is different from the known and again above (i.e. different from) the unknown' (*Ken. Up. I, 3*); and 'How should he know him by whom he knows all this?' (*Bri. Up. II, 4, 13*). In the same way Brahman is expressly declared not to be the object of the act of devout meditation, viz. in the second half of the verse, *Ken. Up. I, 5*, whose first half

¹ The butter used in the *upâmsuyâga* is ceremonially purified by the wife of the sacrificer looking at it; so, it might be said, the Self of him who meditates on Brahman (and who as *kartri*—agent—stands in a subordinate *aṅga*-relation to the *karman* of meditation) is merely purified by the cognition of its being one with Brahman.

declares it not to be an object (of speech, mind, and so on), 'That which is not proclaimed by speech, by which speech is proclaimed, that only know to be Brahman, not that on which people devoutly meditate as this.' If it should be objected that if Brahman is not an object (of speech, mind, &c.) the *sāstra* can impossibly be its source, we refute this objection by the remark that the aim of the *sāstra* is to discard all distinctions fictitiously created by Nescience. The *sāstra*'s purport is not to represent Brahman definitely as this or that object, its purpose is rather to show that Brahman as the eternal subject (*pratyagâtman*, the inward Self) is never an object, and thereby to remove the distinction of objects known, knowers, acts of knowledge, &c., which is fictitiously created by Nescience. Accordingly the *sāstra* says, 'By whom it is not thought by him it is thought, by whom it is thought he does not know it; unknown by those who know it, it is known by those who do not know it' (*Ken. Up.* II, 3); and 'Thou couldst not see the seer of sight, thou couldst not hear the hearer of hearing, nor perceive the perceiver of perception, nor know the knower of knowledge' (*Bri. Up.* III, 4, 2). As thereby (i.e. by the knowledge derived from the *sāstra*) the imagination of the transitoriness of Release which is due to Nescience is discarded, and Release is shown to be of the nature of the eternally free Self, it cannot be charged with the imperfection of non-eternality. Those, on the other hand, who consider Release to be something to be effected properly maintain that it depends on the action of mind, speech, or body. So, likewise, those who consider it to be a mere modification. Non-eternality of Release is the certain consequence of these two opinions; for we observe in common life that things which are modifications, such as sour milk and the like, and things which are effects, such as jars, &c., are non-eternal. Nor, again, can it be said that there is a dependance on action in consequence of (Brahman or Release) being something which is to be obtained¹; for as Brahman constitutes a person's Self it is

¹ An hypothesis which might be proposed for the purpose of

not something to be attained by that person. And even if Brahman were altogether different from a person's Self still it would not be something to be obtained; for as it is omnipresent it is part of its nature that it is ever present to every one, just as the (all-pervading) ether is. Nor, again, can it be maintained that Release is something to be ceremonially purified, and as such depends on an activity. For ceremonial purification (*samskāra*) results either from the accretion of some excellence or from the removal of some blemish. The former alternative does not apply to Release as it is of the nature of Brahman, to which no excellence can be added; nor, again, does the latter alternative apply, since Release is of the nature of Brahman, which is eternally pure.—But, it might be said, Release might be a quality of the Self which is merely hidden and becomes manifest on the Self being purified by some action; just as the quality of clearness becomes manifest in a mirror when the mirror is cleaned by means of the action of rubbing.—This objection is invalid, we reply, because the Self cannot be the abode of any action. For an action cannot exist without modifying that in which it abides. But if the Self were modified by an action its non-eternality would result therefrom, and texts such as the following, 'unchangeable he is called,' would thus be stultified; an altogether unacceptable result. Hence it is impossible to assume that any action should abide in the Self. On the other hand, the Self cannot be purified by actions abiding in something else as it stands in no relation to that extraneous something. Nor will it avail to point out (as a quasi-analogous case) that the embodied Self (*dehin*, the individual soul) is purified by certain ritual actions which abide in the body, such as bathing, rinsing one's mouth, wearing the sacrificial thread, and the like. For what is purified by those actions is that Self merely which is joined to the body, i.e. the Self in so far as it is under the power of Nescience. For it is a matter of per-

obviating the imputation to moksha of non-eternality which results from the two preceding hypotheses.

ception that bathing and similar actions stand in the relation of inherence to the body, and it is therefore only proper to conclude that by such actions only that something is purified which is joined to the body. If a person thinks 'I am free from disease,' he predicates health of that entity only which is connected with and mistakenly identifies itself with the harmonious condition of matter (i.e. the body) resulting from appropriate medical treatment applied to the body (i.e. the 'I' constituting the subject of predication is only the individual embodied Self). Analogously that I which predicates of itself, that it is purified by bathing and the like, is only the individual soul joined to the body. For it is only this latter principle of egoity (*ahamkartri*), the object of the notion of the ego and the agent in all cognition, which accomplishes all actions and enjoys their results. Thus the mantras also declare, 'One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating' (Mu. Up. III, 1, 1); and 'When he is in union with the body, the senses, and the mind, then wise people call him the Enjoyer' (Ka. Up. III, 1, 4). Of Brahman, on the other hand, the two following passages declare that it is incapable of receiving any accretion and eternally pure, 'He is the one God, hidden in all beings, all-pervading, the Self within all beings, watching over all works, dwelling in all beings, the witness, the perceiver, the only one; free from qualities' (Sv. Up. VI, 11); and 'He pervaded all, bright, incorporeal, scatheless, without muscles, pure, untouched by evil' (Īs. Up. 8). But Release is nothing but being Brahman. Therefore Release is not something to be purified. And as nobody is able to show any other way in which Release could be connected with action, it is impossible that it should stand in any, even the slightest, relation to any action, excepting knowledge.

But, it will be said here, knowledge itself is an activity of the mind. By no means, we reply; since the two are of different nature. An action is that which is enjoined as being independent of the nature of existing things and dependent on the energy of some person's mind; compare, for instance, the following passages, 'To whichever divinity the

offering is made on that one let him meditate when about to say vashaṭ' (Ait. Brāhm. III, 8, 1); and 'Let him meditate in his mind on the sandhyā.' Meditation and reflection are indeed mental, but as they depend on the (meditating, &c.) person they may either be performed or not be performed or modified. Knowledge, on the other hand, is the result of the different means of (right) knowledge, and those have for their objects existing things; knowledge can therefore not be either made or not made or modified, but depends entirely on existing things, and not either on Vedic statements or on the mind of man. Although mental it thus widely differs from meditation and the like.

The meditation, for instance, on man and woman as fire, which is founded on *Kṛ. Up.* V, 7, 1; 8, 1, 'The fire is man, O Gautama; the fire is woman, O Gautama,' is on account of its being the result of a Vedic statement, merely an action and dependent on man; that conception of fire, on the other hand, which refers to the well-known (real) fire, is neither dependent on Vedic statements nor on man, but only on a real thing which is an object of perception; it is therefore knowledge and not an action. The same remark applies to all things which are the objects of the different means of right knowledge. This being thus that knowledge also which has the existent Brahman for its object is not dependent on Vedic injunction. Hence, although imperative and similar forms referring to the knowledge of Brahman are found in the Vedic texts, yet they are ineffective because they refer to something which cannot be enjoined, just as the edge of a razor becomes blunt when it is applied to a stone. For they have for their object something which can neither be endeavoured after nor avoided.—But what then, it will be asked, is the purport of those sentences which, at any rate, have the appearance of injunctions; such as, 'The Self is to be seen, to be heard about?'—They have the purport, we reply, of diverting (men) from the objects of natural activity. For when a man acts intent on external things, and only anxious to attain the objects of his desire and to eschew the objects of his aversion, and does not thereby reach the highest aim of man although desirous of attaining it; such

texts as the one quoted divert him from the objects of natural activity and turn the stream of his thoughts on the inward (the highest) Self. That for him who is engaged in the enquiry into the Self, the true nature of the Self is nothing either to be endeavoured after or to be avoided, we learn from texts such as the following: 'This everything, all is that Self' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 6*); 'But when the Self only is all this, how should he see another, how should he know another, how should he know the knower?' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 5, 15*); 'This Self is Brahman' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 5, 19*). That the knowledge of Brahman refers to something which is not a thing to be done, and therefore is not concerned either with the pursuit or the avoidance of any object, is the very thing we admit; for just that constitutes our glory, that as soon as we comprehend Brahman, all our duties come to an end and all our work is over. Thus *Sruti* says, 'If a man understands the Self, saying, "I am he," what could he wish or desire that he should pine after the body?' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 12*.) And similarly *Smṛiti* declares, 'Having understood this the understanding man has done with all work, O Bhârata' (*Bha. Gîtâ XV, 20*). Therefore Brahman is not represented as the object of injunctions.

We now proceed to consider the doctrine of those who maintain that there is no part of the Veda which has the purport of making statements about mere existent things, and is not either an injunction or a prohibition, or supplementary to either. This opinion is erroneous, because the soul (*purusha*), which is the subject of the Upanishads, does not constitute a complement to anything else. Of that soul which is to be comprehended from the Upanishads only, which is non-transmigratory, Brahman, different in nature from the four classes of substances¹, which forms a topic of its own and is not a complement to anything else; of that

¹ Viz. things to be originated (for instance, *ghaṭam karoti*), things to be obtained (*grāmam gakkhati*), things to be modified (*suvarnam kundalam karoti*), and things to be ceremonially purified (*vrthm prokshati*).

soul it is impossible to say that it is not or is not apprehended ; for the passage, 'That Self is to be described by No, no !' (*Bri. Up. III, 9, 26*) designates it as the Self, and that the Self is cannot be denied. The possible objection that there is no reason to maintain that the soul is known from the Upanishads only, since it is the object of self-consciousness, is refuted by the fact that the soul of which the Upanishads treat is merely the witness of that (i.e. of the object of self-consciousness, viz. the *gîvâtman*). For neither from that part of the Veda which enjoins works nor from reasoning, anybody apprehends that soul which, different from the agent that is the object of self-consciousness, merely witnesses it ; which is permanent in all (transitory) beings ; uniform ; one ; eternally unchanging ; the Self of everything. Hence it can neither be denied nor be represented as the mere complement of injunctions ; for of that very person who might deny it it is the Self. And as it is the Self of all, it can neither be striven after nor avoided. All perishable things indeed perish, because they are mere modifications, up to (i.e. exclusive of) the soul. But the soul is imperishable¹, as there is no cause why it should perish ; and eternally unchanging, as there is no cause for its undergoing any modification ; hence it is in its essence eternally pure and free. And from passages, such as 'Beyond the soul there is nothing ; this is the goal, the highest road' (*Ka. Up. I, 3, 11*), and 'That soul, taught in the Upanishads, I ask thee' (*Bri. Up. III, 9, 26*), it appears that the attribute of resting on the Upanishads is properly given to the soul, as it constitutes their chief topic. To say, therefore, that there is no portion of the Veda referring to existing things, is a mere bold assertion.

With regard to the quotations made of the views of men acquainted with the purport of the Sâstra (who alone were stated to have declared that the Veda treats of actions) it is to be understood that they, having to do with the enquiry into duty, refer to that part of the Sâstra which consists of

¹ Whence it follows that it is not something to be avoided like transitory things.

injunctions and prohibitions. With regard to the other passage quoted ('as action is the purport of the Veda, whatever does not refer to action is purportless') we remark that if that passage were taken in an absolutely strict sense (when it would mean that only those words which denote action have a meaning), it would follow that all information about existent things is meaningless¹. If, on the other hand, the Veda—in addition to the injunctions of activity and cessation of activity—does give information about existent things as being subservient to some action to be accomplished, why then should it not give information also about the existent eternally unchangeable Self? For an existent thing, about which information is given, does not become an act (through being stated to be subservient to an act).—But, it will be said, although existent things are not acts, yet, as they are instrumental to action, the information given about such things is merely subservient to action.—This, we reply, does not matter; for although the information may be subservient to action, the things themselves about which information is given are already intimated thereby as things which have the power of bringing about certain actions. Their final end (*prayogana*) indeed may be subserviency to some action, but thereby they do not cease to be, in the information given about them, intimated in themselves.—Well, and if they are thus intimated, what is gained thereby for your purpose²? We reply that the information about the Self, which is an existing thing not comprehended from other sources, is of the same nature (as the information about other existent things); for by the comprehension of the Self a stop is put to all false knowledge, which is the cause of transmigration, and thus a

¹ That, for instance, in the passage 'he is to sacrifice with Soma,' the word 'soma,' which does not denote an action, is devoid of sense.

² I.e. for the purpose of showing that the passages conveying information about Brahman as such are justified. You have (the objector maintains) proved hitherto only that passages containing information about existent things are admissible, if those things have a purpose; but how does all this apply to the information about Brahman of which no purpose has been established?

purpose is established which renders the passages relative to Brahman equal to those passages which give information about things instrumental to actions. Moreover, there are found (even in that part of the Veda which treats of actions) such passages as 'a Brāhmaṇa is not to be killed,' which teach abstinence from certain actions. Now abstinence from action is neither action nor instrumental to action. If, therefore, the tenet that all those passages which do not express action are devoid of purport were insisted on, it would follow that all such passages as the one quoted, which teach abstinence from action, are devoid of purport—a consequence which is of course unacceptable. Nor, again, can the connexion in which the word 'not' stands with the action expressed by the verb 'is to be killed'—which action is naturally established¹—be used as a reason for assuming that 'not' denotes an action non-established elsewhere², different from the state of mere passivity implied in the abstinence from the act of killing. For the peculiar function of the particle 'not' is to intimate the idea of the non-existence of that with which it is connected, and the conception of the non-existence (of something to be done) is the cause of the state of passivity. (Nor can it be objected that, as soon as that momentary idea has passed away, the state of passivity will again make room for activity; for) that idea itself passes away (only after having completely destroyed the natural impulse prompting to the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, &c.), just as a fire is extinguished only after having completely consumed its fuel. Hence we are of opinion that the aim of prohibitory passages, such as 'a Brāhmaṇa is not to be killed,' is a merely passive state, consisting in the abstinence from some possible action; excepting some special cases, such as the so-called Pragāpati-vow, &c.³ Hence the charge of want of purpose is to be

¹ It is 'naturally established' because it has natural motives—not dependent on the injunctions of the Veda, viz. passion and the like.

² Elsewhere, i.e. outside the Veda.

³ The above discussion of the prohibitory passages of the Veda

considered as referring (not to the Vedānta-passages, but only) to such statements about existent things as are of the nature of legends and the like, and do not serve any purpose of man.

The allegation that a mere statement about an actually existent thing not connected with an injunction of something to be done, is purposeless (as, for instance, the statement that the earth contains seven dvīpas) has already been refuted on the ground that a purpose is seen to exist in some such statements, as, for instance, 'this is not a snake, but a rope.'—But how about the objection raised above that the information about Brahman cannot be held to have a purpose in the same way as the statement about a rope has one, because a man even after having heard about Brahman continues to belong to this transmigratory

is of a very scholastic nature, and various clauses in it are differently interpreted by the different commentators. Śaṅkara endeavours to fortify his doctrine, that not all parts of the Veda refer to action by an appeal to prohibitory passages which do not enjoin action but abstinence from action. The legitimacy of this appeal might be contested on the ground that a prohibitory passage also, (as, for instance, 'a Brāhmaṇa is not to be killed,') can be explained as enjoining a positive action, viz. some action opposed in nature to the one forbidden, so that the quoted passage might be interpreted to mean 'a determination, &c. of not killing a Brāhmaṇa is to be formed ;' just as we understand something positive by the expression 'a non-Brāhmaṇa,' viz. some man who is a kṣattriya or something else. To this the answer is that, wherever we can, we must attribute to the word 'not' its primary sense which is the absolute negation of the word to which it is joined ; so that passages where it is joined to words denoting action must be considered to have for their purport the entire absence of action. Special cases only are excepted, as the one alluded to in the text where certain prohibited actions are enumerated under the heading of vows ; for as a vow is considered as something positive, the non-doing of some particular action must there be understood as intimating the performance of some action of an opposite nature. The question as to the various meanings of the particle 'not' is discussed in all treatises on the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā ; see, for instance, Arthasamgraha, translation, p. 39 ff.

world?—We reply as follows: It is impossible to show that a man who has once understood Brahman to be the Self, belongs to the transmigratory world in the same sense as he did before, because that would be contrary to the fact of his being Brahman. For we indeed observe that a person who imagines the body, and so on, to constitute the Self, is subject to fear and pain, but we have no right to assume that the same person after having, by means of the Veda, comprehended Brahman to be the Self, and thus having got over his former imaginings, will still in the same manner be subject to pain and fear whose cause is wrong knowledge. In the same way we see that a rich householder, puffed up by the conceit of his wealth, is grieved when his possessions are taken from him ; but we do not see that the loss of his wealth equally grieves him after he has once retired from the world and put off the conceit of his riches. And, again, we see that a person possessing a pair of beautiful earrings derives pleasure from the proud conceit of ownership ; but after he has lost the earrings and the conceit established thereon, the pleasure derived from them vanishes. Thus Sruti also declares, 'When he is free from the body, then neither pleasure nor pain touches him' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 12, 1*). If it should be objected that the condition of being free from the body follows on death only, we demur, since the cause of man being joined to the body is wrong knowledge. For it is not possible to establish the state of embodiedness upon anything else but wrong knowledge. And that the state of disembodiedness is eternal on account of its not having actions for its cause, we have already explained. The objection again, that embodiedness is caused by the merit and demerit effected by the Self (and therefore real), we refute by remarking that as the (reality of the) conjunction of the Self with the body is itself not established, the circumstance of merit and demerit being due to the action of the Self is likewise not established ; for (if we should try to get over this difficulty by representing the Self's embodiedness as caused by merit and demerit) we should commit the logical fault of making embodiedness dependent on merit and de-

merit, and again merit and demerit on embodiedness. And the assumption of an endless retrogressive chain (of embodied states and merit and demerit) would be no better than a chain of blind men (who are unable to lead one another). Moreover, the Self can impossibly become an agent, as it cannot enter into intimate relation to actions. If it should be said that the Self may be considered as an agent in the same way as kings and other great people are (who without acting themselves make others act) by their mere presence, we deny the appositeness of this instance; for kings may become agents through their relation to servants whom they procure by giving them wages, &c., while it is impossible to imagine anything, analogous to money, which could be the cause of a connexion between the Self as lord and the body, and so on (as servants). Wrong imagination, on the other hand, (of the individual Self, considering itself to be joined to the body,) is a manifest reason of the connexion of the two (which is not based on any assumption). This explains also in how far the Self can be considered as the agent in sacrifices and similar acts¹. Here it is objected that the Self's imagination as to the body, and so on, belonging to itself is not false, but is to be understood in a derived (figurative) sense. This objection we invalidate by the remark that the distinction of derived and primary senses of words is known to be applicable only where an actual difference of things is known to exist. We are, for instance, acquainted with a certain species of animals having a mane, and so on, which is the exclusive primary object of the idea and word 'lion,' and we are likewise acquainted with persons possessing in an eminent degree certain leonine qualities, such as fierceness, courage, &c.; here, a well settled difference of objects existing, the idea and the name 'lion' are applied to those persons in a derived or figurative sense. In those cases, however, where the difference of the objects is not well established, the transfer of the conception and

¹ The Self is the agent in a sacrifice, &c. only in so far as it imagines itself to be joined to a body; which imagination is finally removed by the cognition of Brahman.

name of the one to the other is not figurative, but simply founded on error. Such is, for instance, the case of a man who at the time of twilight does not discern that the object before him is a post, and applies to it the conception and designation of a man; such is likewise the case of the conception and designation of silver being applied to a shell of mother-of-pearl somehow mistaken for silver. How then can it be maintained that the application of the word and the conception of the Ego to the body, &c., which application is due to the non-discrimination of the Self and the Not-Self, is figurative (rather than simply false)? considering that even learned men who know the difference of the Self and the Not-Self confound the words and ideas just as common shepherds and goatherds do.

As therefore the application of the conception of the Ego to the body on the part of those who affirm the existence of a Self different from the body is simply false, not figurative, it follows that the embodiedness of the Self is (not real but) caused by wrong conception, and hence that the person who has reached true knowledge is free from his body even while still alive. The same is declared in the *Sruti* passages concerning him who knows Brahman: 'And as the slough of a snake lies on an ant-hill, dead and cast away, thus lies this body; but that disembodied immortal spirit is Brahman only, is only light' (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 4, 7); and 'With eyes he is without eyes as it were, with ears without ears as it were, with speech without speech as it were, with a mind without mind as it were, with vital airs without vital airs as it were.' *Smṛiti* also, in the passage where the characteristic marks are enumerated of one whose mind is steady (*Bha. Gîtâ* II, 54), declares that he who knows is no longer connected with action of any kind. Therefore the man who has once comprehended Brahman to be the Self, does not belong to this transmigratory world as he did before. He, on the other hand, who still belongs to this transmigratory world as before, has not comprehended Brahman to be the Self. Thus there remain no unsolved contradictions.

With reference again to the assertion that Brahman is not

fully determined in its own nature, but stands in a complementary relation to injunctions, because the hearing about Brahman is to be followed by consideration and reflection, we remark that consideration and reflection are themselves merely subservient to the comprehension of Brahman. If Brahman, after having been comprehended, stood in a subordinate relation to some injunctions, it might be said to be merely supplementary. But this is not the case, since consideration and reflection no less than hearing are subservient to comprehension. It follows that the Sāstra cannot be the means of knowing Brahman only in so far as it is connected with injunctions, and the doctrine that on account of the uniform meaning of the Vedānta-texts, an independent Brahman is to be admitted, is thereby fully established. Hence there is room for beginning the new Sāstra indicated in the first Sūtra, 'Then therefore the enquiry into Brahman.' If, on the other hand, the Vedānta-texts were connected with injunctions, a new Sāstra would either not be begun at all, since the Sāstra concerned with injunctions has already been introduced by means of the first Sūtra of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, 'Then therefore the enquiry into duty;' or if it were begun it would be introduced as follows: 'Then therefore the enquiry into the remaining duties;' just as a new portion of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Sūtras is introduced with the words, 'Then therefore the enquiry into what subserves the purpose of the sacrifice, and what subserves the purpose of man' (Pū. Mīm. Sū. IV, 1, 1). But as the comprehension of the unity of Brahman and the Self has not been propounded (in the previous Sāstra), it is quite appropriate that a new Sāstra, whose subject is Brahman, should be entered upon. Hence all injunctions and all other means of knowledge end with the cognition expressed in the words, 'I am Brahman;' for as soon as there supervenes the comprehension of the non-dual Self, which is not either something to be eschewed or something to be appropriated, all objects and knowing agents vanish, and hence there can no longer be means of proof. In accordance with this, they (i.e. men knowing Brahman) have made the following declaration:—

'When there has arisen (in a man's mind) the knowledge, "I am that which is, Brahman is my Self," and when, owing to the sublation of the conceptions of body, relatives, and the like, the (imagination of) the figurative and the false Self has come to an end¹; how should then the effect² (of that wrong imagination) exist any longer? As long as the knowledge of the Self, which Scripture tells us to search after, has not arisen, so long the Self is knowing subject; but that same subject is that which is searched after, viz. (the highest Self) free from all evil and blemish. Just as the idea of the Self being the body is assumed as valid (in ordinary life), so all the ordinary sources of knowledge (perception and the like) are valid only until the one Self is ascertained.'

(Herewith the section comprising the four Sûtras is finished³.)

So far it has been declared that the Vedânta-passages, whose purport is the comprehension of Brahman being the Self, and which have their object therein, refer exclusively to Brahman without any reference to actions. And it has further been shown that Brahman is the omniscient omnipotent cause of the origin, subsistence, and dissolution of the world. But now the Sâṅkhyas and others being of opinion that an existent substance is to be known through other means of proof (not through the Veda) infer different causes, such as the pradhâna and the like, and thereupon interpret the Vedânta-passages as referring to the latter. All the Vedânta-passages, they maintain, which treat of the creation of the world distinctly point out that the cause (of the world) has to be concluded from the effect by inference; and the cause which is to be inferred is the connexion of the pradhâna with the souls (purusha). The followers of Kaṇâda again infer from the very same

¹ The figurative Self, i.e. the imagination that wife, children, possessions, and the like are a man's Self; the false Self, i.e. the imagination that the Self acts, suffers, enjoys, &c.

² I.e. the apparent world with all its distinctions.

³ The words in parentheses are not found in the best manuscripts.

passages that the Lord is the efficient cause of the world while the atoms are its material cause. And thus other argumentators also taking their stand on passages apparently favouring their views and on fallacious arguments raise various objections. For this reason the teacher (Vyāsa)—thoroughly acquainted as he is with words, passages, and means of proof—proceeds to state as *primâ facie* views, and afterwards to refute, all those opinions founded on deceptive passages and fallacious arguments. Thereby he at the same time proves indirectly that what the Vedānta-texts aim at is the comprehension of Brahman.

The Sāṅkhyas who opine that the non-intelligent *pradhâna* consisting of three constituent elements (*guṇa*) is the cause of the world argue as follows. The Vedānta-passages which you have declared to intimate that the all-knowing all-powerful Brahman is the cause of the world can be consistently interpreted also on the doctrine of the *pradhâna* being the general cause. Omnipotence (more literally: the possession of all powers) can be ascribed to the *pradhâna* in so far as it has all its effects for its objects. All-knowingness also can be ascribed to it, viz. in the following manner. What you think to be knowledge is in reality an attribute of the *guṇa* of Goodness¹, according to the *Smṛiti* passage 'from Goodness springs knowledge' (Bha. Gîtā XIV, 17). By means of this attribute of Goodness, viz. knowledge, certain men endowed with organs which are effects (of the *pradhâna*) are known as all-knowing Yogins; for omniscience is acknowledged to be connected with the very highest degree of 'Goodness.' Now to the soul (*puruṣa*) which is isolated, destitute of effected organs, consisting of pure (undifferenced) intelligence it is quite impossible to ascribe either all-knowingness or limited knowledge; the *pradhâna*, on the other hand, because consisting of the three *guṇas*, comprises also in its *pradhâna* state the element of Goodness which is the cause of all-knowingness. The Vedānta-passages therefore in

¹ The most exalted of the three constituent elements whose state of equipoise constitutes the *pradhâna*.

a derived (figurative) sense ascribe all-knowingness to the pradhâna, although it is in itself non-intelligent. Moreover you (the Vedântin) also who assume an all-knowing Brahman can ascribe to it all-knowingness in so far only as that term means capacity for all knowledge. For Brahman cannot always be actually engaged in the cognition of everything; for from this there would follow the absolute permanency of his cognition, and this would involve a want of independence on Brahman's part with regard to the activity of knowing. And if you should propose to consider Brahman's cognition as non-permanent it would follow that with the cessation of the cognition Brahman itself would cease. Therefore all-knowingness is possible only in the sense of capacity for all knowledge. Moreover you assume that previously to the origination of the world Brahman is without any instruments of action. But without the body, the senses, &c. which are the instruments of knowledge, cognition cannot take place in any being. And further it must be noted that the pradhâna, as consisting of various elements, is capable of undergoing modifications, and may therefore act as a (material) cause like clay and other substances; while the uncompounded homogeneous Brahman is unable to do so.

To these conclusions he (Vyâsa) replies in the following Sûtra.

5. On account of seeing (i. e. thinking being attributed in the Upanishads to the cause of the world; the pradhâna) is not (to be identified with the cause indicated by the Upanishads; for) it is not founded on Scripture.

It is impossible to find room in the Vedânta-texts for the non-intelligent pradhâna, the fiction of the Sâṅkhyas; because it is not founded on Scripture. How so? Because the quality of seeing, i. e. thinking, is in Scripture ascribed to the cause. For the passage, *Kh. Up. VI, 2*, (which begins: 'Being only, my dear, this was in the beginning, one only, without a second,' and goes on, 'It thought (saw),

may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire,') declares that this world differentiated by name and form, which is there denoted by the word 'this,' was before its origination identical with the Self of that which is and that the principle denoted by the term 'the being' (or 'that which is') sent forth fire and the other elements after having thought. The following passage also ('Verily in the beginning all this was Self, one only; there was nothing else blinking whatsoever. He thought, shall I send forth worlds? He sent forth these worlds,' Ait. Ār. II, 4, 1, 2) declares the creation to have had thought for its antecedent. In another passage also (Pr. Up. VI, 3) it is said of the person of sixteen parts, 'He thought, &c. He sent forth *Prāṇa*.' By 'seeing' (i.e. the verb 'seeing' exhibited in the Sūtra) is not meant that particular verb only, but any verbs which have a cognate sense; just as the verb 'to sacrifice' is used to denote any kind of offering. Therefore other passages also whose purport it is to intimate that an all-knowing Lord is the cause of the world are to be quoted here, as, for instance, Mu. Up. I, 1, 9, 'From him who perceives all and who knows all, whose brooding consists of knowledge, from him is born that Brahman, name and form and food.'

The argumentation of the Sāṅkhyas that the *pradhāna* may be called all-knowing on account of knowledge constituting an attribute of the *guṇa* Goodness is inadmissible. For as in the *pradhāna*-condition the three *guṇas* are in a state of equipoise, knowledge which is a quality of Goodness only is not possible¹. Nor can we admit the explanation that the *pradhāna* is all-knowing because endowed with the capacity for all knowledge. For if, in the condition of equipoise of the *guṇas*, we term the *pradhāna* all-knowing with reference to the power of knowledge residing in Goodness, we must likewise term it little-knowing, with reference to the power impeding knowledge which resides in Passion and Dark-

¹ Knowledge can arise only where Goodness is predominant, not where the three qualities mutually counterbalance one another.

ness. Moreover a modification of Goodness which is not connected with a witnessing (observing) principle (sākshin) is not called knowledge, and the non-intelligent pradhāna is destitute of such a principle. It is therefore impossible to ascribe to the pradhāna all-knowingness. The case of the Yogins finally does not apply to the point under consideration; for as they possess intelligence, they may, owing to an excess of Goodness in their nature, rise to omniscience¹.—Well then (say those Sāṅkhyas who believe in the existence of a Lord) let us assume that the pradhāna possesses the quality of knowledge owing to the witnessing principle (the Lord), just as the quality of burning is imparted to an iron ball by fire.—No, we reply; for if this were so, it would be more reasonable to assume that that which is the cause of the pradhāna having the quality of thought i.e. the all-knowing primary Brahman itself is the cause of the world.

The objection that to Brahman also all-knowingness in its primary sense cannot be ascribed because, if the activity of cognition were permanent, Brahman could not be considered as independent with regard to it, we refute as follows. In what way, we ask the Sāṅkhya, is Brahman's all-knowingness interfered with by a permanent, cognitional activity? To maintain that he, who possesses eternal knowledge capable to throw light on all objects, is not all-knowing, is contradictory. If his knowledge were considered non-permanent, he would know sometimes, and sometimes he would not know; from which it would follow indeed that he is not all-knowing. This fault is however avoided if we admit Brahman's knowledge to be permanent.—But, it may be objected, on this latter alternative the knower cannot be designated as independent with reference to the act of knowing.—Why not? we reply; the sun also, although his heat and light are permanent, is nevertheless designated as independent

¹ The excess of Sattva in the Yogin would not enable him to rise to omniscience if he did not possess an intelligent principle independent of Sattva.

when we say, 'he burns, he gives light'.—But, it will again be objected, we say that the sun burns or gives light when he stands in relation to some object to be heated or illuminated; Brahman, on the other hand, stands, before the creation of the world, in no relation to any object of knowledge. The cases are therefore not parallel.—This objection too, we reply, is not valid; for as a matter of fact we speak of the Sun as an agent, saying 'the sun shines,' even without reference to any object illuminated by him, and hence Brahman also may be spoken of as an agent, in such passages as 'it thought,' &c., even without reference to any object of knowledge. If, however, an object is supposed to be required ('knowing' being a transitive verb while 'shining' is intransitive), the texts ascribing thought to Brahman will fit all the better.—What then is that object to which the knowledge of the Lord can refer previously to the origin of the world?—Name and form, we reply, which can be defined neither as being identical with Brahman nor as different from it, unevolved but about to be evolved. For if, as the adherents of the Yoga-sāstra assume, the Yogins have a perceptive knowledge of the past and the future through the favour of the Lord; in what terms shall we have to speak of the eternal cognition of the ever pure Lord himself, whose objects are the creation, subsistence, and dissolution of the world! The objection that Brahman, previously to the origin of the world, is not able to think because it is not connected with a body, &c. does not apply; for Brahman, whose nature is eternal cognition—as the sun's nature is eternal luminous-

¹ Ānanda Giri comments as follows: *paroktānupapattim nirasitum prikkhati idam iti. Prakṛtyarthābhāvāt pratyayārthābhāvād vā brahmano sarvagñātetī prasnam eva prakāśayati katham iti. Prathamam pratyāha yasyeti. Uktam vyatirekadvārā vivrinoti anityatve hti. Dvītiyam saṅkate gñāneti. Svato nityasyāpi gñānasya tattadarthāvaśāhinnasya kāryatvāt tatra svātantryam pratyayārtho brahmanasidhyatī āha.*—The knowledge of Brahman is eternal, and in so far Brahman is not independent with regard to it, but it is independent with regard to each particular act of knowledge; the verbal affix in 'gñānāti' indicating the particularity of the act.

ness—can impossibly stand in need of any instruments of knowledge. The transmigrating soul (*samsârin*) indeed, which is under the sway of Nescience, &c., may require a body in order that knowledge may arise in it; but not so the Lord, who is free from all impediments of knowledge. The two following Mantras also declare that the Lord does not require a body, and that his knowledge is without any obstructions. ‘There is no effect and no instrument known of him, no one is seen like unto him or better; his high power is revealed as manifold, as inherent, acting as knowledge and force.’ ‘Grasping without hands, hasting without feet, he sees without eyes, he hears without ears. He knows what can be known, but no one knows him; they call him the first, the great person’ (*Sv. Up. VI, 8; III, 19*).

But, to raise a new objection, there exists no transmigrating soul different from the Lord and obstructed by impediments of knowledge; for *Sruti* expressly declares that ‘there is no other seer but he; there is no other knower but he’ (*Bri. Up. III, 7, 23*). How then can it be said that the origination of knowledge in the transmigrating soul depends on a body, while it does not do so in the case of the Lord?—True, we reply. There is in reality no transmigrating soul different from the Lord. Still the connexion (of the Lord) with limiting adjuncts, consisting of bodies and so on, is assumed, just as we assume the ether to enter into connexion with divers limiting adjuncts such as jars, pots, caves, and the like. And just as in consequence of connexion of the latter kind such conceptions and terms as ‘the hollow (space) of a jar,’ &c. are generally current, although the space inside a jar is not really different from universal space, and just as in consequence thereof there generally prevails the false notion that there are different spaces such as the space of a jar and so on; so there prevails likewise the false notion that the Lord and the transmigrating soul are different; a notion due to the non-discrimination of the (unreal) connexion of the soul with the limiting conditions, consisting of the body and so on. That the Self, although in reality the only existence, imparts the quality of Selfhood to bodies and the like

which are Not-Self is a matter of observation, and is due to mere wrong conception, which depends in its turn on antecedent wrong conception. And the consequence of the soul thus involving itself in the transmigratory state is that its thought depends on a body and the like.

The averment that the pradhâna, because consisting of several elements, can, like clay and similar substances, occupy the place of a cause while the uncompounded Brahman cannot do so, is refuted by the fact of the pradhâna not basing on Scripture. That, moreover, it is possible to establish by argumentation the causality of Brahman, but not of the pradhâna and similar principles, the Sûtrakâra will set forth in the second Adhyâya (II, 1, 4, &c.).

Here the Sâṅkhya comes forward with a new objection. The difficulty started by you, he says, viz. that the non-intelligent pradhâna cannot be the cause of the world, because thought is ascribed to the latter in the sacred texts, can be got over in another way also, viz. on the ground that non-intelligent things are sometimes figuratively spoken of as intelligent beings. We observe, for instance, that people say of a river-bank about to fall, 'the bank is inclined to fall (pipatishati),' and thus speak of a non-intelligent bank as if it possessed intelligence. So the pradhâna also, although non-intelligent, may, when about to create, be figuratively spoken of as thinking. Just as in ordinary life some intelligent person after having bathed, and dined, and formed the purpose of driving in the afternoon to his village, necessarily acts according to his purpose, so the pradhâna also acts by the necessity of its own nature, when transforming itself into the so-called great principle and the subsequent forms of evolution; it may therefore figuratively be spoken of as intelligent.—But what reason have you for setting aside the primary meaning of the word 'thought' and for taking it in a figurative sense?—The observation, the Sâṅkhya replies, that fire and water also are figuratively spoken of as intelligent beings in the two following scriptural passages, 'That fire thought; that water thought' (*Kṛ. Up. VI, 2, 3; 4*). We therefore conclude that thought is to be taken in a figurative sense there

also where Being (Sat) is the agent, because it is mentioned in a chapter where (thought) is generally taken in a figurative sense¹.

To this argumentation of the Sāṅkhya the next Sūtra replies :

6. If it is said that (the word 'seeing') has a figurative meaning, we deny that, on account of the word Self (being applied to the cause of the world).

Your assertion that the term 'Being' denotes the non-intelligent pradhâna, and that thought is ascribed to it in a figurative sense only, as it is to fire and water, is untenable. Why so? On account of the term 'Self.' For the passage *Kh. Up. VI, 2*, which begins 'Being only, my dear, this was in the beginning,' after having related the creation of fire, water, and earth ('it thought,' &c.; 'it sent forth fire,' &c.), goes on—denoting the thinking principle of which the whole chapter treats, and likewise fire, water, and earth, by the term 'divinities'—as follows, 'That divinity thought: Let me now enter those three divinities with this living Self (*gīva ātman*) and evolve names and forms.' If we assumed that in this passage the non-intelligent pradhâna is figuratively spoken of as thinking, we should also have to assume that the same pradhâna—as once constituting the subject-matter of the chapter—is referred to by the term 'that divinity.' But in that case the divinity would not speak of the *gīva* as 'Self.' For by the term '*Gīva*' we must understand, according to the received meaning and the etymology of the word, the intelligent (principle) which rules over the body and sustains the vital airs. How could such a principle be the Self of the non-intelligent pradhâna? By 'Self' we understand (a being's) own nature, and it is clear that the intelligent *Gīva* cannot constitute the nature of the non-intelligent pradhâna. If, on the other hand, we refer the whole chapter to the intelligent Brahman, to

¹ In the second *Khanda* of the sixth *Prapâṭhaka* of the *Kh. Up.* 'aikshata' is twice used in a figurative sense (with regard to fire and water); it is therefore to be understood figuratively in the third passage also where it occurs.

which thought in its primary sense belongs, the use of the word 'Self' with reference to the *Giva* is quite adequate. Then again there is the other passage, 'That which is that subtle essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the true. It is the Self. That art thou, O Svetaketu' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 7, &c.*). Here the clause 'It is the Self' designates the Being of which the entire chapter treats, viz. the subtle Self, by the word 'Self,' and the concluding clause, 'that art thou, O Svetaketu,' declares the intelligent Svetaketu to be of the nature of the Self. Fire and water, on the other hand, are non-intelligent, since they are objects (of the mind), and since they are declared to be implicated in the evolution of names and forms. And as at the same time there is no reason for ascribing to them thought in its primary sense—while the employment of the word 'Self' furnishes such a reason with reference to the Sat—the thought attributed to them must be explained in a figurative sense, like the inclination of the river-bank. Moreover, the thinking on the part of fire and water is to be understood as dependent on their being ruled over by the Sat. On the other hand, the thought of the Sat is, on account of the word 'Self,' not to be understood in a figurative sense¹.

Here the Sāṅkhya comes forward with a new objection. The word 'Self,' he says, may be applied to the *pradhāna*, although unintelligent, because it is sometimes figuratively used in the sense of 'that which effects all purposes of another;' as, for instance, a king applies the word 'Self' to some servant who carries out all the king's intentions, 'Bhādrasena is my (other) Self.' For the *pradhāna*, which effects the enjoyment and the emancipation of the soul, serves the latter in the same way as a minister serves his king in the affairs of peace and war. Or else, it may be said, the one word 'Self' may refer to non-intelligent things as well as to intelligent beings, as we see that such expressions as 'the Self of the elements,' 'the Self of the senses,' are made use of, and as the one word 'light' (*gyotis*) denotes a certain

¹ So that, on this latter explanation, it is unnecessary to assume a figurative sense of the word 'thinking' in any of the three passages.

sacrifice (the *gyotishṭoma*) as well as a flame. How then does it follow from the word 'Self' that the thinking (ascribed to the cause of the world) is not to be taken in a figurative sense?

To this last argumentation the *Sûtrakâra* replies:

7. (The *pradhâna* cannot be designated by the term 'Self') because release is taught of him who takes his stand on that (the *Sat*).

The non-intelligent *pradhâna* cannot be the object of the term 'Self' because in the passage *Kṛ. Up. VI, 2 ff.*, where the subtle *Sat* which is under discussion is at first referred to in the sentence, 'That is the Self,' and where the subsequent clause, 'That art thou, O *Svetaketu*,' declares the intelligent *Svetaketu* to have his abode in the Self, a passage subsequent to the two quoted (viz. 'a man who has a teacher obtains true knowledge; for him there is only delay as long as he is not delivered, then he will be perfect') declares final release. For if the non-intelligent *pradhâna* were denoted by the term 'Sat,' and did comprehend—by means of the phrase 'That art thou'—persons desirous of final release who as such are intelligent, the meaning could only be 'Thou art non-intelligent;' so that Scripture would virtually make contradictory statements to the disadvantage of man, and would thus cease to be a means of right knowledge. But to assume that the faultless *sâstra* is not a means of right knowledge, would be contrary to reason. And if the *sâstra*, considered as a means of right knowledge, should point out to a man desirous of release, but ignorant of the way to it, a non-intelligent Self as the real Self, he would—comparable to the blind man who had caught hold of the ox's tail¹—cling to the view of that being the Self,

¹ A wicked man meets in a forest a blind person who has lost his way, and implores him to lead him to his village; instead of doing so the wicked man persuades the blind one to catch hold of the tail of an ox, which he promises would lead him to his place. The consequence is that the blind man is, owing to his trustfulness, led even farther astray, and injured by the bushes, &c., through which the ox drags him.

and thus never be able to reach the real Self different from the false Self pointed out to him; hence he would be debarred from what constitutes man's good, and would incur evil. We must therefore conclude that, just as the *sāstra* teaches the *agnihotra* and similar performances in their true nature as means for those who are desirous of the heavenly world, so the passage 'that is the Self, that art thou, O Svetaketu,' teaches the Self in its true nature also. Only on that condition release for him whose thoughts are true can be taught by means of the simile in which the person to be released is compared to the man grasping the heated axe (*Kh. Up. VI, 16*). For in the other case, if the doctrine of the Sat constituting the Self had a secondary meaning only, the cognition founded on the passage 'that art thou' would be of the nature of a fanciful combination only¹, like the knowledge derived from the passage, 'I am the hymn' (*Ait. Ār. II, 1, 2, 6*), and would lead to a mere transitory reward; so that the simile quoted could not convey the doctrine of release. Therefore the word 'Self' is applied to the subtle Sat not in a merely figurative sense. In the case of the faithful servant, on the other hand, the word 'Self' can—in such phrases as 'Bhadrasena is my Self'—be taken in a figurative sense, because the difference between master and servant is well established by perception. Moreover, to assume that, because words are sometimes seen to be used in figurative senses, a figurative sense may be resorted to in the case of those things also for which words (i. e. Vedic words) are the only means of knowledge, is altogether indefensible; for an assumption of that nature would lead to a general want of confidence. The assertion that the word 'Self' may (primarily) signify what is non-intelligent as well as what is intelligent, just as the word '*gyotis*' signifies a certain sacrifice as well as light, is inadmissible, because we have no right to attribute to words a plurality of meanings. Hence (we rather assume that) the word 'Self' in its primary meaning refers to what is intelligent only and is then, by a figurative

¹ Cp. above, p. 30.

attribution of intelligence, applied to the elements and the like also; whence such phrases as 'the Self of the elements,' 'the Self of the senses.' And even if we assume that the word 'Self' primarily signifies both classes of beings, we are unable to settle in any special case which of the two meanings the word has, unless we are aided either by the general heading under which it stands, or some determinative attributive word. But in the passage under discussion there is nothing to determine that the word refers to something non-intelligent, while, on the other hand, the Sat distinguished by thought forms the general heading, and Svetaketu, i.e. a being endowed with intelligence, is mentioned in close proximity. That a non-intelligent Self does not agree with Svetaketu, who possesses intelligence, we have already shown. All these circumstances determine the object of the word 'Self' here to be something intelligent. The word 'gyotis' does moreover not furnish an appropriate example; for according to common use it has the settled meaning of 'light' only, and is used in the sense of sacrifice only on account of the arthavâda assuming a similarity (of the sacrifice) to light.

A different explanation of the Sûtra is also possible. The preceding Sûtra may be taken completely to refute all doubts as to the word 'Self' having a figurative or double sense, and then the present Sûtra is to be explained as containing an independent reason, proving that the doctrine of the pradhâna being the general cause is untenable.

Hence the non-intelligent pradhâna is not denoted by the word 'Self.' This the teacher now proceeds to prove by an additional reason.

8. And (the pradhâna cannot be denoted by the word 'Self') because there is no statement of its having to be set aside.

If the pradhâna which is the Not-Self were denoted by the term 'Being' (Sat), and if the passage 'That is the Self, that art thou, O Svetaketu,' referred to the pradhâna; the teacher whose wish it is to impart instruction about the

true Brahman would subsequently declare that the pradhâna is to be set aside (and the true Brahman to be considered); for otherwise his pupil, having received the instruction about the pradhâna, might take his stand on the latter, looking upon it as the Non-Self. In ordinary life a man who wishes to point out to a friend the (small) star Arundhati at first directs his attention to a big neighbouring star, saying 'that is Arundhati,' although it is really not so; and thereupon he withdraws his first statement and points out the real Arundhati. Analogously the teacher (if he intended to make his pupil understand the Self through the Non-Self) would in the end definitely state that the Self is not of the nature of the pradhâna. But no such statement is made; for the sixth Prapâṭhaka arrives at a conclusion based on the view that the Self is nothing but that which is (the Sat).

The word 'and' (in the Sûtra) is meant to notify that the contradiction of a previous statement (which would be implied in the rejected interpretation) is an additional reason for the rejection. Such a contradiction would result even if it were stated that the pradhâna is to be set aside. For in the beginning of the Prapâṭhaka it is intimated that through the knowledge of the cause everything becomes known. Compare the following consecutive sentences, 'Have you ever asked for that instruction by which we hear what cannot be heard, by which we perceive what cannot be perceived, by which we know what cannot be known? What is that instruction? As, my dear, by one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, the modification (i.e. the effect) being a name merely which has its origin in speech, while the truth is that it is clay merely,' &c. Now if the term 'Sat' denoted the pradhâna, which is merely the cause of the aggregate of the objects of enjoyment, its knowledge, whether to be set aside or not to be set aside, could never lead to the knowledge of the aggregate of enjoyers (souls), because the latter is not an effect of the pradhâna. Therefore the pradhâna is not denoted by the term 'Sat.'—For this the Sûtrakâra gives a further reason.

9. On account of (the individual Soul) going to the Self (the Self cannot be the pradhâna).

With reference to the cause denoted by the word 'Sat,' Scripture says, 'When a man sleeps here, then, my dear, he becomes united with the Sat, he is gone to his own (Self). Therefore they say of him, "he sleeps" (svapiti), because he is gone to his own (svam apita).' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 1.*) This passage explains the well-known verb 'to sleep,' with reference to the soul. The word, 'his own,' denotes the Self which had before been denoted by the word Sat; to the Self he (the individual soul) goes, i.e. into it it is resolved, according to the acknowledged sense of *api-i*, which means 'to be resolved into.' The individual soul (*gîva*) is called awake as long as being connected with the various external objects by means of the modifications of the mind—which thus constitute limiting adjuncts of the soul—it apprehends those external objects, and identifies itself with the gross body, which is one of those external objects¹. When, modified by the impressions which the external objects have left, it sees dreams, it is denoted by the term 'mind'². When, on the cessation of the two limiting adjuncts (i.e. the subtle and the gross bodies), and the consequent absence of the modifications due to the adjuncts, it is, in the state of deep sleep, merged in the Self as it were, then it is said to be asleep (resolved into the Self). A similar etymology of the word '*hrîdaya*' is given by *sruti*, 'That Self abides in the heart. And this is the etymological explanation: he is in the heart (*hrîdi ayam*).' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 3, 3.*) The words *asanâya* and *udanyâ* are similarly etymologised: 'water is carrying away what has been eaten by him;' 'fire carries away what has been drunk by him' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 3; 5*). Thus the passage quoted above explains the resolution (of the soul) into the Self, denoted by the term 'Sat,' by means of the etymology of the word 'sleep.' But the intelligent

¹ So according to the commentators, not to accept whose guidance in the translation of scholastic definitions is rather hazardous. A simpler translation of the clause might however be given.

² With reference to *Kh. Up. VI, 8, 2*.

Self can clearly not resolve itself into the non-intelligent pradhâna. If, again, it were said that the pradhâna is denoted by the word 'own,' because belonging to the Self (as being the Self's own), there would remain the same absurd statement as to an intelligent entity being resolved into a non-intelligent one. Moreover another scriptural passage (viz. 'embraced by the intelligent—prâgñā—Self he knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within,' *Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 21*) declares that the soul in the condition of dreamless sleep is resolved into an intelligent entity. Hence that into which all intelligent souls are resolved is an intelligent cause of the world, denoted by the word 'Sat,' and not the pradhâna.—A further reason for the pradhâna not being the cause is subjoined.

10. On account of the uniformity of view (of the Vedānta-texts, Brahman is to be considered the cause).

If, as in the argumentations of the logicians, so in the Vedānta-texts also, there were set forth different views concerning the nature of the cause, some of them favouring the theory of an intelligent Brahman being the cause of the world, others inclining towards the pradhâna doctrine, and others again tending in a different direction; then it might perhaps be possible to interpret such passages as those, which speak of the cause of the world as thinking, in such a manner as to make them fall in with the pradhâna theory. But the stated condition is absent since all the Vedānta-texts uniformly teach that the cause of the world is the intelligent Brahman. Compare, for instance, 'As from a burning fire sparks proceed in all directions, thus from that Self the prâṇas proceed each towards its place; from the prâṇas the gods, from the gods the worlds' (*Kau. Up. III, 3*). And 'from that Self sprang ether' (*Taitt. Up. II, 1*). And 'all this springs from the Self' (*Kh. Up. VII, 26, 1*). And 'this prâṇa is born from the Self' (*Pr. Up. III, 3*); all which passages declare the Self to be the cause. That the word 'Self' denotes an intelligent being, we have already shown.

And that all the Vedānta-texts advocate the same view as to an intelligent cause of the world, greatly strengthens their claim to be considered a means of right knowledge, just as the corresponding claims of the senses are strengthened by their giving us information of a uniform character regarding colour and the like. The all-knowing Brahman is therefore to be considered the cause of the world, 'on account of the uniformity of view (of the Vedānta-texts).'—A further reason for this conclusion is advanced.

11. And because it is directly stated in Scripture (therefore the all-knowing Brahman is the cause of the world).

That the all-knowing Lord is the cause of the world, is also declared in a text directly referring to him (viz. the all-knowing one), viz. in the following passage of the man-tropanishad of the Svetāsvataras (VI, 9) where the word 'he' refers to the previously mentioned all-knowing Lord, 'He is the cause, the lord of the lords of the organs, and there is of him neither parent nor lord.' It is therefore finally settled that the all-knowing Brahman is the general cause, not the non-intelligent pradhāna or anything else.

In what precedes we have shown, availing ourselves of appropriate arguments, that the Vedānta-texts exhibited under Sūtras I, 1-11, are capable of proving that the all-knowing, all-powerful Lord is the cause of the origin, subsistence, and dissolution of the world. And we have explained, by pointing to the prevailing uniformity of view (I, 10), that all Vedānta-texts whatever maintain an intelligent cause. The question might therefore be asked, 'What reason is there for the subsequent part of the Vedānta-sūtras?' (as the chief point is settled already.)

To this question we reply as follows: Brahman is apprehended under two forms; in the first place as qualified by limiting conditions owing to the multiformity of the evolutions of name and form (i.e. the multiformity of the created world; in the second place as being the opposite of this, i.e. free from all limiting conditions whatever. Compare

the following passages : *Bṛi. Up.* IV, 5, 15, 'For where there is duality as it were, then one sees the other; but when the Self only is all this, how should he see another?' *Kh. Up.* VII, 24, 1, 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the greatest. Where one sees something else, hears something else, understands something else, that is the little. The greatest is immortal; the little is mortal;' *Taitt. Ār.* III, 12, 7, 'The wise one, who having produced all forms and made all names, sits calling (the things by their names¹);' *Sv. Up.* VI, 19, 'Who is without parts, without actions, tranquil, without faults, without taint, the highest bridge of immortality, like a fire that has consumed its fuel;' *Bṛi. Up.* II, 3, 6, 'Not so, not so;' *Bṛi. Up.* III, 8, 8, 'It is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long;' and 'defective is one place, perfect the other.' All these passages, with many others, declare Brahman to possess a double nature, according as it is the object either of Knowledge or of Nescience. As long as it is the object of Nescience, there are applied to it the categories of devotee, object of devotion, and the like². The different modes of devotion lead to different results, some to exaltation, some to gradual emancipation, some to success in works; those modes are distinct on account of the distinction of the different qualities and limiting conditions³. And although the one highest Self only, i.e. the Lord distinguished by those different qualities constitutes the object of devotion, still the fruits (of devotion) are distinct, according as the devotion refers to different qualities. Thus Scripture says, 'According as man worships him, that he becomes;' and, 'According to what his thought is in this world, so will he be when he has departed

¹ The wise one, i.e. the highest Self; which as *gīvātman* is conversant with the names and forms of individual things.

² I.e. it is looked upon as the object of the devotion of the individual souls; while in reality all those souls and Brahman are one.

³ Qualities, i.e. the attributes under which the Self is meditated on; limiting conditions, i.e. the localities—such as the heart and the like—which in pious meditation are ascribed to the Self.

this life' (*Kh. Up.* III, 14, 1). *Smṛiti* also makes an analogous statement, 'Remembering whatever form of being he leaves this body in the end, into that form he enters, being impressed with it through his constant meditation' (*Bha. Gitā* VIII, 6).

Although one and the same Self is hidden in all beings movable as well as immovable, yet owing to the gradual rise of excellence of the minds which form the limiting conditions (of the Self), Scripture declares that the Self, although eternally unchanging and uniform, reveals itself¹ in a graduated series of beings, and so appears in forms of various dignity and power; compare, for instance (*Ait. Ār.* II, 3, 2, 1), 'He who knows the higher manifestation of the Self in him²,' &c. Similarly *Smṛiti* remarks, 'Whatever being there is of power, splendour or might, know it to have sprung from portions of my glory' (*Bha. Gitā*, X, 41); a passage declaring that wherever there is an excess of power and so on, there the Lord is to be worshipped. Accordingly here (i. e. in the *Sūtras*) also the teacher will show that the golden person in the disc of the Sun is the highest Self, on account of an indicating sign, viz. the circumstance of his being unconnected with any evil (*Ved. Sū.* I, 1, 20); the same is to be observed with regard to I, 1, 22 and other *Sūtras*. And, again, an enquiry will have to be undertaken into the meaning of the texts, in order that a settled conclusion may be reached concerning that knowledge of the Self which leads to instantaneous release; for although that knowledge is conveyed by means of various limiting conditions, yet no special connexion with limiting conditions is intended to be intimated, in consequence of which there arises a doubt whether it (the

¹ Ānanda Giri reads *āvish/asya* for *āvishkr̥tasya*.

² Cp. the entire passage. All things are manifestations of the highest Self under certain limiting conditions, but occupying different places in an ascending scale. In unsentient things, stones, &c. only the *sattā*, the quality of being manifests itself; in plants, animals, and men the Self manifests itself through the vital sap; in animals and men there is understanding; higher thought in man alone.

knowledge) has the higher or the lower Brahman for its object ; so, for instance, in the case of Sūtra I, 1, 12¹. From all this it appears that the following part of the Sāstra has a special object of its own, viz. to show that the Vedānta-texts teach, on the one hand, Brahman as connected with limiting conditions and forming an object of devotion, and on the other hand, as being free from the connexion with such conditions and constituting an object of knowledge. The refutation, moreover, of non-intelligent causes different from Brahman, which in I, 1, 10 was based on the uniformity of the meaning of the Vedānta-texts, will be further detailed by the Sūtrakāra, who, while explaining additional passages relating to Brahman, will preclude all causes of a nature opposite to that of Brahman.

12. (The Self) consisting of bliss (is the highest Self) on account of the repetition (of the word 'bliss,' as denoting the highest Self).

The Taittiriya-upanishad (II, 1-5), after having enumerated the Self consisting of food, the Self consisting of the vital airs, the Self consisting of mind, and the Self consisting of understanding, says, 'Different from this which consists of understanding is the other inner Self which consists of bliss.' Here the doubt arises whether the phrase, 'that which consists of bliss,' denotes the highest Brahman of which it had been said previously, that 'It is true Being, Knowledge, without end,' or something different from Brahman, just as the

¹ Ānanda Giri on the preceding passage beginning from 'thus here also : ' na kevalam dvaividhyam brahmanah srutismrityor eva siddham kim tu sūtrakṛto=pi matam ity āha, evam iti, srutismrityor iva prakṛte=pi sāstre dvairūpyam brahmano bhavati ; tatra sopādhikabrahmavishayam antastaddharmādhikarānam udāharati ādityeti ; uktanyāyam tulyadeseshu prasārayati evam iti ; sopādhikopadesavan nirupādhikopadesam darsayati evam ityādinā, ātmagñānam nirnetavyam iti sambandhaḥ ; nirṇayaprasaṅgam āha paretī ; anamayādyupādhidhivāroktasya katham paravidyāvishayatvam tatrāha upādhīti ; nirṇayakramam āha vākyeti, uktārtham adhikarānam kvāstīty āsaṅkyoktam yatheti.

Self consisting of food, &c., is different from it.—The pûrvapakshin maintains that the Self consisting of bliss is a secondary (not the principal) Self, and something different from Brahman; as it forms a link in a series of Selves, beginning with the Self consisting of food, which all are not the principal Self. To the objection that even thus the Self consisting of bliss may be considered as the primary Self, since it is stated to be the innermost of all, he replies that this cannot be admitted, because the Self of bliss is declared to have joy and so on for its limbs, and because it is said to be embodied. If it were identical with the primary Self, joy and the like would not touch it; but the text expressly says 'Joy is its head;' and about its being embodied we read, 'Of that former one this one is the embodied Self' (Taît. Up. II, 6), i.e. of that former Self of Understanding this Self of bliss is the embodied Self. And of what is embodied, the contact with joy and pain cannot be prevented. Therefore the Self which consists of bliss is nothing but the transmigrating Soul.

To this reasoning we make the following reply:—By the Self consisting of bliss we have to understand the highest Self, 'on account of repetition.' For the word 'bliss' is repeatedly applied to the highest Self. So Taît. Up. II, 7, where, after the clause 'That is flavour'—which refers back to the Self consisting of bliss, and declares it to be of the nature of flavour—we read, 'For only after having perceived flavour can any one perceive delight. Who could breathe, who could breathe forth if that Bliss existed not in the ether (of the heart)? For he alone causes blessedness;' and again, II, 8, 'Now this is an examination of Bliss;' 'He reaches that Self consisting of Bliss;' and again, II, 9, 'He who knows the Bliss of Brahman fears nothing;' and in addition, 'He understood that Bliss is Brahman' (III, 6). And in another scriptural passage also (*Bri. Up. III, 9, 28*), 'Knowledge and bliss is Brahman,' we see the word 'bliss' applied just to Brahman. As, therefore, the word 'bliss' is repeatedly used with reference to Brahman, we conclude that the Self consisting of bliss is Brahman also. The objection that the Self consisting of bliss can only denote

the secondary Self (the *Samsârin*), because it forms a link in a series of secondary Selves, beginning with the one consisting of food, is of no force, for the reason that the Self consisting of bliss is the innermost of all. The *Sâstra*, wishing to convey information about the primary Self, adapts itself to common notions, in so far as it at first refers to the body consisting of food, which, although not the Self, is by very obtuse people identified with it; it then proceeds from the body to another Self, which has the same shape with the preceding one, just as the statue possesses the form of the mould into which the molten brass had been poured; then, again, to another one, always at first representing the Non-Self as the Self, for the purpose of easier comprehension; and it finally teaches that the innermost Self¹, which consists of bliss, is the real Self. Just as when a man, desirous of pointing out the star *Arundhatî* to another man, at first points to several stars which are not *Arundhatî* as being *Arundhatî*, while only the star pointed out in the end is the real *Arundhatî*; so here also the Self consisting of bliss is the real Self on account of its being the innermost (i. e. the last). Nor can any weight be allowed to the objection that the attribution of joy and so on, as head, &c., cannot possibly refer to the real Self; for this attribution is due to the immediately preceding limiting condition (viz. the Self consisting of understanding, the so-called *vigñānakosa*), and does not really belong to the real Self. The possession of a bodily nature also is ascribed to the Self of bliss, only because it is represented as a link in the chain of bodies which begins with the Self consisting of food, and is not ascribed to it in the same direct sense in which it is predicated of the transmigrating Self. Hence the Self consisting of bliss is the highest Brahman.

13. If (it be objected that the term *ânandamaya*, consisting of bliss, can) not (denote the highest Self) on account of its being a word denoting a modifica-

¹ After which no other Self is mentioned.

tion (or product); (we declare the objection to be) not (valid) on account of abundance, (the idea of which may be expressed by the affix *maya*.)

Here the *pûrvapakshin* raises the objection that the word *ânandamaya* (consisting of bliss) cannot denote the highest Self.—Why?—Because the word *ânandamaya* is understood to denote something different from the original word (i. e. the word *ânanda* without the derivative affix *maya*), viz. a modification; according to the received sense of the affix *maya*. '*Ânandamaya*' therefore denotes a modification, just as *annamaya* (consisting of food) and similar words do.

This objection is, however, not valid, because '*maya*' is also used in the sense of abundance, i. e. denotes that where there is abundance of what the original word expresses. So, for instance, the phrase '*the sacrifice is annamaya*' means '*the sacrifice is abounding in food*' (not '*is some modification or product of food*'). Thus here Brahman also, as abounding in bliss, is called *ânandamaya*. That Brahman does abound in bliss follows from the passage (*Taitt. Up. II, 8*), where, after the bliss of each of the different classes of beings, beginning with man, has been declared to be a hundred times greater than the bliss of the immediately preceding class, the bliss of Brahman is finally proclaimed to be absolutely supreme. *Maya* therefore denotes abundance.

14. And because he is declared to be the cause of it, (i. e. of bliss; therefore *maya* is to be taken as denoting abundance.)

Maya must be understood to denote abundance, for that reason also that Scripture declares Brahman to be the cause of bliss, '*For he alone causes bliss*' (*Taitt. Up. II, 7*). For he who causes bliss must himself abound in bliss; just as we infer in ordinary life, that a man who enriches others must himself possess abundant wealth. As, therefore, *maya* may be taken to mean '*abundant*,' the Self consisting of bliss is the highest Self.

15. Moreover (the *ânandamaya* is Brahman be-

cause) the same (Brahman) which had been referred to in the mantra is sung, (i. e. proclaimed in the Brāhmaṇa passage as the ānandamaya.)

The Self, consisting of joy, is the highest Brahman for the following reason also¹. On the introductory words 'he who knows Brahman attains the highest' (Taitt. Up. II, 1), there follows a mantra proclaiming that Brahman, which forms the general topic of the chapter, possesses the qualities of true existence, intelligence, infinity; after that it is said that from Brahman there sprang at first the ether and then all other moving and non-moving things, and that, entering into the beings which it had emitted, Brahman stays in the recess, inmost of all; thereupon, for its better comprehension, the series of the different Selves ('different from this is the inner Self,' &c.) are enumerated, and then finally the same Brahman which the mantra had proclaimed, is again proclaimed in the passage under discussion, 'different from this is the other inner Self, which consists of bliss.' To assume that a mantra and the Brāhmaṇa passage belonging to it have the same sense is only proper, on account of the absence of contradiction (which results therefrom); for otherwise we should be driven to the unwelcome inference that the text drops the topic once started, and turns to an altogether new subject.

Nor is there mentioned a further inner Self different from the Self consisting of bliss, as in the case of the Self consisting of food, &c.² On the same (i. e. the Self consisting of bliss) is founded, 'This same knowledge of Bhrigu and Varuṇa; he understood that bliss is Brahman' (Taitt. Up. III, 6). Therefore the Self consisting of bliss is the highest Self.

¹ The previous proofs were founded on līṅga; the argument which is now propounded is founded on prakaraṇa.

² While, in the case of the Selves consisting of food and so on, a further inner Self is duly mentioned each time. It cannot, therefore, be concluded that the Selves consisting of food, &c., are likewise identical with the highest Self referred to in the mantra.

16. (The Self consisting of bliss is the highest Self,) not the other (i.e. the individual Soul), on account of the impossibility (of the latter assumption).

And for the following reason also the Self consisting of bliss is the highest Self only, not the other, i.e. the one which is other than the Lord, i.e. the transmigrating individual soul. The personal soul cannot be denoted by the term 'the one consisting of bliss.' Why? On account of the impossibility. For Scripture says, with reference to the Self consisting of bliss, 'He wished, may I be many, may I grow forth. He brooded over himself. After he had thus brooded, he sent forth whatever there is.' Here, the desire arising before the origination of a body, &c., the non-separation of the effects created from the creator, and the creation of all effects whatever, cannot possibly belong to any Self different from the highest Self.

17. And on account of the declaration of the difference (of the two, the ānandamaya cannot be the transmigrating soul).

The Self consisting of bliss cannot be identical with the transmigrating soul, for that reason also that in the section treating of the Self of bliss, the individual soul and the Self of bliss are distinctly represented as different; Taitt. Up. II, 7, 'It (i.e. the Self consisting of bliss) is a flavour; for only after perceiving a flavour can this (soul) perceive bliss.' For he who perceives cannot be that which is perceived.—But, it may be asked, if he who perceives or attains cannot be that which is perceived or attained, how about the following Sruti- and Smṛiti-passages, 'The Self is to be sought;' 'Nothing higher is known than the attainment of the Self¹?'—This objection, we reply, is legitimate (from the point of view of absolute truth). Yet we see that in ordinary life, the Self, which in reality is never anything

¹ Yadi labdhā na labdhavyaḥ katham tarhi paramātmāno vastuto
• bhinnena gīvātmanā paramātmā labhyata ity arthaḥ. Bhāmāṭi.

but the Self, is, owing to non-comprehension of the truth, identified with the Non-Self, i. e. the body and so on; whereby it becomes possible to speak of the Self in so far as it is identified with the body, and so on, as something not searched for but to be searched for, not heard but to be heard, not seized but to be seized, not perceived but to be perceived, not known but to be known, and the like. Scripture, on the other hand, denies, in such passages as 'there is no other seer but he' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 7, 23*), that there is in reality any seer or hearer different from the all-knowing highest Lord. (Nor can it be said that the Lord is unreal because he is identical with the unreal individual soul; for)¹ the Lord differs from the soul (*vigñānātman*) which is embodied, acts and enjoys, and is the product of Nescience, in the same way as the real juggler who stands on the ground differs from the illusive juggler, who, holding in his hand a shield and a sword, climbs up to the sky by means of a rope; or as the free unlimited ether differs from the ether of a jar, which is determined by its limiting adjunct, (*viz. the jar.*) With reference to this fictitious difference of the highest Self and the individual Self, the two last Sūtras have been propounded.

18. And on account of desire (being mentioned as belonging to the *ānandamaya*) no regard is to be had to what is inferred, (i. e. to the *pradhāna* inferred by the Sāṅkhyas.)

Since in the passage 'he desired, may I be many, may I grow forth,' which occurs in the chapter treating of the *ānandamaya* (*Taitt. Up. II, 6*), the quality of feeling desire is mentioned, that which is inferred, i. e. the non-intelligent *pradhāna* assumed by the Sāṅkhyas, cannot be regarded as being the Self consisting of bliss and the cause of the world. Although the opinion that the *pradhāna* is the

¹ *Yathā paramesvarād bhinno gīvātmā drashā na bhavaty evam gīvātmano•pi drash/ur na bhinnāḥ paramesvara iti gīvasyānirvākyatve paramesvaro•py anirvākyāḥ syād ity ata āha paramesvaras tv avidyākalpitād iti. Ānanda Giri.*

cause of the world, has already been refuted in the Sūtra I, 1, 5, it is here, where a favourable opportunity presents itself, refuted for a second time on the basis of the scriptural passage about the cause of the world feeling desire, for the purpose of showing the uniformity of view (of all scriptural passages).

19. And, moreover, it (i. e. Scripture) teaches the joining of this (i. e. the individual soul) with that, (i. e. the Self consisting of bliss), on that (being fully known).

And for the following reason also the term, 'the Self consisting of bliss,' cannot denote either the *pradhāna* or the individual soul. Scripture teaches that the individual soul when it has reached knowledge is joined, i. e. identified, with the Self of bliss under discussion, i. e. obtains final release. Compare the following passage (Taġtt. Up. II, 7), 'When he finds freedom from fear, and rest in that which is invisible, incorporeal, undefined, unsupported, then he has obtained the fearless. For if he makes but the smallest distinction in it there is fear for him.' That means, if he sees in that Self consisting of bliss even a small difference in the form of non-identity, then he finds no release from the fear of transmigratory existence. But when he, by means of the cognition of absolute identity, finds absolute rest in the Self consisting of bliss, then he is freed from the fear of transmigratory existence. But this (finding absolute rest) is possible only when we understand by the Self consisting of bliss, the highest Self, and not either the *pradhāna* or the individual soul. Hence it is proved that the Self consisting of bliss is the highest Self.

But, in reality, the following remarks have to be made concerning the true meaning of the word '*ānandamaya*'¹. On what grounds, we ask, can it be maintained that the

¹ The explanation of the *ānandamaya* given hitherto is here recalled, and a different one given. The previous explanation is attributed by Go. Ān. to the *vṛttikāra*.

affix 'maya' after having, in the series of compounds beginning with annamaya and ending with vigñānamaya, denoted mere modifications, should all at once, in the word ānandamaya, which belongs to the same series, denote abundance, so that ānandamaya would refer to Brahman? If it should be said that the assumption is made on account of the governing influence of the Brahman proclaimed in the mantra (which forms the beginning of the chapter, Taitt. Up. II), we reply that therefrom it would follow that also the Selfs consisting of food, breath, &c., denote Brahman (because the governing influence of the mantra extends to them also).—The advocate of the former interpretation will here, perhaps, restate an argument already made use of above, viz. as follows: To assume that the Selfs consisting of food, and so on, are not Brahman is quite proper, because after each of them an inner Self is mentioned. After the Self of bliss, on the other hand, no further inner Self is mentioned, and hence it must be considered to be Brahman itself; otherwise we should commit the mistake of dropping the subject-matter in hand (as which Brahman is pointed out by the mantra), and taking up a new topic.—But to this we reply that, although unlike the case of the Selfs consisting of food, &c., no inner Self is mentioned after the Self consisting of bliss, still the latter cannot be considered as Brahman, because with reference to the Self consisting of bliss Scripture declares, 'Joy is its head. Satisfaction is its right arm. Great satisfaction is its left arm. Bliss is its trunk. Brahman is its tail, its support.' Now, here the very same Brahman which, in the mantra, had been introduced as the subject of the discussion, is called the tail, the support; while the five involucra, extending from the involucrum of food up to the involucrum of bliss, are merely introduced for the purpose of setting forth the knowledge of Brahman. How, then, can it be maintained that our interpretation implies the needless dropping of the general subject-matter and the introduction of a new topic?—But, it may again be objected, Brahman is called the tail, i.e. a member of the Self consisting of bliss; analogously to those passages in which a tail and

other members are ascribed to the Selfs consisting of food and so on. On what grounds, then, can we claim to know that Brahman (which is spoken of as a mere member, i. e. a subordinate matter) is in reality the chief matter referred to?—From the fact, we reply, of Brahman being the general subject-matter of the chapter.—But, it will again be said, that interpretation also according to which Brahman is cognised as a mere member of the *ânandamaya* does not involve a dropping of the subject-matter, since the *ânandamaya* himself is Brahman.—But, we reply, in that case one and the same Brahman would at first appear as the whole, viz. as the Self consisting of bliss, and thereupon as a mere part, viz. as the tail; which is absurd. And as one of the two alternatives must be preferred, it is certainly appropriate to refer to Brahman the clause ‘Brahman is the tail’ which contains the word ‘Brahman,’ and not the sentence about the Self of Bliss in which Brahman is not mentioned. Moreover, Scripture, in continuation of the phrase, ‘Brahman is the tail, the support,’ goes on, ‘On this there is also the following sloka: He who knows the Brahman as non-existing becomes himself non-existing. He who knows Brahman as existing him we know himself as existing.’ As this sloka, without any reference to the Self of bliss, states the advantage and disadvantage connected with the knowledge of the being and non-being of Brahman only, we conclude that the clause, ‘Brahman is the tail, the support,’ represents Brahman as the chief matter (not as a merely subordinate matter). About the being or non-being of the Self of bliss, on the other hand, a doubt is not well possible, since the Self of bliss distinguished by joy, satisfaction, &c., is well known to every one.—But if Brahman is the principal matter, how can it be designated as the mere tail of the Self of bliss (‘Brahman is the tail, the support’)?—Its being called so, we reply, forms no objection; for the word tail here denotes that which is of the nature of a tail, so that we have to understand that the bliss of Brahman is not a member (in its literal sense), but the support or abode, the one nest (resting-place) of all worldly bliss. Analogously another

scriptural passage declares, 'All other creatures live on a small portion of that bliss' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 32). Further, if by the Self consisting of bliss we were to understand Brahman, we should have to assume that the Brahman meant is the Brahman distinguished by qualities (*savishesha*), because it is said to have joy and the like for its members. But this assumption is contradicted by a complementary passage (*II*, 9) which declares that Brahman is the object neither of mind nor speech, and so shows that the Brahman meant is the (absolute) Brahman (devoid of qualities), 'From whence all speech, with the mind, turns away unable to reach it, he who knows the bliss of that Brahman fears nothing.' Moreover, if we speak of something as 'abounding in bliss'¹, we thereby imply the co-existence of pain; for the word 'abundance' in its ordinary sense implies the existence of a small measure of what is opposed to the thing whereof there is abundance. But the passage so understood would be in conflict with another passage (*Kh. Up.* VII, 24), 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the Infinite;' which declares that in the Infinite, i.e. Brahman, there is nothing whatever different from it. Moreover, as joy, &c. differ in each individual body, the Self consisting of bliss also is a different one in each body. Brahman, on the other hand, does not differ according to bodies; for the mantra at the beginning of the chapter declares it to be true Being, knowledge, infinite, and another passage says, 'He is the one God, hidden in all beings, all-pervading, the Self within all beings' (*Sv. Up.* VI, 11). Nor, again, does Scripture exhibit a frequent repetition of the word 'ānandamaya;' for merely the radical part of the compound (i.e. the word *ānanda* without the affix *maya*) is repeated in all the following passages; 'It is a flavour, for only after seizing flavour can any one seize bliss. Who could breathe, who could breathe forth, if that bliss existed not in the ether? For he alone causes blessedness;' 'Now this is an examination of bliss;' 'He who

¹ In which sense, as shown above, the word *ānandamaya* must be taken if understood to denote Brahman.

knows the bliss of that Brahman fears nothing;’ ‘He understood that bliss is Brahman.’ If it were a settled matter that Brahman is denoted by the term, ‘the Self consisting of bliss,’ then we could assume that in the subsequent passages, where merely the word ‘bliss’ is employed, the term ‘consisting of bliss’ is meant to be repeated; but that the Self consisting of bliss is not Brahman, we have already proved by means of the reason of joy being its head, and so on. Hence, as in another scriptural passage, viz. ‘Brahman is knowledge and bliss’ (*Bṛi.* Up. III, 9, 28), the mere word ‘bliss’ denotes Brahman, we must conclude that also in such passages as, ‘If that bliss existed not in the ether,’ the word bliss is used with reference to Brahman, and is not meant to repeat the term ‘consisting of bliss.’ The repetition of the full compound, ‘consisting of bliss,’ which occurs in the passage, ‘He reaches that Self consisting of bliss’ (*Taitt.* Up. II, 8), does not refer to Brahman, as it is contained in the enumeration of Non-Selfs, comprising the Self of food, &c., all of which are mere effects, and all of which are represented as things to be reached.—But, it may be said, if the Self consisting of bliss, which is said to have to be reached, were not Brahman—just as the Selfs consisting of food, &c. are not Brahman—then it would not be declared (in the passage immediately following) that he who knows obtains for his reward Brahman.—This objection we invalidate by the remark that the text makes its declaration as to Brahman—which is the tail, the support—being reached by him who knows, by the very means of the declaration as to the attainment of the Self of bliss; as appears from the passage, ‘On this there is also this sloka, from which all speech returns,’ &c. With reference, again, to the passage, ‘He desired: may I be many, may I grow forth,’ which is found in proximity to the mention of the Self consisting of bliss, we remark that it is in reality connected (not with the Self of bliss but with) Brahman, which is mentioned in the still nearer passage, ‘Brahman is the tail, the support,’ and does therefore not intimate that the Self of bliss is Brahman. And, on account of its referring to the passage last quoted (‘it desired,’ &c.), the later passage

also, 'That is flavour,' &c., has not the Self of bliss for its subject.—But, it may be objected, the (neuter word) Brahman cannot possibly be designated by a masculine word as you maintain is done in the passage, 'He desired,' &c.—In reply to this objection we point to the passage (Taît. Up. II, 1), 'From that Self sprang ether,' where, likewise, the masculine word 'Self' can refer to Brahman only, since the latter is the general topic of the chapter. In the knowledge of Bhrîgu and Varuṇa finally ('he knew that bliss is Brahman'), the word 'bliss' is rightly understood to denote Brahman, since we there meet neither with the affix 'maya,' nor with any statement as to joy being its head, and the like. To ascribe to Brahman in itself joy, and so on, as its members, is impossible, unless we have recourse to certain, however minute, distinctions qualifying Brahman; and that the whole chapter is not meant to convey a knowledge of the qualified (savishesha) Brahman is proved by the passage (quoted above), which declares that Brahman transcends speech and mind. We therefore must conclude that the affix *maya*, in the word *ānandamaya*, does not denote abundance, but expresses a mere effect, just as it does in the words *annamaya* and the subsequent similar compounds.

The Sūtras are therefore to be explained as follows. There arises the question whether the passage, 'Brahman is the tail, the support,' is to be understood as intimating that Brahman is a mere member of the Self consisting of bliss, or that it is the principal matter. If it is said that it must be considered as a mere member, the reply is, 'The Self consisting of bliss on account of the repetition.' That means: Brahman, which in the passage 'the Self consisting of bliss,' &c., is spoken of as the tail, the support, is designated as the principal matter (not as something subordinate). On account of the repetition; for in the memorial sloka, 'he becomes himself non-existing,' Brahman alone is reiterated. 'If not, on account of the word denoting a modification; not so, on account of abundance.' In this Sūtra the word 'modification' is meant to convey the sense of member. The objection that on account of

the word 'tail,' which denotes a mere member, Brahman cannot be taken as the principal matter must be refuted. This we do by remarking that there is no difficulty, since a word denoting a member may be introduced into the passage on account of *prākūrya*¹. *Prākūrya* here means a phraseology abounding in terms denoting members. After the different members, beginning with the head and ending with the tail, of the Selfs, consisting of food, &c. have been enumerated, there are also mentioned the head and the other limbs of the Self of bliss, and then it is added, 'Brahman is the tail, the support ;' the intention being merely to introduce some more terms denoting members, not to convey the meaning of 'member,' (an explanation which is impossible) because the preceding Sūtra already has proved Brahman (not to be a member, but) to be the principal matter. 'And because he is declared to be the cause of it.' That means: Brahman is declared to be the cause of the entire aggregate of effects, inclusive of the Self, consisting of bliss, in the following passage, 'He created all whatever there is' (Taitt. Up. II, 6). And as Brahman is the cause, it cannot at the same time be called the member, in the literal sense of the word, of the Self of bliss, which is nothing but one of Brahman's effects. The other Sūtras also (which refer to the Self of bliss²) are to be considered, as well as they may, as conveying a knowledge of Brahman, which (Brahman) is referred to in the passage about the tail.

20. The one within (the sun and the eye) (is the highest Lord), on account of his qualities being declared³.

The following passage is found in Scripture (*Kh. Up. I, 6, 6 ff.*), 'Now that person bright as gold who is seen within

¹ I. e. the word translated hitherto by abundance.

² See I, 1, 15-19.

³ The preceding *adhikarāṇa* had shown that the five Selfs (consisting of food, mind, and so on), which the Taitt. Up. enumerates, are introduced merely for the purpose of facilitating the cognition of Brahman considered as devoid of all qualities ; while that Brahman

the sun, with beard bright as gold and hair bright as gold, bright as gold altogether to the very tips of his nails, whose eyes are like blue lotus; his name is Ut, for he has risen (udita) above all evil. He also who knows this rises above all evil. So much with reference to the devas.' And further on, with reference to the body, 'Now the person who is seen in the eye,' &c. Here the following doubt presents itself. Do these passages point out, as the object of devotion directed on the sphere of the sun and the eye, merely some special individual soul, which, by means of a large measure of knowledge and pious works, has raised itself to a position of eminence; or do they refer to the eternally perfect highest Lord?

The pūrvapakshin takes the former view. An individual soul, he says, is referred to, since Scripture speaks of a definite shape. To the person in the sun special features are ascribed, such as the possession of a beard as bright as gold and so on, and the same features manifestly belong to the person in the eye also, since they are expressly transferred to it in the passage, 'The shape of this person is the same as the shape of that person.' That, on the other hand, no shape can be ascribed to the highest Lord, follows from the passage (Kau. Up. I, 3, 15), 'That which is without sound, without touch, without form, without decay.' That an individual soul is meant follows moreover from the fact that a definite abode is mentioned, 'He who is in the sun; he who is in the eye.' About the highest Lord, who has no special abode, but abides in his own glory, no similar statement can be made; compare, for instance, the two following passages, 'Where does he rest? In his own glory?' (Kh. Up. VII, 24, 1); and 'like the ether he is omnipresent, eternal.' A further argument for our view is supplied by the fact that the might (of the being in question) is said to be limited; for the passage, 'He is lord of the worlds beyond that, and of the wishes of the devas,' indicates the

itself is the real object of knowledge. The present adhikarana undertakes to show that the passage about the golden person represents the savishesha Brahman as the object of devout meditation.

limitation of the might of the person in the sun ; and the passage, 'He is lord of the worlds beneath that and of the wishes of men,' indicates the limitation of the might of the person in the eye. No limit, on the other hand, can be admitted of the might of the highest Lord, as appears from the passage (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 22*), 'He is the Lord of all, the king of all things, the protector of all things. He is a bank and a boundary so that these worlds may not be confounded ;' which passage intimates that the Lord is free from all limiting distinctions. For all these reasons the person in the eye and the sun cannot be the highest Lord.

To this reasoning the Sūtra replies, 'The one within, on account of his qualities being declared.' The person referred to in the passages concerning the person within the sun and the person within the eye is not a transmigrating being, but the highest Lord. Why? Because his qualities are declared. For the qualities of the highest Lord are indicated in the text as follows. At first the name of the person within the sun is mentioned—'his name is Ut'—and then this name is explained on the ground of that person being free from all evil, 'He has risen above all evil.' The same name thus explained is then transferred to the person in the eye, in the clause, 'the name of the one is the name of the other.' Now, entire freedom from sin is attributed in Scripture to the highest Self only ; so, for instance (*Kṛ. Up. VIII, 7, 1*), 'The Self which is free from sin,' &c. Then, again, there is the passage, 'He is *Rīk*, he is *Sāman*, *Uktha*, *Yagus*, *Brahman*,' which declares the person in the eye to be the Self of the *Rīk*, *Sāman*, and so on ; which is possible only if that person is the Lord who, as being the cause of all, is to be considered as the Self of all. Moreover, the text, after having stated in succession *Rīk* and *Sāman* to have earth and fire for their Self with reference to the *Devas*, and, again, speech and breath with reference to the body, continues, '*Rīk* and *Sāman* are his joints,' with reference to the *Devas*, and 'the joints of the one are the joints of the other,' with reference to the body. Now this statement

also can be made only with regard to that which is the Self of all. Further, the passage, 'Therefore all who sing to the Vinā sing him, and from him also they obtain wealth,' shows that the being spoken of is the sole topic of all worldly songs; which again holds true of the highest Lord only. That absolute command over the objects of worldly desires (as displayed, for instance, in the bestowal of wealth) entitles us to infer that the Lord is meant, appears also from the following passage of the Bhagavad-gītā (X, 41), 'Whatever being there is possessing power, glory, or strength, know it to be produced from a portion of my energy¹.' To the objection that the statements about bodily shape contained in the clauses, 'With a beard bright as gold,' &c., cannot refer to the highest Lord, we reply that the highest Lord also may, when he pleases, assume a bodily shape formed of Mâyâ, in order to gratify thereby his devout worshippers. Thus Smṛiti also says, 'That thou seest me, O Nārada, is the Mâyâ emitted by me; do not then look on me as endowed with the qualities of all beings.' We have further to note that expressions such as, 'That which is without sound, without touch, without form, without decay,' are made use of where instruction is given about the nature of the highest Lord in so far as he is devoid of all qualities; while passages such as the following one, 'He to whom belong all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes' (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 2*), which represent the highest Lord as the object of devotion, speak of him, who is the cause of everything, as possessing some of the qualities of his effects. Analogously he may be spoken of, in the passage under discussion, as having a beard bright as gold and so on. With reference to the objection that the highest Lord cannot be meant because an abode is spoken of, we remark that, for the purposes of devout meditation, a special abode may be assigned to Brahman, although it abides in its own glory only; for as Brahman is, like ether, all-pervading, it may be viewed as

¹ So that the real giver of the gifts bestowed by princes on poets and singers is Brahman.

being within the Self of all beings. The statement, finally, about the limitation of Brahman's might, which depends on the distinction of what belongs to the gods and what to the body, has likewise reference to devout meditation only. From all this it follows that the being which Scripture states to be within the eye and the sun is the highest Lord.

21. And there is another one (i. e. the Lord who is different from the individual souls animating the sun, &c.), on account of the declaration of distinction.

There is, moreover, one distinct from the individual souls which animate the sun and other bodies, viz. the Lord who rules within; whose distinction (from all individual souls) is proclaimed in the following scriptural passage, 'He who dwells in the sun and within the sun, whom the sun does not know, whose body the sun is, and who rules the sun within; he is thy Self, the ruler within, the immortal' (*Bri. Up. III, 7, 9*). Here the expression, 'He within the sun whom the sun does not know,' clearly indicates that the Ruler within is distinct from that cognising individual soul whose body is the sun. With that Ruler within we have to identify the person within the sun, according to the tenet of the sameness of purport of all Vedânta-texts. It thus remains a settled conclusion that the passage under discussion conveys instruction about the highest Lord.

22. The âkâśa, i. e. ether (is Brahman) on account of characteristic marks (of the latter being mentioned).

In the *Khândogya* (I, 9) the following passage is met with, 'What is the origin of this world?' 'Ether,' he replied. 'For all these beings take their rise from the ether only, and return into the ether. Ether is greater than these, ether is their rest.'—Here the following doubt arises. Does the word 'ether' denote the highest Brahman or the elemental ether?—Whence the doubt?—Because the word is seen to be used in both senses. Its use in the sense of 'elemental ether' is well established in ordinary as well as in Vedic speech;

and, on the other hand, we see that it is sometimes used to denote Brahman, viz. in cases where we ascertain, either from some complementary sentence or from the fact of special qualities being mentioned, that Brahman is meant. So, for instance, Taitt. Up. II, 7, 'If that bliss existed not in the ether;' and *Kh.* Up. VIII, 14, 'That which is called ether is the revealer of all forms and names; that within which forms and names are¹ that is Brahman.' Hence the doubt.—Which sense is then to be adopted in our case?—The sense of elemental ether, the *pūrvapakshin* replies; because this sense belongs to the word more commonly, and therefore presents itself to the mind more readily. The word 'ether' cannot be taken in both senses equally, because that would involve a (faulty) attribution of several meanings to one and the same word. Hence the term 'ether' applies to Brahman in a secondary (metaphorical) sense only; on account of Brahman being in many of its attributes, such as all pervadingness and the like, similar to ether. The rule is, that when the primary sense of a word is possible, the word must not be taken in a secondary sense. And in the passage under discussion only the primary sense of the word 'ether' is admissible. Should it be objected that, if we refer the passage under discussion to the elemental ether, a complementary passage ('for all these beings take their rise from the ether only, &c.') cannot be satisfactorily accounted for; we reply that the elemental ether also may be represented as a cause, viz. of air, fire, &c. in due succession. For we read in Scripture (Taitt. Up. II, 1), 'From that Self sprang ether, from ether air, from air fire, and so on.' The qualities also of being greater and of being a place of rest may be ascribed to the elemental ether, if we consider its relations to all other beings. Therefore we conclude that the word 'ether' here denotes the elemental ether.

To this we reply as follows:—The word ether must here be taken to denote Brahman, on account of characteristic marks of the latter being mentioned. For the sentence,

¹ Or else 'that which is within forms and names.'

'All these beings take their rise from the ether only,' clearly indicates the highest Brahman, since all Vedānta-texts agree in definitely declaring that all beings spring from the highest Brahman.—But, the opponent may say, we have shown that the elemental ether also may be represented as the cause, viz. of air, fire, and the other elements in due succession.—We admit this. But still there remains the difficulty, that, unless we understand the word to apply to the fundamental cause of all, viz. Brahman, the affirmation contained in the word 'only' and the qualification expressed by the word 'all' (in 'all beings') would be out of place. Moreover, the clause, 'They return into the ether,' again points to Brahman, and so likewise the phrase, 'Ether is greater than these, ether is their rest;' for absolute superiority in point of greatness Scripture attributes to the highest Self only; cp. *Kh. Up.* III, 14, 3, 'Greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds.' The quality of being a place of rest likewise agrees best with the highest Brahman, on account of its being the highest cause. This is confirmed by the following scriptural passage: 'Knowledge and bliss is Brahman, it is the rest of him who gives gifts' (*Bṛi. Up.* III, 9, 28). Moreover, Gaivali finding fault with the doctrine of Sālāvātya, on account of (his sâman) having an end (*Kh. Up.* I, 8, 8), and wishing to proclaim something that has no end chooses the ether, and then, having identified the ether with the Udgîtha, concludes, 'He is the Udgîtha greater than great; he is without end.' Now this endlessness is a characteristic mark of Brahman. To the remark that the sense of 'elemental ether' presents itself to the mind more readily, because it is the better established sense of the word *ākāśa*, we reply, that, although it may present itself to the mind first, yet it is not to be accepted, because we see that qualities of Brahman are mentioned in the complementary sentences. That the word *ākāśa* is also used to denote Brahman has been shown already; cp. such passages as, 'Ether is the revealer of all names and forms.' We see, moreover, that various synonyma of *ākāśa* are employed to denote Brahman. So, for instance, *Rik Samh.*

I, 164, 39, 'In which the Vedas are¹, in the Imperishable one (i. e. Brahman), the highest, the ether (vyoman), on which all gods have their scat.' And Taitt. Up. III, 6, 'This is the knowledge of Bhrigu and Varuna, founded on the highest ether (vyoman).' And again, 'Om, ka is Brahman, ether (kha) is Brahman' (*Kh. Up.* IV, 10, 5), and 'the old ether' (*Bri. Up.* V, 1)². And other similar passages. On account of the force of the complementary passage we are justified in deciding that the word 'ether,' although occurring in the beginning of the passage, refers to Brahman. The case is analogous to that of the sentence, 'Agni (lit. the fire) studies a chapter,' where the word agni, although occurring in the beginning, is at once seen to denote a boy³. It is therefore settled that the word 'ether' denotes Brahman.

23. For the same reason breath (is Brahman).

Concerning the udgītha it is said (*Kh. Up.* I, 10, 9), 'Prastotri, that deity which belongs to the prastāva, &c.,' and, further on (I, 11, 4 ; 5), 'Which then is that deity? He said: Breath. For all these beings merge into breath alone, and from breath they arise. This is the deity belonging to the prastāva.' With reference to this passage doubt and decision are to be considered as analogous to those stated under the preceding Sūtra. For while in some passages—as, for instance, 'For indeed, my son, mind is fastened to prāna,' *Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 2 ; and, 'the prāna of prāna,' *Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 18—the word 'breath' is seen to denote Brahman, its use

¹ Viz. as intimating it. Thus Ân. Gi. and Go. Ân. against the accent of *rikáh*. Sāyana explains *rikáh* as genitive.

² *Omkārasya pratīkatvena vātakatvena lakshakatvena vā brahmatvam uktam, om iti, kam sukham tasyārthendriyayogagatvam vārayitum kham iti, tasya bhūtākāratvam vyāseddhum purānam ity uktam.* Ân. Gi.

³ The doubt about the meaning of a word is preferably to be decided by means of a reference to preceding passages ; where that is not possible (the doubtful word occurring at the beginning of some new chapter) complementary, i. e. subsequent passages have to be taken into consideration.

in the sense of a certain modification of air is better established in common as well as in Vedic language. Hence there arises a doubt whether in the passage under discussion the word *prāṇa* denotes Brahman or (ordinary) breath. In favour of which meaning have we then to decide?

Here the *pûrvapakshin* maintains that the word must be held to denote the fivefold vital breath, which is a peculiar modification of wind (or air); because, as has been remarked already, that sense of the word *prāṇa* is the better established one.—But no, an objector will say, just as in the case of the preceding *Sûtra*, so here also Brahman is meant, on account of characteristic marks being mentioned; for here also a complementary passage gives us to understand that all beings spring from and merge into *prāṇa*; a process which can take place in connexion with the highest Lord only.—This objection, the *pûrvapakshin* replies, is futile, since we see that the beings enter into and proceed from the principal vital air also. For Scripture makes the following statement (*Sat. Br. X, 3, 3, 6*), ‘When man sleeps, then into breath indeed speech merges, into breath the eye, into breath the ear, into breath the mind; when he awakes then they spring again from breath alone.’ What the Veda here states is, moreover, a matter of observation, for during sleep, while the process of breathing goes on uninterruptedly, the activity of the sense organs is interrupted and again becomes manifest at the time of awaking only. And as the sense organs are the essence of all material beings, the complementary passage which speaks of the merging and emerging of the beings can be reconciled with the principal vital air also. Moreover, subsequently to *prāṇa* being mentioned as the divinity of the *prastāva* the sun and food are designated as the divinities of the *udgîtha* and the *pratihâra*. Now as they are not Brahman, the *prāṇa* also, by parity of reasoning, cannot be Brahman.

To this argumentation the author of the *Sûtras* replies: For the same reason *prāṇa*—that means: on account of the presence of characteristic marks—which constituted the reason stated in the preceding *Sûtra*—the word *prāṇa* also

must be held to denote Brahman. For Scripture says of *prāṇa* also, that it is connected with marks characteristic of Brahman. The sentence, 'All these beings merge into breath alone, and from breath they arise,' which declares that the origination and retraction of all beings depend on *prāṇa*, clearly shows *prāṇa* to be Brahman. In reply to the assertion that the origination and retraction of all beings can be reconciled equally well with the assumption of *prāṇa* denoting the chief vital air, because origination and retraction take place in the state of waking and of sleep also, we remark that in those two states only the senses are merged into, and emerge from, the chief vital air, while, according to the scriptural passage, 'For all these beings, &c.,' all beings whatever into which a living Self has entered, together with their senses and bodies, merge and emerge by turns. And even if the word 'beings' were taken (not in the sense of animated beings, but) in the sense of material elements in general, there would be nothing in the way of interpreting the passage as referring to Brahman.—But, it may be said, that the senses together with their objects do, during sleep, enter into *prāṇa*, and again issue from it at the time of waking, we distinctly learn from another scriptural passage, viz. Kau. Up. III, 3, 'When a man being thus asleep sees no dream whatever, he becomes one with that *prāṇa* alone. Then speech goes to him with all names,' &c.—True, we reply, but there also the word *prāṇa* denotes (not the vital air) but Brahman, as we conclude from characteristic marks of Brahman being mentioned. The objection, again, that the word *prāṇa* cannot denote Brahman because it occurs in proximity to the words 'food' and 'sun' (which do not refer to Brahman), is altogether baseless; for proximity is of no avail against the force of the complementary passage which intimates that *prāṇa* is Brahman. That argument, finally, which rests on the fact that the word *prāṇa* commonly denotes the vital air with its five modifications, is to be refuted in the same way as the parallel argument which the *pūrvapakshin* brought forward with reference to the word 'ether.' From all this it follows that the *prāṇa*, which is the deity of the *prastāva*, is Brahman.

Some (commentators)¹ quote under the present Sūtra the following passages, 'the *prāṇa* of *prāṇa*' (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 4, 18), and 'for to *prāṇa* mind is fastened' (*Kṛ. Up.* VI, 8, 2). But that is wrong since these two passages offer no opportunity for any discussion, the former on account of the separation of the words, the latter on account of the general topic. When we meet with a phrase such as 'the father of the father' we understand at once that the genitive denotes a father different from the father denoted by the nominative. Analogously we infer from the separation of words contained in the phrase, 'the breath of breath,' that the 'breath of breath' is different from the ordinary breath (denoted by the genitive 'of breath'). For one and the same thing cannot, by means of a genitive, be predicated of—and thus distinguished from—itself. Concerning the second passage we remark that, if the matter constituting the general topic of some chapter is referred to in that chapter under a different name, we yet conclude, from the general topic, that that special matter is meant. For instance, when we meet in the section which treats of the *gyotishṭoma* sacrifice with the passage, 'in every spring he is to offer the *gyotis* sacrifice,' we at once understand that the word *gyotis* denotes the *gyotishṭoma*. If we therefore meet with the clause 'to *prāṇa* mind is fastened' in a section of which the highest Brahman is the topic, we do not for a moment suppose that the word *prāṇa* should there denote the ordinary breath which is a mere modification of air. The two passages thus do not offer any matter for discussion, and hence do not furnish appropriate instances for the Sūtra. We have shown, on the other hand, that the passage about the *prāṇa*, which is the deity of the *prastāva*, allows room for doubt, *pūrvapaksha* and final decision.

24. The 'light' (is Brahman), on account of the mention of feet (in a passage which is connected with the passage about the light).

Scripture says (*Kṛ. Up.* III, 13, 7), 'Now that light which shines above this heaven, higher than all, higher than every-

¹ The *vṛitikāra*, the commentators say.

thing, in the highest worlds beyond which there are no other worlds that is the same light which is within man.' Here the doubt presents itself whether the word 'light' denotes the light of the sun and the like, or the highest Self. Under the preceding Sūtras we had shown that some words which ordinarily have different meanings yet in certain passages denote Brahman, since characteristic marks of the latter are mentioned. Here the question has to be discussed whether, in connexion with the passage quoted, characteristic marks of Brahman are mentioned or not.

The pūrvaśhin maintains that the word 'light' denotes nothing else but the light of the sun and the like, since that is the ordinary well-established meaning of the term. The common use of language, he says, teaches us that the two words 'light' and 'darkness' denote mutually opposite things, darkness being the term for whatever interferes with the function of the sense of sight, as, for instance, the gloom of the night, while sunshine and whatever else favours the action of the eye is called light. The word 'shines' also, which the text exhibits, is known ordinarily to refer to the sun and similar sources of light; while of Brahman, which is devoid of colour, it cannot be said, in the primary sense of the word, that it 'shines.' Further, the word *gyotis* must here denote light because it is said to be bounded by the sky ('that light which shines above this heaven'). For while it is impossible to consider the sky as being the boundary of Brahman, which is the Self of all and the source of all things movable or immovable, the sky may be looked upon as forming the boundary of light, which is a mere product and as such limited; accordingly the text says, 'the light beyond heaven.'—But light, although a mere product, is perceived everywhere; it would therefore be wrong to declare that it is bounded by the sky!—Well, then, the pūrvaśhin replies, let us assume that the light meant is the first-born (original) light which has not yet become tripartite¹. This explanation again cannot be

¹ I. e. which has not been mixed with water and earth, according to *Kh. Up.* VI, 3, 3. Before that mixture took place light was

admitted, because the non-tripartite light does not serve any purpose.—But, the *pūrvapakshin* resumes, Why should its purpose not be found therein that it is the object of devout meditation?—That cannot be, we reply; for we see that only such things are represented as objects of devotion as have some other independent use of their own; so, for instance, the sun (which dispels darkness and so on). Moreover the scriptural passage, ‘Let me make each of these three (fire, water, and earth) tripartite,’ does not indicate any difference¹. And even of the non-tripartite light it is not known that the sky constitutes its boundary.—Well, then (the *pūrvapakshin* resumes, dropping the idea of the non-tripartite light), let us assume that the light of which the text speaks is the tripartite (ordinary) light. The objection that light is seen to exist also beneath the sky, viz. in the form of fire and the like, we invalidate by the remark that there is nothing contrary to reason in assigning a special locality to fire, although the latter is observed everywhere; while to assume a special place for Brahman, to which the idea of place does not apply at all, would be most unsuitable. Moreover, the clause ‘higher than everything, in the highest worlds beyond which there are no other worlds,’ which indicates a multiplicity of abodes, agrees much better with light, which is a mere product (than with Brahman). There is moreover that other clause also, ‘That is the same light which is within man,’ in which the highest light is identified with the gastric fire (the fire within man). Now such identifications can be made only where there is a certain similarity of nature; as is seen, for instance, in the passage, ‘Of that person *Bhûh* is the head, for the head is one and that syllable is one’ (*Bṛi.* Up. V, 5, 3). But that the fire within the human body is not Brahman clearly appears from the passage, ‘Of this we have visible and audible proof’ (*Kh.* Up. III, 13, 7 ; 8), which declares that

entirely separated from the other elements, and therefore bounded by the latter.

¹ So as to justify the assumption that such a thing as non-tripartite light exists at all.

the fire is characterised by the noise it makes, and by heat ; and likewise from the following passage, 'Let a man meditate on this as that which is seen and heard.' The same conclusion may be drawn from the passage, 'He who knows this becomes conspicuous and celebrated,' which proclaims an inconsiderable reward only, while to the devout meditation on Brahman a high reward would have to be allotted. Nor is there mentioned in the entire passage about the light any other characteristic mark of Brahman, while such marks are set forth in the passages (discussed above) which refer to *prāṇa* and the ether. Nor, again, is Brahman indicated in the preceding section, 'the Gâyatri is everything whatsoever exists,' &c. (III, 12); for that passage makes a statement about the Gâyatri metre only. And even if that section did refer to Brahman, still Brahman would not be recognised in the passage at present under discussion ; for there (in the section referred to) it is declared—in the clause, 'Three feet of it are the Immortal in heaven'—that heaven constitutes the abode ; while in our passage the words 'the light above heaven' declare heaven to be a boundary. For all these reasons the word *gyotis* is here to be taken in its ordinary meaning, viz. light.

To this we make the following reply. The word *gyotis* must be held to denote Brahman. Why? On account of the feet (quarters) being mentioned. In a preceding passage Brahman had been spoken of as having four feet (quarters). 'Such is the greatness of it ; greater than it is the Person (*purusha*). One foot of it are all the beings, three feet of it are the Immortal in heaven.' That which in this passage is said to constitute the three-quarter part, immortal and connected with heaven, of Brahman, which altogether comprises four quarters ; this very same entity we recognise as again referred to in the passage under discussion, because there also it is said to be connected with heaven. If therefore we should set it aside in our interpretation of the passage and assume the latter to refer to the ordinary light, we should commit the mistake of dropping, without need, the topic started and introducing

a new subject. Brahman, in fact, continues to form the subject-matter, not only of the passage about the light, but likewise of the subsequent section, the so-called *Sândilya-vidyâ* (*Kh. Up. III, 14*). Hence we conclude that in our passage the word 'light' must be held to denote Brahman. The objection (raised above) that from common use the words 'light' and 'to shine' are known to denote effected (physical) light is without force; for as it is known from the general topic of the chapter that Brahman is meant, those two words do not necessarily denote physical light only to the exclusion of Brahman¹, but may also denote Brahman itself, in so far as it is characterised by the physical shining light which is its effect. Analogously another mantra declares, 'that by which the sun shines kindled with heat' (*Taitt. Br. III, 12, 9, 7*). Or else we may suppose that the word *gyotis* here does not denote at all that light on which the function of the eye depends. For we see that in other passages it has altogether different meanings; so, for instance, *Bri. Up. IV, 3, 5*, 'With speech only as light man sits,' and *Taitt. Sa. I, 6, 3, 3*, 'May the mind, the light, accept,' &c. It thus appears that whatever illuminates (in the different senses of the word) something else may be spoken of as 'light.' Hence to Brahman also, whose nature is intelligence, the term 'light' may be applied; for it gives light to the entire world. Similarly, other scriptural passages say, 'Him the shining one, everything shines after; by his light all this is lighted' (*Kau. Up. II, 5, 15*); and 'Him the gods worship as the light of lights, as the immortal' (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 16*). Against the further objection that the omnipresent Brahman cannot be viewed as bounded by heaven we remark that the assignment, to Brahman, of a special locality is not contrary to reason because it subserves the purpose of devout meditation. Nor does it avail anything to say that it is impossible to assign any place to Brahman because Brahman is out of connexion with all place. For it is possible to make such

¹ *Brahmano vyavakṣhidya tegaḥsamarpakatvam viśeshakatvam, tadabhāvo=viśeshakatvam. Ān. Gi.*

an assumption, because Brahman is connected with certain limiting adjuncts. Accordingly Scripture speaks of different kinds of devout meditation on Brahman as specially connected with certain localities, such as the sun, the eye, the heart. For the same reason it is also possible to attribute to Brahman a multiplicity of abodes, as is done in the clause (quoted above) 'higher than all.' The further objection that the light beyond heaven is the mere physical light because it is identified with the gastric fire, which itself is a mere effect and is inferred from perceptible marks such as the heat of the body and a certain sound, is equally devoid of force; for the gastric fire may be viewed as the outward appearance (or symbol) of Brahman, just as Brahman's name is a mere outward symbol. Similarly in the passage, 'Let a man meditate on it (the gastric light) as seen and heard,' the visibility and audibility (here implicitly ascribed to Brahman) must be considered as rendered possible through the gastric fire being the outward appearance of Brahman. Nor is there any force in the objection that Brahman cannot be meant because the text mentions an inconsiderable reward only; for there is no reason compelling us to have recourse to Brahman for the purpose of such and such a reward only, and not for the purpose of such and such another reward. Wherever the text represents the highest Brahman—which is free from all connexion with distinguishing attributes—as the universal Self, it is understood that the result of that instruction is one only, viz. final release. Wherever, on the other hand, Brahman is taught to be connected with distinguishing attributes or outward symbols, there, we see, all the various rewards which this world can offer are spoken of; cp. for instance, *Bṛi.* Up. IV, 4, 24, 'This is he who eats all food, the giver of wealth. He who knows this obtains wealth.' Although in the passage itself which treats of the light no characteristic mark of Brahman is mentioned, yet, as the Sūtra intimates, the mark stated in a preceding passage (viz. the mantra, 'Such is the greatness of it,' &c.) has to be taken in connexion with the passage about the light as well. The question how the mere circumstance of Brahman being

mentioned in a not distant passage can have the power of divorcing from its natural object and transferring to another object the direct statement about light implied in the word 'light,' may be answered without difficulty. The passage under discussion runs¹, 'which above this heaven, the light.' The relative pronoun with which this clause begins intimates, according to its grammatical force², the same Brahman which was mentioned in the previous passage, and which is here recognised (as being the same which was mentioned before) through its connexion with heaven; hence the word *gyotis* also—which stands in grammatical co-ordination to 'which'—must have Brahman for its object. From all this it follows that the word 'light' here denotes Brahman.

25. If it be objected that (Brahman is) not (denoted) on account of the metre being denoted; (we reply) not so, because thus (i. e. by means of the metre) the direction of the mind (on Brahman) is declared; for thus it is seen (in other passages also).

We now address ourselves to the refutation of the assertion (made in the *pûrvapaksha* of the preceding *Sûtra*) that in the previous passage also Brahman is not referred to, because in the sentence, 'Gâyatrî is everything whatsoever here exists,' the metre called Gâyatrî is spoken of.—How (we ask the *pûrvapakshin*) can it be maintained that, on account of the metre being spoken of, Brahman is not denoted, while yet the mantra 'such is the greatness of it,' &c., clearly sets forth Brahman with its four quarters?—You are mistaken (the *pûrvapakshin* replies). The sentence, 'Gâyatrî is everything,' starts the discussion of Gâyatrî. The same Gâyatrî is thereupon described under the various forms of all beings, earth, body, heart, speech, breath; to which there refers also the verse, 'that Gâyatrî

¹ If we strictly follow the order of words in the original.

² *Svasâmārthyena sarvanāmnaḥ sannihitaparâmarsitvavarena.*

has four feet and is sixfold.' After that we meet with the mantra, 'Such is the greatness of it,' &c. How then, we ask, should this mantra, which evidently is quoted with reference to the Gâyatrî (metre) as described in the preceding clauses, all at once denote Brahman with its four quarters? Since therefore the metre Gâyatrî is the subject-matter of the entire chapter, the term 'Brahman' which occurs in a subsequent passage ('the Brahman which has thus been described') must also denote the metre. This is analogous to a previous passage (*Kh. Up. III, 11, 3*, 'He who thus knows this Brahma-upanishad'), where the word Brahma-upanishad is explained to mean Veda-upanishad. As therefore the preceding passage refers (not to Brahman, but) to the Gâyatrî metre, Brahman does not constitute the topic of the entire section.

This argumentation, we reply, proves nothing against our position. 'Because thus direction of the mind is declared,' i. e. because the Brâhmaṇa passage, 'Gâyatrî indeed is all this,' intimates that by means of the metre Gâyatrî the mind is to be directed on Brahman which is connected with that metre. Of the metre Gâyatrî, which is nothing but a certain special combination of syllables, it could not possibly be said that it is the Self of everything. We therefore have to understand the passage as declaring that Brahman, which, as the cause of the world, is connected with that product also whose name is Gâyatrî, is 'all this;' in accordance with that other passage which directly says, 'All this indeed is Brahman' (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 1*). That the effect is in reality not different from the cause, we shall prove later on, under Sûtra II, 1, 14. Devout meditation on Brahman under the form of certain effects (of Brahman) is seen to be mentioned in other passages also, so, for instance, Ait. Âr. III, 2, 3, 12, 'For the Bahvrikas consider him in the great hymn, the Adhvaryus in the sacrificial fire, the *Khandogas* in the Mahâvrata ceremony.' Although, therefore, the previous passage speaks of the metre, Brahman is what is meant, and the same Brahman is again referred to in the passage about the light, whose purport it is to enjoin another form of devout meditation.

Another commentator¹ is of opinion that the term Gâyatrî (does not denote Brahman in so far as viewed under the form of Gâyatrî, but) directly denotes Brahman, on account of the equality of number; for just as the Gâyatrî metre has four feet consisting of six syllables each, so Brahman also has four feet, (i. e. quarters.) Similarly we see that in other passages also the names of metres are used to denote other things which resemble those metres in certain numerical relations; cp. for instance, *Kh. Up.* IV, 3, 8, where it is said at first, 'Now these five and the other five make ten and that is the *Kṛita*,' and after that 'these are again the *Virâg* which eats the food.' If we adopt this interpretation, Brahman only is spoken of, and the metre is not referred to at all. In any case Brahman is the subject with which the previous passage is concerned.

26. And thus also (we must conclude, viz. that Brahman is the subject of the previous passage), because (thus only) the declaration as to the beings, &c. being the feet is possible.

That the previous passage has Brahman for its topic, we must assume for that reason also that the text designates the beings and so on as the feet of Gâyatrî. For the text at first speaks of the beings, the earth, the body, and the heart², and then goes on 'that Gâyatrî has four feet and is sixfold.' For of the mere metre, without any reference to Brahman, it would be impossible to say that the beings and so on are its feet. Moreover, if Brahman were not meant, there would be no room for the verse, 'Such is the greatness,' &c. For that verse clearly describes Brahman in its own nature; otherwise it would be impossible to represent the Gâyatrî as the Self of everything as is done in the words, 'One foot of it are all the beings; three feet of it are what is immortal in heaven.' The purusha-sûkta also (*Rik*

¹ The *vr̥ttikâra* according to Go. Ân. in his *Ākā* on the bhāṣhya to the next Sūtra.

² Concerning the difficulty involved in this interpretation, cp. Deussen, p. 183, note.

Samh. X, 90) exhibits the verse with sole reference to Brahman. *Smṛiti* likewise ascribes to Brahman a like nature, 'I stand supporting all this world by a single portion of myself' (*Bha. Gītā* X, 42). Our interpretation moreover enables us to take the passage, 'that Brahman indeed which,' &c. (III, 12, 7), in its primary sense, (i. e. to understand the word Brahman to denote nothing but Brahman.) And, moreover, the passage, 'these are the five men of Brahman' (III, 13, 6), is appropriate only if the former passage about the *Gāyatrī* is taken as referring to Brahman (for otherwise the 'Brahman' in 'men of Brahman' would not be connected with the previous topic). Hence Brahman is to be considered as the subject-matter of the previous passage also. And the decision that the same Brahman is referred to in the passage about the light where it is recognised (to be the same) from its connexion with heaven, remains unshaken.

27. The objection that (the Brahman of the former passage cannot be recognised in the latter) on account of the difference of designation, is not valid because in either (designation) there is nothing contrary (to the recognition).

The objection that in the former passage ('three feet of it are what is immortal in heaven'), heaven is designated as the abode, while in the latter passage ('that light which shines above this heaven'), heaven is designated as the boundary, and that, on account of this difference of designation, the subject-matter of the former passage cannot be recognised in the latter, must likewise be refuted. This we do by remarking that in either designation nothing is contrary to the recognition. Just as in ordinary language a falcon, although in contact with the top of a tree, is not only said to be on the tree but also above the tree, so Brahman also, although being in heaven, is here referred to as being beyond heaven as well.

Another (commentator) explains: just as in ordinary language a falcon, although not in contact with the top of a

tree, is not only said to be above the top of the tree but also on the top of the tree, so Brahman also, which is in reality beyond heaven, is (in the former of the two passages) said to be in heaven. Therefore the Brahman spoken of in the former passage can be recognised in the latter also, and it remains therefore a settled conclusion that the word 'light' denotes Brahman.

28. *Prâna* (breath) is Brahman, that being understood from a connected consideration (of the passages referring to *prâna*).

In the Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad there is recorded a legend of Indra and Pratardana which begins with the words, 'Pratardana, forsooth, the son of Divodâsa came by means of fighting and strength to the beloved abode of Indra' (Kau. Up. III, 1). In this legend we read: 'He said: I am *prâna*, the intelligent Self (*pragñâtman*), meditate on me as Life, as Immortality' (III, 2). And later on (III, 3), '*Prâna* alone, the intelligent Self, having laid hold of this body, makes it rise up.' Then, again (III, 8), 'Let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know the speaker.' And in the end (III, 8), 'That breath indeed is the intelligent Self, bliss, imperishable, immortal.'—Here the doubt presents itself whether the word *prâna* denotes merely breath, the modification of air, or the Self of some divinity, or the individual soul, or the highest Brahman.—But, it will be said at the outset, the Sûtra I, 1, 21 already has shown that the word *prâna* refers to Brahman, and as here also we meet with characteristic marks of Brahman, viz. the words 'bliss, imperishable, immortal,' what reason is there for again raising the same doubt?—We reply: Because there are observed here characteristic marks of different kinds. For in the legend we meet not only with marks indicating Brahman, but also with marks pointing to other beings. Thus Indra's words, 'Know me only' (III, 1), point to the Self of a divinity; the words, 'Having laid hold of this body it makes it rise up,' point to the breath; the words, 'Let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know

the speaker,' point to the individual soul. There is thus room for doubt.

If, now, the pūrvapakshin maintains that the term *prāṇa* here denotes the well-known modification of air, i.e. breath, we, on our side, assert that the word *prāṇa* must be understood to denote Brahman.—For what reason?—On account of such being the consecutive meaning of the passages. For if we examine the connexion of the entire section which treats of the *prāṇa*, we observe that all the single passages can be construed into a whole only if they are viewed as referring to Brahman. At the beginning of the legend Pratardana, having been allowed by Indra to choose a boon, mentions the highest good of man, which he selects for his boon, in the following words, 'Do you yourself choose that boon for me which you deem most beneficial for a man.' Now, as later on *prāṇa* is declared to be what is most beneficial for man, what should *prāṇa* denote but the highest Self? For apart from the cognition of that Self a man cannot possibly attain what is most beneficial for him, as many scriptural passages declare. Compare, for instance, Sve. Up. III, 8, 'A man who knows him passes over death; there is no other path to go.' Again, the further passage, 'He who knows me thus by no deed of his is his life harmed, not by theft, not by *bhrūṇahatyā*' (III, 1), has a meaning only if Brahman is supposed to be the object of knowledge. For, that subsequently to the cognition of Brahman all works and their effects entirely cease, is well known from scriptural passages, such as the following, 'All works perish when he has been beheld who is the higher and the lower' (Mu. Up. II, 2, 8). Moreover, *prāṇa* can be identified with the intelligent Self only if it is Brahman. For the air which is non-intelligent can clearly not be the intelligent Self. Those characteristic marks, again, which are mentioned in the concluding passage (viz. those intimated by the words 'bliss,' 'imperishable,' 'immortal') can, if taken in their full sense, not be reconciled with any being except Brahman. There are, moreover, the following passages, 'He does not increase by a good action, nor decrease by a bad action. For he makes him whom he wishes

to lead up from these worlds do a good deed ; and the same makes him whom he wishes to lead down from these worlds do a bad deed ;' and, 'He is the guardian of the world, he is the king of the world, he is the Lord of the world' (Kau. Up. III, 8). All this can be properly understood only if the highest Brahman is acknowledged to be the subject-matter of the whole chapter, not if the vital air is substituted in its place. Hence the word *prâna* denotes Brahman.

29. If it be said that (Brahman is) not (denoted) on account of the speaker denoting himself ; (we reply that this objection is not valid) because there is in that (chapter) a multitude of references to the interior Self.

An objection is raised against the assertion that *prâna* denotes Brahman. The word *prâna*, it is said, does not denote the highest Brahman, because the speaker designates himself. The speaker, who is a certain powerful god called Indra, at first says, in order to reveal himself to Pratardana, 'Know me only,' and later on, 'I am *prâna*, the intelligent Self.' How, it is asked, can the *prâna*, which this latter passage, expressive of personality as it is, represents as the Self of the speaker, be Brahman to which, as we know from Scripture, the attribute of being a speaker cannot be ascribed; compare, for instance, *Bṛi. Up. III, 8, 8*, 'It is without speech, without mind.' Further on, also, the speaker, i.e. Indra, glorifies himself by enumerating a number of attributes, all of which depend on personal existence and can in no way belong to Brahman, 'I slew the three-headed son of Tvashtri; I delivered the Arunmukhas, the devotees, to the wolves,' and so on. Indra may be called *prâna* on account of his strength. Scripture says, 'Strength indeed is *prâna*,' and Indra is known as the god of strength; and of any deed of strength people say, 'It is Indra's work.' The personal Self of a deity may, moreover, be called an intelligent Self; for the gods, people say, possess unobstructed knowledge. It thus being a settled matter that some passages convey information about the personal Self

of some deity, the other passages also—as, for instance, the one about what is most beneficial for man—must be interpreted as well as they may with reference to the same deity. Hence *prāṇa* does not denote Brahman.

This objection we refute by the remark that in that chapter there are found a multitude of references to the interior Self. For the passage, ‘As long as *prāṇa* dwells in this body so long surely there is life,’ declares that that *prāṇa* only which is the intelligent interior Self—and not some particular outward deity—has power to bestow and to take back life. And where the text speaks of the eminence of the *prāṇas* as founded on the existence of the *prāṇa*, it shows that that *prāṇa* is meant which has reference to the Self and is the abode of the sense-organs¹.

Of the same tendency is the passage, ‘*Prāṇa*, the intelligent Self, alone having laid hold of this body makes it rise up;’ and the passage (which occurs in the passus, ‘Let no man try to find out what speech is,’ &c.), ‘For as in a car the circumference of the wheel is set on the spokes and the spokes on the nave, thus are these objects set on the subjects (the senses) and the subjects on the *prāṇa*. And that *prāṇa* indeed is the Self of *pragñā*, blessed, imperishable, immortal.’ So also the following passage which, referring to this interior Self, forming as it were the centre of the peripherical interaction of the objects and senses, sums up as follows, ‘He is my Self, thus let it be known;’ a summing up which is appropriate only if *prāṇa* is meant to denote not some outward existence, but the interior Self. And another scriptural passage declares ‘this Self is Brahman, omniscient²’ (*Bri. Up. II, 5, 19*). We therefore arrive at

¹ The text runs, ‘*astitve ka prāṇānām nihsreyasam*,’ and *Go. Ān.* explains ‘*astitve prāṇasthitau prāṇānām indriyānām sthitir ity arthataḥ śrutim āha*.’ He as well as *Ān. Gi.* quotes as the text of the scriptural passage referred to ‘*athāto nihsreyasādānam ity ādi*.’ But if instead of ‘*astitve ka*’ we read ‘*asti tv eva*,’ we get the concluding clause of *Kau. Up. III, 2*, as given in Cowell’s edition.

² Whence we know that the interior Self referred to in the *Kau. Up.* is Brahman.

the conclusion that, on account of the multitude of references to the interior Self, the chapter contains information regarding Brahman, not regarding the Self of some deity.—How then can the circumstance of the speaker (Indra) referring to himself be explained?

30. The declaration (made by Indra about himself, viz. that he is one with Brahman) (is possible) through intuition vouched for by Scripture, as in the case of Vāmadeva.

The individual divine Self called Indra perceiving by means of *rishi*-like intuition¹—the existence of which is vouched for by Scripture—its own Self to be identical with the supreme Self, instructs Pratardana (about the highest Self) by means of the words ‘Know me only.’

By intuition of the same kind the *rishi* Vāmadeva reached the knowledge expressed in the words, ‘I was Manu and Sūrya ;’ in accordance with the passage, ‘Whatever deva was awakened (so as to know Brahman) he indeed became that’ (*Bṛi. Up. I, 4, 10*). The assertion made above (in the *pūrvapaksha* of the preceding Sūtra) that Indra after saying, ‘Know me only,’ glorifies himself by enumerating the slaying of *Tvashtri*’s son and other deeds of strength, we refute as follows. The death of *Tvashtri*’s son and similar deeds are referred to, not to the end of glorifying Indra as the object of knowledge—in which case the sense of the passage would be, ‘Because I accomplished such and such deeds, therefore know me’—but to the end of glorifying the cognition of the highest Self. For this reason the text, after having referred to the slaying of *Tvashtri*’s son and the like, goes on in the clause next following to exalt knowledge, ‘And not one hair of me is harmed there. He who knows me thus by no deed of his is his life harmed.’—(But how does this passage convey praise of knowledge?)—Because, we reply, its meaning is as follows: ‘Although I do such cruel deeds,

¹ I.e. spontaneous intuition of supersensible truth, rendered possible through the knowledge acquired in former existences.

yet not even a hair of mine is harmed because I am one with Brahman; therefore the life of any other person also who knows me thus is not harmed by any deed of his.' And the object of the knowledge (praised by Indra) is nothing else but Brahman which is set forth in a subsequent passage, 'I am *prāṇa*, the intelligent Self.' Therefore the entire chapter refers to Brahman.

31. If it be said (that Brahman is) not (meant), on account of characteristic marks of the individual soul and the chief vital air (being mentioned); we say no, on account of the threefoldness of devout meditation (which would result from your interpretation); on account of (the meaning advocated by us) being accepted (elsewhere); and on account of (characteristic marks of Brahman) being connected (with the passage under discussion).

Although we admit, the *pûrvapakshin* resumes, that the chapter about the *prāṇa* does not furnish any instruction regarding some outward deity, since it contains a multitude of references to the interior Self; still we deny that it is concerned with Brahman.—For what reason?—Because it mentions characteristic marks of the individual soul on the one hand, and of the chief vital air on the other hand. The passage, 'Let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know the speaker,' mentions a characteristic mark of the individual soul, and must therefore be held to point out as the object of knowledge the individual soul which rules and employs the different organs of action such as speech and so on. On the other hand, we have the passage, 'But *prāṇa* alone, the intelligent Self, having laid hold of this body makes it rise up,' which points to the chief vital air; for the chief attribute of the vital air is that it sustains the body. Similarly, we read in the colloquy of the vital airs (*Pra. Up. II, 3*), concerning speech and the other vital airs, 'Then *prāṇa* (the chief vital air) as the best said to them: Be not deceived; I alone dividing myself fivefold support this body and keep it.' Those, again, who in the

passage quoted above read 'this one (masc.), the body'¹ must give the following explanation, *Prāna* having laid hold of this one, viz. either the individual soul or the aggregate of the sense organs, makes the body rise up. The individual soul as well as the chief vital air may justly be designated as the intelligent Self; for the former is of the nature of intelligence, and the latter (although non-intelligent in itself) is the abode of other *prānas*, viz. the sense organs, which are the instruments of intelligence. Moreover, if the word *prāna* be taken to denote the individual soul as well as the chief vital air, the *prāna* and the intelligent Self may be spoken of in two ways, either as being non-different on account of their mutual concomitance, or as being different on account of their (essentially different) individual character; and in these two different ways they are actually spoken of in the two following passages, 'What is *prāna* that is *pragñā*, what is *pragñā* that is *prāna*;' and, 'For together do these two live in the body and together do they depart.' If, on the other hand, *prāna* denoted Brahman, what then could be different from what? For these reasons *prāna* does not denote Brahman, but either the individual soul or the chief vital air or both.

All this argumentation, we reply, is wrong, 'on account of the threefoldness of devout meditation.' Your interpretation would involve the assumption of devout meditation of three different kinds, viz. on the individual soul, on the chief vital air, and on Brahman. But it is inappropriate to assume that a single sentence should enjoin three kinds of devout meditation; and that all the passages about the *prāna* really constitute one single sentence (one syntactical whole) appears from the beginning and the concluding part. In the beginning we have the clause 'Know me only,' followed by 'I am *prāna*, the intelligent Self, meditate on me as Life, as Immortality;' and in the end we read, 'And that *prāna* indeed is the intelligent Self, blessed, imperishable, immortal.' The beginning and the concluding part are thus seen to be similar, and we

¹ *Imam sarīram* instead of *idam sarīram*

therefore must conclude that they refer to one and the same matter. Nor can the characteristic mark of Brahman be so turned as to be applied to something else; for the ten objects and the ten subjects (subjective powers)¹ cannot rest on anything but Brahman. Moreover, *prāṇa* must denote Brahman 'on account of (that meaning) being accepted,' i.e. because in the case of other passages where characteristic marks of Brahman are mentioned the word *prāṇa* is taken in the sense of 'Brahman.' And another reason for assuming the passage to refer to Brahman is that here also, i.e. in the passage itself there is 'connexion' with characteristic marks of Brahman, as, for instance, the reference to what is most beneficial for man. The assertion that the passage, 'Having laid hold of this body it makes it rise up,' contains a characteristic mark of the chief vital air, is untrue; for as the function of the vital air also ultimately rests on Brahman it can figuratively be ascribed to the latter. So Scripture also declares, 'No mortal lives by the breath that goes up and by the breath that goes down. We live by another in whom these two repose' (Ka. Up. II, 5, 5). Nor does the indication of the individual soul which you allege to occur in the passage, 'Let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know the speaker,' preclude the view of *prāṇa* denoting Brahman. For, as the passages, 'I am Brahman,' 'That art thou,' and others, prove, there is in reality no such thing as an individual soul absolutely different from Brahman, but Brahman, in so far as it differentiates itself through the mind (*buddhi*) and other limiting conditions, is called individual soul, agent, enjoyer. Such passages therefore as the one alluded to, (viz. 'let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know the speaker,') which, by setting aside all the differences due to limiting conditions, aim at directing the mind on the internal Self and thus showing that the

¹ *Pañka* sabdādayaḥ *pañka* prāhivādayaḥ *ka* dasa bhūtamātrāḥ *pañka* buddhīndriyāṇi *pañka* buddhaya iti dasa pragñāmātrāḥ. Yadvā *gñānendriyārthāḥ* *pañka* karmendriyārthāḥ *ka* *pañketi* dasa bhūtamātrāḥ *dvividhānīndriyāṇi* *pragñāmātrā* daseti bhāvaḥ. Ān. Gi.

individual soul is one with Brahman, are by no means out of place. That the Self which is active in speaking and the like is Brahman appears from another scriptural passage also, viz. Ke. Up. I, 5, 'That which is not expressed by speech and by which speech is expressed that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.' The remark that the statement about the difference of *prāṇa* and *pragñā* (contained in the passage, 'Together they dwell in this body, together they depart') does not agree with that interpretation according to which *prāṇa* is Brahman, is without force; for the mind and the vital air which are the respective abodes of the two powers of cognition and action, and constitute the limiting conditions of the internal Self may be spoken of as different. The internal Self, on the other hand, which is limited by those two adjuncts, is in itself non-differentiated, so that the two may be identified, as is done in the passage '*prāṇa* is *pragñā*.'

The second part of the Sūtra is explained in a different manner also¹, as follows: Characteristic marks of the individual soul as well as of the chief vital air are not out of place even in a chapter whose topic is Brahman. How so? 'On account of the threefoldness of devout meditation.' The chapter aims at enjoining three kinds of devout meditation on Brahman, according as Brahman is viewed under the aspect of *prāṇa*, under the aspect of *pragñā*, and in itself. The passages, 'Meditate (on me) as life, as immortality. Life is *prāṇa*,' and 'Having laid hold of this body it makes it rise up. Therefore let man worship it alone as *uktha*,' refer to the *prāṇa* aspect. The introductory passage, 'Now we shall explain how all things become one in that *pragñā*,' and the subsequent passages, 'Speech verily milked one portion thereof; the word is its object placed outside;' and, 'Having by *pragñā* taken possession of speech he obtains by speech all words &c.,' refer to the *pragñā* aspect. The Brahman aspect finally is referred to in the following passage, 'These ten

¹ Viz. by the *vṛttikāra*.

objects have reference to *pragñā*, the ten subjects have reference to objects. If there were no objects there would be no subjects; and if there were no subjects there would be no objects. For on either side alone nothing could be achieved. But that is not many. For as in a car the circumference of the wheel is set on the spokes and the spokes on the nave, thus are these objects set on the subjects and the subjects on the *prāṇa*.¹ Thus we see that the one meditation on Brahman is here represented as threefold, according as Brahman is viewed either with reference to two limiting conditions or in itself. In other passages also we find that devout meditation on Brahman is made dependent on Brahman being qualified by limiting adjuncts; so, for instance (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 2*), 'He who consists of mind, whose body is *prāṇa*.' The hypothesis of Brahman being meditated upon under three aspects perfectly agrees with the *prāṇa* chapter¹; as, on the one hand, from a comparison of the introductory and the concluding clauses we infer that the subject-matter of the whole chapter is one only, and as, on the other hand, we meet with characteristic marks of *prāṇa*, *pragñā*, and Brahman in turns. It therefore remains a settled conclusion that Brahman is the topic of the whole chapter.

¹ *Ihāpi tad yugate* explaining the '*iha tadyogāt*' of the *Sūtra*.

SECOND PĀDA.

REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

IN the first pāda Brahman has been shown to be the cause of the origin, subsistence, and reabsorption of the entire world, comprising the ether and the other elements. Moreover, of this Brahman, which is the cause of the entire world, certain qualities have (implicitly) been declared, such as all-pervadingness, eternity, omniscience, its being the Self of all, and so on. Further, by producing reasons showing that some words which are generally used in a different sense denote Brahman also, we have been able to determine that some passages about whose sense doubts are entertained refer to Brahman. Now certain other passages present themselves which because containing only obscure indications of Brahman give rise to the doubt whether they refer to the highest Self or to something else.¹ We therefore begin the second and third pādas in order to settle those doubtful points.

1. (That which consists of mind is Brahman) because there is taught what is known from everywhere.

Scripture says, 'All this indeed is Brahman, beginning, ending, and breathing in it; thus knowing let a man meditate with calm mind. Now man is made of determination (kratu); according to what his determination is in this world so will he be when he has departed this life. Let him therefore form this determination: he who consists of mind, whose body is breath (the subtle body),' &c. (*Kh. Up. III, 14*). Concerning this passage the doubt presents itself whether what is pointed out as the object of meditation, by means of attributes such as consisting of mind, &c., is the embodied (individual) soul or the highest Brahman.

The embodied Self, the pūrvapakshin says.—Why?—Because the embodied Self as the ruler of the organs of action is well known to be connected with the mind and so on, while the highest Brahman is not, as is declared in several scriptural passages, so, for instance (*Mu. Up. II, 1, 2*),

'He is without breath, without mind, pure.'—But, it may be objected, the passage, 'All this indeed is Brahman,' mentions Brahman directly; how then can you suppose that the embodied Self forms the object of meditation?—This objection does not apply, the *pūrvapakshin* rejoins, because the passage does not aim at enjoining meditation on Brahman, but rather at enjoining calmness of mind, the sense being: because Brahman is all this, *taggalān*, let a man meditate with a calm mind. That is to say: because all this aggregate of effects is Brahman only, springing from it, ending in it, and breathing in it; and because, as everything constitutes one Self only, there is no room for passion; therefore a man is to meditate with a calm mind. And since the sentence aims at enjoining calmness of mind, it cannot at the same time enjoin meditation on Brahman¹; but meditation is separately enjoined in the clause, 'Let him form the determination, i.e. reflection.' And thereupon the subsequent passage, 'He who consists of mind, whose body is breath,' &c. states the object of the meditation in words indicative of the individual soul. For this reason we maintain that the meditation spoken of has the individual soul for its object. The other attributes also subsequently stated in the text, 'He to whom all works, all desires belong,' &c. may rightly be held to refer to the individual soul. The attributes, finally, of being what abides in the heart and of being extremely minute which are mentioned in the passage, 'He is my Self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley,' may be ascribed to the individual soul which has the size of the point of a goad, but not to the unlimited Brahman. If it be objected that the immediately following passage, 'greater than the earth,' &c., cannot refer to something limited, we reply that smallness and greatness which are mutually opposite cannot indeed be ascribed to one and the same thing; and that, if one attribute

¹ The clause 'he is to meditate with a calm mind' if taken as a *gunavidhi*, i.e. as enjoining some secondary matter, viz. calmness of mind of the meditating person, cannot at the same time enjoin meditation; for that would involve a so-called split of the sentence (*vākyabheda*).

only is to be ascribed to the subject of the passage, smallness is preferable because it is mentioned first; while the greatness mentioned later on may be attributed to the soul in so far as it is one with Brahman. If it is once settled that the whole passage refers to the individual soul, it follows that the declaration of Brahman also, contained in the passage, 'That is Brahman' (III, 14, 4), refers to the individual soul¹, as it is clearly connected with the general topic. Therefore the individual soul is the object of meditation indicated by the qualities of consisting of mind and so on.

To all this we reply: The highest Brahman only is what is to be meditated upon as distinguished by the attributes of consisting of mind and so on.—Why?—'On account of there being taught here what is known from everywhere.' What is known from all Vedānta-passages to be the sense of the word Brahman, viz. the cause of the world, and what is mentioned here in the beginning words of the passage, ('all this indeed is Brahman,') the same we must assume to be taught here as distinguished by certain qualities, viz. consisting of mind and so on. Thus we avoid the fault of dropping the subject-matter under discussion and needlessly introducing a new topic.—But, it may be said, it has been shown that Brahman is, in the beginning of the passage, introduced merely for the purpose of intimating the injunction of calmness of mind, not for the purpose of intimating Brahman itself.—True, we reply; but the fact nevertheless remains that, where the qualities of consisting of mind, &c. are spoken of, Brahman only is proximate (i.e. mentioned not far off so that it may be concluded to be the thing referred to), while the individual soul is neither proximate nor intimated by any word directly pointing to it. The cases of Brahman and the individual soul are therefore not equal.

2. And because the qualities desired to be expressed are possible (in Brahman; therefore the passage refers to Brahman).

¹ Gīvepi dehādibrimhanâg gyâstvanyâyâd vâ brahmatety arthah.
Ân. Gi.

Although in the Veda which is not the work of man no wish in the strict sense can be expressed¹, there being no speaker, still such phrases as 'desired to be expressed,' may be figuratively used on account of the result, viz. (mental) comprehension. For just as in ordinary language we speak of something which is intimated by a word and is to be received (by the hearer as the meaning of the word), as 'desired to be expressed;' so in the Veda also whatever is denoted as that which is to be received is 'desired to be expressed,' everything else 'not desired to be expressed.' What is to be received as the meaning of a Vedic sentence, and what not, is inferred from the general purport of the passage. Those qualities which are here desired to be expressed, i.e. intimated as qualities to be dwelt on in meditation, viz. the qualities of having true purposes, &c. are possible in the highest Brahman; for the quality of having true purposes may be ascribed to the highest Self which possesses unimpeded power over the creation, subsistence, and reabsorption of this world. Similarly the qualities of having true desires and true purposes are attributed to the highest Self in another passage, viz. the one beginning, 'The Self which is free from sin' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 7, 1*). The clause, 'He whose Self is the ether,' means 'he whose Self is like the ether;' for Brahman may be said to be like the ether on account of its omnipresence and other qualities. This is also expressed by the clause, 'Greater than the earth.' And the other explanation also, according to which the passage means 'he whose Self is the ether' is possible, since Brahman which as the cause of the whole world is the Self of everything is also the Self of the ether. For the same reasons he is called 'he to whom all works belong, and so on.' Thus the qualities here intimated as topics of meditation agree with the nature of Brahman. We further maintain that the terms 'consisting of mind,' and 'having breath for its body,' which the pûrvapakshin asserts

¹ The discussion is brought on by the term 'vivakshita' in the Sûtra whose meaning is 'expressed, aimed at,' but more literally 'desired to be expressed.'

cannot refer to Brahman, may refer to it. For as Brahman is the Self of everything, qualities such as consisting of mind and the like, which belong to the individual soul, belong to Brahman also. Accordingly *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* say of Brahman, 'Thou art woman, thou art man ; thou art youth, thou art maiden ; thou as an old man totterest along on thy staff ; thou art born with thy face turned everywhere' (*Sve. Up. IV, 3*), and 'its hands and feet are everywhere, its eyes and head are everywhere, its ears are everywhere, it stands encompassing all in the world' (*Bha. Gîtâ III, 13*).

The passage (quoted above against our view), 'Without breath, without mind, pure,' refers to the pure (unrelated) Brahman. The terms 'consisting of mind ; having breath for its body,' on the other hand, refer to Brahman as distinguished by qualities. Hence, as the qualities mentioned are possible in Brahman, we conclude that the highest Brahman only is represented as the object of meditation.

3. On the other hand, as (those qualities) are not possible (in it), the embodied (soul is) not (denoted by *manomaya*, &c.).

The preceding *Sûtra* has declared that the qualities mentioned are possible in Brahman ; the present *Sûtra* states that they are not possible in the embodied Self. Brahman only possesses, in the manner explained, the qualities of consisting of mind, and so on ; not the embodied individual soul. For qualities such as expressed in the words, 'He whose purposes are true, whose Self is the ether, who has no speech, who is not disturbed, who is greater than the earth,' cannot easily be attributed to the embodied Self. By the term 'embodied' (*jâira*) we have to understand 'residing' in a body. If it be objected that the Lord also resides in the body¹, we reply, True, he does reside in the body, but not in the body only ; for *sruti* declares him to be all-pervading ; compare, 'He is greater than the earth ; greater than the atmosphere, omnipresent like the ether, eternal.' The individual soul, on the other

¹ Because he is *vyâpin*.

hand, is in the body only, apart from which as the abode of fruition it does not exist.

4. And because there is a (separate) denotation of the object of activity and of the agent.

The attributes of consisting of mind, and so on, cannot belong to the embodied Self for that reason also, that there is a (separate) denotation of the object of activity and of the agent. In the passage, 'When I shall have departed from hence I shall obtain him' (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 4*), the word 'him' refers to that which is the topic of discussion, viz. the Self which is to be meditated upon as possessing the attributes of consisting of mind, &c., as the object of an activity, viz. as something to be obtained; while the words, 'I shall obtain,' represent the meditating individual Self as the agent, i.e. the obtainer. Now, wherever it can be helped, we must not assume that one and the same being is spoken of as the agent and the object of the activity at the same time. The relation existing between a person meditating and the thing meditated upon requires, moreover, different abodes.—And thus for the above reason, also, that which is characterised by the attributes of consisting of mind, and so on, cannot be the individual soul.

5. On account of the difference of words.

That which possesses the attributes of consisting of mind, and so on, cannot be the individual soul, for that reason also that there is a difference of words.

That is to say, we meet with another scriptural passage of kindred subject-matter (*Sat. Brā. X, 6, 3, 2*), 'Like a rice grain, or a barley grain, or a canary seed or the kernel of a canary seed, thus that golden person is in the Self.' There one word, i.e. the locative 'in the Self,' denotes the embodied Self, and a different word, viz. the nominative 'person,' denotes the Self distinguished by the qualities of consisting of mind, &c. We therefrom conclude that the two are different.

6. And on account of *Smṛti*.

Smṛiti also declares the difference of the embodied Self

and the highest Self, viz. Bha. Gītā XVIII, 61, 'The Lord, O Arjuna, is seated in the heart of all beings, driving round by his magical power all beings (as if they were) mounted on a machine.'

But what, it may be asked, is that so-called embodied Self different from the highest Self, which is to be set aside according to the preceding Sūtras? Śruti passages, as well as Smṛiti, expressly deny that there is any Self apart from the highest Self; compare, for instance, *Bṛi. Up. III, 7, 23*, 'There is no other seer but he; there is no other hearer but he;' and Bha. Gītā XIII, 2, 'And know me also, O Bhārata, to be the kṣhetragña in all kṣhetras.'

True, we reply, (there is in reality one universal Self only.) But the highest Self in so far as it is limited by its adjuncts, viz. the body, the senses, and the mind (*mano-buddhi*), is, by the ignorant, spoken of as if it were embodied. Similarly the ether, although in reality unlimited, appears limited owing to certain adjuncts, such as jars and other vessels. With regard to this (unreal limitation of the one Self) the distinction of objects of activity and of agents may be practically assumed, as long as we have not learned—from the passage, 'That art thou'—that the Self is one only. As soon, however, as we grasp the truth that there is only one universal Self, there is an end to the whole practical view of the world with its distinction of bondage, final release, and the like.

7. If it be said that (the passage does) not (refer to Brahman) on account of the smallness of the abode (mentioned), and on account of the denotations of that (i.e. of minuteness); we say, no; because (Brahman) has thus to be contemplated, and because the case is analogous to that of ether.

On account of the limitation of its abode, which is mentioned in the clause, 'He is my Self within the heart,' and on account of the declaration as to its minuteness contained in the direct statement, 'He is smaller than a grain of rice,' &c.; the embodied soul only, which is of the size of an awl's point, is spoken of in the passage under discussion, and not

the highest Self. This assertion made above (in the pûrva-paksha of Sûtra I, and restated in the pûrva-paksha of the present Sûtra) has to be refuted. We therefore maintain that the objection raised does not invalidate our view of the passage. It is true that a thing occupying a limited space only cannot in any way be spoken of as omnipresent; but, on the other hand, that which is omnipresent, and therefore in all places may, from a certain point of view, be said to occupy a limited space. Similarly, a prince may be called the ruler of Ayodhyâ although he is at the same time the ruler of the whole earth.—But from what point of view can the omnipresent Lord be said to occupy a limited space and to be minute?—He may, we reply, be spoken of thus, 'because he is to be contemplated thus.' The passage under discussion teaches us to contemplate the Lord as abiding within the lotus of the heart, characterised by minuteness and similar qualities—which apprehension of the Lord is rendered possible through a modification of the mind—just as Hari is contemplated in the sacred stone called Sâlagrâm. Although present everywhere, the Lord is pleased when meditated upon as dwelling in 'the heart. The case is, moreover, to be viewed as analogous to that of the ether. The ether, although all-pervading, is spoken of as limited and minute, if considered in its connexion with the eye of a needle; so Brahman also. But it is an understood matter that the attributes of limitation of abode and of minuteness depend, in Brahman's case, entirely on special forms of contemplation, and are not real. The latter consideration disposes also of the objection, that if Brahman has its abode in the heart, which heart-abode is a different one in each body, it would follow that it is affected by all the imperfections which attach to beings having different abodes, such as parrots shut up in different cages, viz. want of unity, being made up of parts, non-permanency, and so on.

8. If it is said that (from the circumstance of Brahman and the individual soul being one) there follows fruition (on the part of Brahman); we say, no; on account of the difference of nature (of the two).

But, it may be said, as Brahman is omnipresent like ether, and therefore connected with the hearts of all living beings, and as it is of the nature of intelligence and therefore not different from the individual soul, it follows that Brahman also has the same fruition of pleasure, pain, and so on (as the individual soul). The same result follows from its unity. For in reality there exists no transmigratory Self different from the highest Self; as appears from the text, 'There is no other knower but he' (*Bri. Up. III, 7, 23*), and similar passages. Hence the highest Self is subject to the fruition connected with transmigratory existence.

This is not so, we reply; because there is a difference of nature. From the circumstance that Brahman is connected with the hearts of all living beings it does not follow that it is, like the embodied Self, subject to fruition. For, between the embodied Self and the highest Self, there is the difference that the former acts and enjoys, acquires merit and demerit, and is affected by pleasure, pain, and so on; while the latter is of the opposite nature, i.e. characterised by being free from all evil and the like. On account of this difference of the two, the fruition of the one does not extend to the other. To assume merely on the ground of the mutual proximity of the two, without considering their essentially different powers, that a connexion with effects exists (in Brahman's case also), would be no better than to suppose that space is on fire (when something in space is on fire). The same objection and refutation apply to the case of those also who teach the existence of more than one omnipresent Self. In reply to the assertion, that because Brahman is one and there are no other Selves outside it, Brahman must be subject to fruition since the individual soul is so, we ask the question: How have you, our wise opponent, ascertained that there is no other Self? You will reply, we suppose, from scriptural texts such as, 'That art thou,' 'I am Brahman,' 'There is no other knower but he,' and so on. Very well, then, it appears that the truth about scriptural matters is to be ascertained from Scripture, and that Scripture is not sometimes to be appealed to, and on other occasions to be disregarded.

Scriptural texts, such as 'that art thou,' teach that Brahman which is free from all evil is the Self of the embodied soul, and thus dispel even the opinion that the embodied soul is subject to fruition; how then should fruition on the part of the embodied soul involve fruition on the part of Brahman?—Let, then, the unity of the individual soul and Brahman not be apprehended on the ground of Scripture.—In that case, we reply, the fruition on the part of the individual soul has wrong knowledge for its cause, and Brahman as it truly exists is not touched thereby, not any more than the ether becomes really dark-blue in consequence of ignorant people presuming it to be so. For this reason the Sûtrakâra says¹ 'no, on account of the difference.' In spite of their unity, fruition on the part of the soul does not involve fruition on the part of Brahman; because there is a difference. For there is a difference between false knowledge and perfect knowledge, fruition being the figment of false knowledge while the unity (of the Self) is revealed by perfect knowledge. Now, as the substance revealed by perfect knowledge cannot be affected by fruition which is nothing but the figment of false knowledge, it is impossible to assume even a shadow of fruition on Brahman's part.

9. The eater (is the highest Self) since what is movable and what is immovable is mentioned (as his food).

We read in the *Kat/havallî* (I, 2, 25), 'Who then knows where He is, He to whom the Brahmans and Kshattriyas are but food, and death itself a condiment?' This passage intimates, by means of the words 'food' and 'condiment,' that there is some eater. A doubt then arises whether the eater be Agni or the individual soul or the highest Self; for no distinguishing characteristic is stated, and Agni as well as the individual soul and the highest Self is observed to form, in that Upanished, the subjects of questions².

¹ Another interpretation of the later part of Sûtra.

² Cp. *Kat/ha Up.* I, 1, 13; 20; I, 2, 14.

The pūrvapakshin maintains that the eater is Agni, fire being known from Scripture as well (cp. *Bṛi. Up.* I, 4, 6) as from ordinary life to be the eater of food. Or else the individual soul may be the eater, according to the passage, 'One of them eats the sweet fruit' (*Mu. Up.* III, 1, 1). On the other hand, the eater cannot be Brahman on account of the passage (which forms the continuation of the one quoted from the *Mu. Up.*), 'The other looks on without eating.'

The eater, we reply, must be the highest Self 'because there is mentioned what is movable and what is immovable.' For all things movable and immovable are here to be taken as constituting the food, while death is the condiment. But nothing beside the highest Self can be the consumer of all these things in their totality; the highest Self, however, when reabsorbing the entire aggregate of effects may be said to eat everything. If it is objected that here no express mention is made of things movable and things immovable, and that hence we have no right to use the (alleged) mention made of them as a reason, we reply that this objection is unfounded; firstly, because the aggregate of all living beings is seen to be meant from the circumstance of death being the condiment; and, secondly, because the Brahmans and Kshattriyas may here, on account of their pre-eminent position, be viewed as instances only (of all beings). Concerning the objection that the highest Self cannot be an eater on account of the passage quoted ('the other looks on without eating'), we remark that that passage aims at denying the fruition (on the part of the highest Self) of the results of works, such fruition being mentioned in immediate proximity, but is not meant to negative the reabsorption of the world of effects (into Brahman); for it is well established by all the Vedānta-texts that Brahman is the cause of the creation, subsistence, and reabsorption of the world. Therefore the eater can here be Brahman only.

10. And on account of the topic under discussion.

That the highest Self only can be the eater referred to

is moreover evident from the passage (Ka. Up. I, 2, 18), ('The knowing Self is not born, it dies not'), which shows that the highest Self is the general topic. And to adhere to the general topic is the proper proceeding. Further, the clause, 'Who then knows where he is,' shows that the cognition is connected with difficulties; which circumstance again points to the highest Self.

11. The 'two entered into the cave' (are the individual soul and the highest Self), for the two are (intelligent) Selves (and therefore of the same nature), as it is seen (that numerals denote beings of the same nature).

In the same *Kaṭṭavalli* we read (I, 3, 1), 'There are the two drinking the reward of their works in the world, (i.e. the body,) entered into the cave, dwelling on the highest summit. Those who know Brahman call them shade and light; likewise those householders who perform the *Trināṅkiketa* sacrifice.'

Here the doubt arises whether the mind (*buddhi*) and the individual soul are referred to, or the individual soul and the highest Self. If the mind and the individual soul, then the individual soul is here spoken of as different from the aggregate of the organs of action, (i.e. the body,) among which the mind occupies the first place. And a statement on this point is to be expected, as a question concerning it is asked in a preceding passage, viz. I, 1, 20, 'There is that doubt when a man is dead—some saying he is; others, he is not. This I should like to know taught by thee; this is the third of my boons.' If, on the other hand, the passage refers to the individual soul and the highest Self, then it intimates that the highest Self is different from the individual soul; and this also requires to be declared here, on account of the question contained in the passage (I, 2, 14), 'That which thou seest as different from religious duty and its contrary, from effect and cause, from the past and the future, tell me that.'

The doubt to which the passage gives rise having thus

been stated, a caviller starts the following objection : neither of the stated views can be maintained.—Why?—On account of the characteristic mark implied in the circumstance that the two are said to drink, i.e. to enjoy, the fruit of their works in the world. For this can apply to the intelligent individual soul only, not to the non-intelligent buddhi. And as the dual form 'drinking' (pibantau) shows that both are drinking, the view of the two being the buddhi and the individual soul is not tenable. For the same reason the other opinion also, viz. of the two being the individual soul and the highest Self, cannot be maintained ; for drinking (i.e. the fruition of reward) cannot be predicated of the highest Self, on account of the mantra (Mu. Up. III, 1, 1), 'The other looks on without eating.'

These objections, we reply, are without any force. Just as we see that in phrases such as 'the men with the umbrella (lit. the umbrella-men) are walking,' the attribute of being furnished with an umbrella which properly speaking belongs to one man only is secondarily ascribed to many, so here two agents are spoken of as drinking because one of them is really drinking. Or else we may explain the passage by saying that, while the individual soul only drinks, the Lord also is said to drink because he makes the soul drink. On the other hand, we may also assume that the two are the buddhi and the individual soul, the instrument being figuratively spoken of as the agent—a figure of speech exemplified by phrases such as 'the fuel cooks (the food).' And in a chapter whose topic is the soul no two other beings can well be represented as enjoying rewards. Hence there is room for the doubt whether the two are the buddhi and the individual soul, or the individual soul and the highest Self.

Here the pûrvapakshin maintains that the former of the two stated views is the right one, because the two beings are qualified as 'entered into the cave.' Whether we understand by the cave the body or the heart, in either case the buddhi and the individual soul may be spoken of as 'entered into the cave.' Nor would it be appropriate, as long as another interpretation is possible, to assume

that a special place is here ascribed to the omnipresent Brahman. Moreover, the words 'in the world of their good deeds' show that the two do not pass beyond the sphere of the results of their good works. But the highest Self is not in the sphere of the results of either good or bad works; according to the scriptural passage, 'It does not grow larger by works nor does it grow smaller.' Further, the words 'shade and light' properly designate what is intelligent and what is non-intelligent, because the two are opposed to each other like light and shade. Hence we conclude that the buddhi and the individual soul are spoken of.

To this we make the following reply:—In the passage under discussion the individual soul (*viġñānātman*) and the highest Self are spoken of, because these two, being both intelligent Selves, are of the same nature. For we see that in ordinary life also, whenever a number is mentioned, beings of the same class are understood to be meant; when, for instance, the order is given, 'Look out for a second (i.e. a fellow) for this bull,' people look out for a second bull, not for a horse or a man. So here also, where the mention of the fruition of rewards enables us to determine that the individual soul is meant, we understand at once, when a second is required, that the highest Self has to be understood; for the highest Self is intelligent, and therefore of the same nature as the soul.—But has it not been said above that the highest Self cannot be meant here, on account of the text stating that it is placed in the cave?—Well, we reply, *sruti* as well as *smṛti* speaks of the highest Self as placed in the cave. Compare, for instance (Ka. Up. I, 2, 12), 'The Ancient who is hidden in the cave, who dwells in the abyss;' Taitt. Up. II, 1, 'He who knows him hidden in the cave, in the highest ether;' and, 'Search for the Self entered into the cave.' That it is not contrary to reason to assign to the omnipresent Brahman a special locality, for the purpose of clearer perception, we have already demonstrated. The attribute of existing in the world of its good works, which properly belongs to one of the two only, viz. to the individual soul, may be assigned to both, analogously to the case of the men, one of whom carries an umbrella. Their being compared to light

and shade also is unobjectionable, because the qualities of belonging and not belonging to this transmigratory world are opposed to each other, like light and shade; the quality of belonging to it being due to Nescience, and the quality of not belonging to it being real. We therefore understand by the two 'entered into the cave,' the individual soul and the highest Self.—Another reason for this interpretation follows.

12. And on account of the distinctive qualities (mentioned).

Moreover, the distinctive qualities mentioned in the text agree only with the individual Self and the highest Self. For in a subsequent passage (I, 3, 3), 'Know the Self to be the charioteer, the body to be the chariot,' which contains the simile of the chariot, the individual soul is represented as a charioteer driving on through transmigratory existence and final release, while the passage (9), 'He reaches the end of his journey, and that is the highest place of Vishnu,' represents the highest Self as the goal of the driver's course. And in a preceding passage also, (I, 2, 12, 'The wise, who by means of meditation on his Self, recognises the Ancient who is difficult to be seen, who has entered into the dark, who is hidden in the cave, who dwells in the abyss, as God, he indeed leaves joy and sorrow far behind,') the same two beings are distinguished as thinker and as object of thought. The highest Self is, moreover, the general topic. And further, the clause, 'Those who know Brahman call them,' &c., which brings forward a special class of speakers, is in its place only if the highest Self is accepted (as one of the two beings spoken of). It is therefore evident that the passage under discussion refers to the individual soul and the highest Self.

The same reasoning applies to the passage (Mu. Up. III, 1, 1), 'Two birds, inseparable friends,' &c. There also the Self is the general topic, and hence no two ordinary birds can be meant; we therefore conclude from the characteristic mark of eating, mentioned in the passage, 'One of them eats the sweet fruit,' that the individual soul is meant, and from

the characteristic marks of abstinence from eating and of intelligence, implied in the words, 'The other looks on without eating,' that the highest Self is meant. In a subsequent mantra again the two are distinguished as the seer and the object of sight. 'Merged into the same tree (as it were into water) man grieves at his own impotence (*anīśā*), bewildered ; but when he sees the other Lord (*īśa*) contented and knows his glory, then his grief passes away.'

Another (commentator) gives a different interpretation of the mantra, 'Two birds inseparable,' &c. To that mantra, he says, the final decision of the present head of discussion does not apply, because it is differently interpreted in the *Paiṅgi-rahasya Brāhmaṇa*. According to the latter the being which eats the sweet fruit is the *sattva* ; the other being which looks on without eating, the individual soul (*gñā*) ; so that the two are the *sattva* and the individual soul (*kshetragñā*). The objection that the word *sattva* might denote the individual soul, and the word *kshetragñā*, the highest Self, is to be met by the remark that, in the first place, the words *sattva* and *kshetragñā* have the settled meaning of internal organ and individual soul, and are, in the second place, expressly so interpreted there, (viz. in the *Paiṅgi-rahasya*), 'The *sattva* is that by means of which man sees dreams ; the embodied one, the seer, is the *kshetragñā* ; the two are therefore the internal organ and the individual soul.' Nor does the mantra under discussion fall under the *pūrvapakṣa* propounded above. For it does not aim at setting forth the embodied individual soul, in so far as it is characterised by the attributes connected with the transmigratory state, such as acting and enjoying ; but in so far rather as it transcends all attributes connected with the *samsāra* and is of the nature of Brahman, i.e. is pure intelligence ; as is evident from the clause, 'The other looks on without eating.' That agrees, moreover, with *śruti* and *smṛiti* passages, such as, 'That art thou,' and 'Know me also to be the individual soul' (*Bha. Gītā XIII, 2*). Only on such an explanation of the passage as the preceding one there is room for the declaration made in the concluding passage of the section, 'These two are the *sattva* and the *kshetragñā* ; to him indeed

who knows this no impurity attaches¹.—But how can, on the above interpretation, the non-intelligent sattva (i.e. the internal organ) be spoken of as an enjoyer, as is actually done in the clause, ‘One of them eats the sweet fruit?’—The whole passage, we reply, does not aim at setting forth the fact that the sattva is an enjoyer, but rather the fact that the intelligent individual soul is not an enjoyer, but is of the nature of Brahman. To that end² the passage under discussion metaphorically ascribes the attribute of being an enjoyer to the internal organ, in so far as it is modified by pleasure, pain, and the like. For all acting and enjoying is at the bottom based on the non-discrimination (by the soul) of the respective nature of internal organ and soul; while in reality neither the internal organ nor the soul either act or enjoy; not the former, because it is non-intelligent; not the latter, because it is not capable of any modification. And the internal organ can be considered as acting and enjoying, all the less as it is a mere presentment of Nescience. In agreement with what we have here maintained, Scripture (‘For where there is as it were duality there one sees the other,’ &c. ; *Bri. Up. IV, 5, 15*) declares that the practical assumption of agents, and so on—comparable to the assumption of the existence of elephants, and the like, seen in a dream—holds good in the sphere of Nescience only; while the passage, ‘But when the Self only is all this, how should he see another?’ declares that all that practically postulated existence vanishes for him who has arrived at discriminative knowledge.

13. The person within (the eye) (is Brahman) on account of the agreement (of the attributes of that person with the nature of Brahman).

¹ Freedom from impurity can result only from the knowledge that the individual soul is in reality Brahman. The commentators explain ragas by avidyā.

² Tadartham iti, gīvasya brahmasiddhyartham iti yāvat, kaitanyakāyāpannā dhīḥ sukhādinā parivamata iti, tatra puruṣo’pi bhaktrītvam ivānubhavati na tattvata iti vaktum adhyāropayati. Ānanda Giri.

Scripture says, 'He spoke: The person that is seen in the eye that is the Self. This is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman. Even though they drop melted butter or water on it (the eye) it runs away on both sides,' &c. (*Kh. Up.* IV, 15, 1).

The doubt here arises whether this passage refers to the reflected Self which resides in the eye, or to the individual Self, or to the Self of some deity which presides over the sense of sight, or to the Lord.

With reference to this doubt the pûrvapakshin argues as follows: What is meant (by the person in the eye) is the reflected Self, i.e. the image of a person (reflected in the eye of another): for of that it is well known that it is seen, and the clause, 'The person that is seen in the eye,' refers to it as something well known. Or else we may appropriately take the passage as referring to the individual Self. For the individual Self (cognitive Self, *viġñânâtman*) which perceives the colours by means of the eye is, on that account, in proximity to the eye; and, moreover, the word 'Self' (which occurs in the passage) favours this interpretation. Or else the passage is to be understood as referring to the soul animating the sun which assists the sense of sight; compare the passage (*Bri. Up.* V, 5, 2), 'He (the person in the sun) rests with his rays in him (the person in the right eye).' Moreover, qualities such as immortality and the like (which are ascribed to the subject of the scriptural passage) may somehow belong to individual deities. The Lord, on the other hand¹, cannot be meant, because a particular locality is spoken of.

Against this we remark that the highest Lord only can be meant here by the person within the eye.—Why?—'On account of the agreement.' For the qualities mentioned in the passage accord with the nature of the highest Lord. The quality of being the Self, in the first place, belongs to the highest Lord in its primary (non-figurative or non-derived) sense, as we know from such texts as 'That

¹ Who, somebody might say, is to be understood here, because immortality and similar qualities belong to him not somehow only, but in their true sense.

is the Self,' 'That art thou.' Immortality and fearlessness again are often ascribed to him in Scripture. The location in the eye also is in consonance with the nature of the highest Lord. For just as the highest Lord whom Scripture declares to be free from all evil is not stained by any imperfections, so the station of the eye also is declared to be free from all stain, as we see from the passage, 'Even though they drop melted butter or water on it it runs away on both sides.' The statement, moreover, that he possesses the qualities of *saṃyadvâma*, &c. can be reconciled with the highest Lord only (*Kh. Up. IV, 15, 2*, 'They call him *Samyadvâma*, for all blessings (*vâma*) go towards him (*saṃyanti*). He is also *vâmanî*, for he leads (*nayati*) all blessings (*vâma*). He is also *Bhâmanî*, for he shines (*bhâti*) in all worlds'). Therefore, on account of agreement, the person within the eye is the highest Lord.

14. And on account of the statement of place, and so on.

But how does the confined locality of the eye agree with Brahman which is omnipresent like the ether?—To this question we reply that there would indeed be a want of agreement if that one locality only were assigned to the Lord. For other localities also, viz. the earth and so on, are attributed to him in the passage, 'He who dwells in the earth,' &c. (*Bri. Up. III, 7, 3*). And among those the eye also is mentioned, viz. in the clause, 'He who dwells in the eye,' &c. The phrase 'and so on,' which forms part of the Sûtra, intimates that not only locality is assigned to Brahman, although not (really) appropriate to it, but that also such things as name and form, although not appropriate to Brahman which is devoid of name and form, are yet seen to be attributed to it. That, in such passages as 'His name is ut, he with the golden beard' (*Kh. Up. I, 6, 7, 6*), Brahman although devoid of qualities is spoken of, for the purposes of devotion, as possessing qualities depending on name and form, we have already shown. And we have, moreover, shown that to attribute to Brahman

a definite locality, in spite of his omnipresence, subserves the purposes of contemplation, and is therefore not contrary to reason¹; no more than to contemplate Viṣṇu in the sacred sālagrām.

15. And on account of the passage referring to that which is distinguished by pleasure (i. e. Brahman).

There is, moreover, really no room for dispute whether Brahman be meant in the passage under discussion or not, because the fact of Brahman being meant is established 'by the reference to that which is distinguished by pleasure.' For the same Brahman which is spoken of as characterised by pleasure in the beginning of the chapter², viz. in the clauses, 'Breath is Brahman, Ka is Brahman, Kha is Brahman,' that same Brahman we must suppose to be referred to in the present passage also, it being proper to adhere to the subject-matter under discussion; the clause, 'The teacher will tell you the way³,' merely announcing that the way will be proclaimed [by the teacher; not that a new subject will be started].—How then, it may be asked, is it known that Brahman, as distinguished by pleasure, is spoken of in the beginning of the passage?—We reply: On hearing the speech of the fires, viz. 'Breath is Brahman, Ka is Brahman, Kha is Brahman,' Upakosala says, 'I understand that breath is Brahman, but I do not understand that Ka or Kha is Brahman.' Thereupon the fires reply, 'What is Ka is Kha, what is Kha is Ka.' Now the word Kha denotes in ordinary language the elemental ether. If therefore the word Ka which means pleasure were not applied to qualify the sense of 'Kha,' we should conclude

¹ The Śikās say that the contents of this last sentence are hinted at by the word 'and' in the Sūtra.

² I. e. at the beginning of the instruction which the sacred fires give to Upakosala, *Kā. Up. IV, 10 ff.*

³ Which words conclude the instruction given by the fires, and introduce the instruction given by the teacher, of which the passage 'the person that is seen in the eye,' &c. forms a part.

that the name Brahman is here symbolically¹ given to the mere elemental ether as it is (in other places) given to mere names and the like. Thus also with regard to the word Ka, which, in ordinary language, denotes the imperfect pleasure springing from the contact of the sense-organs with their objects. If the word Kha were not applied to qualify the sense of Ka we should conclude that ordinary pleasure is here called Brahman. But as the two words Ka and Kha (occur together and therefore) qualify each other, they intimate Brahman whose Self is pleasure. If² in the passage referred to (viz. 'Breath is Brahman, Ka is Brahman, Kha is Brahman') the second Brahman (i.e. the word Brahman in the clause 'Ka is Brahman') were not added, and if the sentence would run 'Ka, Kha is Brahman,' the word Ka would be employed as a mere qualifying word, and thus pleasure as being a mere quality would not be represented as a subject of meditation. To prevent this, both words—Ka as well as Kha—are joined with the word Brahman ('Ka (is) Brahman, Kha (is) Brahman'). For the passage wishes to intimate that pleasure also, although a quality, should be meditated upon as something in which qualities inhere. It thus appears that at the beginning of the chapter Brahman, as characterised by pleasure, is spoken of. After that the Gārhapatya and the other sacred fires proclaim in turns their own glory, and finally conclude with the words, 'This is our knowledge, O friend, and the knowledge of the Self;' wherein they point back to the Brahman spoken of before. The words, 'The teacher will tell you the way' (which form the last clause of the concluding passage), merely promise an explanation of the way, and thus preclude the idea of another topic being started. The teacher thereupon saying, 'As water does not cling to a lotus leaf, so no evil deed clings to one who knows it' (which words intervene between the concluding

¹ Āsrayāntarapratyayasyāśrayāntare kshepaḥ pratīkaḥ, yathā brahmasabdaḥ paramātmavishayo nāmādishu kshipyate. Bhā.

² The following sentences give the reason why, although there is only one Brahman, the word Brahman is repeated.

speech of the fires and the information given by the teacher about the person within the eye) declares that no evil attacks him who knows the person within the eye, and thereby shows the latter to be Brahman. It thus appears that the teacher's intention is to speak about that Brahman which had formed the topic of the instruction of the fires ; to represent it at first as located in the eye and possessing the qualities of *Samyadvâma* and the like, and to point out afterwards that he who thus knows passes on to light and so on. He therefore begins by saying, 'That person that is seen in the eye that is the Self.'

16. And on account of the statement of the way of him who has heard the Upanishads.

The person placed in the eye is the highest lord for the following reason also. From *sruti* as well as *smṛiti* we are acquainted with the way of him who has heard the Upanishads or the secret knowledge, i. e. who knows Brahman. That way, called the path of the gods, is described (*Pra. Up. I, 10*), 'Those who have sought the Self by penance, abstinence, faith, and knowledge gain by the northern path the sun. This is the home of the spirits, the immortal, free from fear, the highest. From thence they do not return ;' and also (*Bha. Gītā VIII, 24*), 'Fire, light, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern progress of the sun, on that way those who know Brahman go, when they have died, to Brahman.' Now that very same way is seen to be stated, in our text, for him who knows the person within the eye. For we read (*Kh. Up. IV, 15, 5*), 'Now whether people perform obsequies for him or no he goes to light ;' and later on, 'From the sun (he goes) to the moon, from the moon to lightning. There is a person not human, he leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the gods, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man.' From this description of the way which is known to be the way of him who knows Brahman we ascertain that the person within the eye is Brahman.

17. (The person within the eye is the highest), not any other Self; on account of the non-permanency (of the other Selves) and on account of the impossibility (of the qualities of the person in the eye being ascribed to the other Selves).

To the assertion made in the *pûrvapaksha* that the person in the eye is either the reflected Self or the cognitional Self (the individual soul) or the Self of some deity the following answer is given.—No other Self such as, for instance, the reflected Self can be assumed here, on account of non-permanency.—The reflected Self, in the first place, does not permanently abide in the eye. For when some person approaches the eye the reflection of that person is seen in the eye, but when the person moves away the reflection is seen no longer. The passage ‘That person within the eye’ must, moreover, be held, on the ground of proximity, to intimate that the person seen in a man’s own eye is the object of (that man’s) devout meditation (and not the reflected image of his own person which he may see in the eye of another man). [Let, then, another man approach the devout man, and let the latter meditate on the image reflected in his own eye, but seen by the other man only. No, we reply, for] we have no right to make the (complicated) assumption that the devout man is, at the time of devotion, to bring close to his eye another man in order to produce a reflected image in his own eye. Scripture, moreover, (*viz.* *Kh. Up.* VIII, 9, 1, ‘It (the reflected Self) perishes as soon as the body perishes,’) declares the non-permanency of the reflected Self.—And, further, ‘on account of impossibility’ (the person in the eye cannot be the reflected Self). For immortality and the other qualities ascribed to the person in the eye are not to be perceived in the reflected Self.—Of the cognitional Self, in the second place, which is in general connexion with the whole body and all the senses, it can likewise not be said that it has its permanent station in the eye only. That, on the other hand, Brahman although all-pervading may, for the purpose of contemplation, be

spoken of as connected with particular places such as the heart and the like, we have seen already. The cognitional Self shares (with the reflected Self) the impossibility of having the qualities of immortality and so on attributed to it. Although the cognitional Self is in reality not different from the highest Self, still there are fictitiously ascribed to it (*adhyāropita*) the effects of nescience, desire and works, viz. mortality and fear ; so that neither immortality nor fearlessness belongs to it. The qualities of being the *samyadvāma*, &c. also cannot properly be ascribed to the cognitional Self, which is not distinguished by lordly power (*aśvarya*).—In the third place, although the Self of a deity (viz. the sun) has its station in the eye—according to the scriptural passage, ‘He rests with his rays in him’—still Selfhood cannot be ascribed to the sun, on account of his externality (*parāgrūpatva*). Immortality, &c. also cannot be predicated of him, as Scripture speaks of his origin and his dissolution. For the (so-called) deathlessness of the gods only means their (comparatively) long existence. And their lordly power also is based on the highest Lord and does not naturally belong to them ; as the mantra declares, ‘From terror of it (Brahman) the wind blows, from terror the sun rises ; from terror of it Agni and Indra, yea, Death runs as the fifth.’—Hence the person in the eye must be viewed as the highest Lord only. In the case of this explanation being adopted the mention (of the person in the eye) as something well known and established, which is contained in the words ‘is seen’ (in the phrase ‘the person that is seen in the eye’), has to be taken as referring to (the mental perception founded on) the *sāstra* which belongs to those who know ; and the glorification (of devout meditation) has to be understood as its purpose.

18. The internal ruler over the *devas* and so on (is Brahman), because the attributes of that (Brahman) are designated.

In *Bṛi. Up.* III, 7, 1 ff. we read, ‘He who within rules this world and the other world and all beings,’ and later on, ‘He who dwells in the earth and within the earth, whom

the earth does not know, whose body the earth is, who rules the earth within, he is thy Self, the ruler within, the immortal,' &c. The entire chapter (to sum up its contents) speaks of a being, called the antaryāmin (the internal ruler), who, dwelling within, rules with reference to the gods, the world, the Veda, the sacrifice, the beings, the Self.—Here now, owing to the unusualness of the term (antar-yāmin), there arises a doubt whether it denotes the Self of some deity which presides over the gods and so on, or some Yogin who has acquired extraordinary powers, such as, for instance, the capability of making his body subtle, or the highest Self, or some other being. What alternative then does recommend itself?

As the term is an unknown one, the pûrvapakshin says, we must assume that the being denoted by it is also an unknown one, different from all those mentioned above.—Or else it may be said that, on the one hand, we have no right to assume something of an altogether indefinite character, and that, on the other hand, the term antaryāmin—which is derived from antaryamana (ruling within)—cannot be called altogether unknown, that therefore antaryāmin may be assumed to denote some god presiding over the earth, and so on. Similarly, we read (*Bṛi. Up. III, 9, 16*), 'He whose dwelling is the earth, whose sight is fire, whose mind is light,' &c. A god of that kind is capable of ruling the earth, and so on, dwelling within them, because he is endowed with the organs of action; rulership is therefore rightly ascribed to him.—Or else the rulership spoken of may belong to some Yogin whom his extraordinary powers enable to enter within all things.—The highest Self, on the other hand, cannot be meant, as it does not possess the organs of action (which are required for ruling).

To this we make the following reply.—The internal ruler, of whom Scripture speaks with reference to the gods, must be the highest Self, cannot be anything else.—Why so?—Because its qualities are designated in the passage under discussion. The universal rulership implied in the statement that, dwelling within, it rules the entire aggregate of created beings, inclusive of the gods, and so on, is an appropriate

attribute of the highest Self, since omnipotence depends on (the omnipotent ruler) being the cause of all created things.—The qualities of Selfhood and immortality also, which are mentioned in the passage, 'He is thy Self, the ruler within, the immortal,' belong in their primary sense to the highest Self.—Further, the passage, 'He whom the earth does not know,' which declares that the internal ruler is not known by the earth-deity, shows him to be different from that deity; for the deity of the earth knows itself to be the earth.—The attributes 'unseen,' 'unheard,' also point to the highest Self, which is devoid of shape and other sensible qualities.—The objection that the highest Self is destitute of the organs of action, and hence cannot be a ruler, is without force, because organs of action may be ascribed to him owing to the organs of action of those whom he rules.—If it should be objected that [if we once admit an internal ruler in addition to the individual soul] we are driven to assume again another and another ruler ad infinitum; we reply that this is not the case, as actually there is no other ruler (but the highest Self¹). The objection would be valid only in the case of a difference of rulers actually existing.—For all these reasons, the internal ruler is no other but the highest Self.

19. And (the internal ruler is) not that which the Smṛiti assumes, (viz. the pradhâna,) on account of the statement of qualities not belonging to it.

Good so far, a Sāṅkhya opponent resumes. The attributes, however, of not being seen, &c., belong also to the pradhâna assumed by the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti, which is acknowledged to be devoid of form and other sensible qualities. For their

¹ According to Scripture, Nirāṅkuraṁ sarvaniyantritvaṁ srautaṁ na ka tādriṣe sarvaniyantari bhedo na kânumânaṁ srutibhâditam uttishṭhati. Ānanda Giri. Or else, as Go. Ān. remarks, we may explain: as the highest Self is not really different from the individual soul. So also Bhāmatī: Na kânavasthâ, na hi niyantrantaram tena niyamyate kim tu yo gṛvo niyantâ lokasiddhaḥ sa paramâtmevo-pādhyavaḥkṛtedakalpitaabhedaḥ.

Smṛiti says, 'Undiscoverable, unknowable, as if wholly in sleep' (Manu I, 5). To this pradhâna also the attribute of rulership belongs, as it is the cause of all effects. Therefore the internal ruler may be understood to denote the pradhâna. The pradhâna has, indeed, been set aside already by the Sûtra I, 1, 5, but we bring it forward again, because we find that attributes belonging to it, such as not being seen and the like, are mentioned in Scripture.

To this argumentation the Sûtrakâra replies that the word 'internal ruler' cannot denote the pradhâna, because qualities not belonging to the latter are stated. For, although the pradhâna may be spoken of as not being seen, &c., it cannot be spoken of as seeing, since the Sāṅkhyas admit it to be non-intelligent. But the scriptural passage which forms the complement to the passage about the internal ruler (*Bṛi. Up. III, 7, 23*) says expressly, 'Unseen but seeing, unheard but hearing, unperceived but perceiving, unknown but knowing.'—And Selfhood also cannot belong to the pradhâna.

Well, then, if the term 'internal ruler' cannot be admitted to denote the pradhâna, because the latter is neither a Self nor seeing; let us suppose it to denote the embodied (individual) soul, which is intelligent, and therefore hears, sees, perceives, knows; which is internal (*pratyakṣa*), and therefore of the nature of Self; and which is immortal, because it is able to enjoy the fruits of its good and evil actions. It is, moreover, a settled matter that the attributes of not being seen, &c., belong to the embodied soul, because the agent of an action, such as seeing, cannot at the same time be the object of the action. This is declared in scriptural passages also, as, for instance (*Bṛi. Up. III, 4, 2*), 'Thou couldst not see the seer of sight.' The individual soul is, moreover, capable of inwardly ruling the complex of the organs of action, as it is the enjoyer. Therefore the internal ruler is the embodied soul.—To this reasoning the following Sûtra replies.

20. And the embodied soul (also cannot be understood by the internal ruler), for both also (i. e. both

recensions of the *Bṛihad Āraṇyaka*) speak of it as different (from the internal ruler).

The word 'not' (in the Sūtra) has to be supplied from the preceding Sūtra. Although the attributes of seeing, &c., belong to the individual soul, still as the soul is limited by its adjuncts, as the ether is by a jar, it is not capable of dwelling completely within the earth and the other beings mentioned, and to rule them. Moreover, the followers of both *jākhās*, i. e. the *Kāṇvas* as well as the *Mādhyandinas*, speak in their texts of the individual soul as different from the internal ruler, viz. as constituting, like the earth, and so on, his abode and the object of his rule. The *Kāṇvas* read (*Bṛi. Up. III, 7, 22*), 'He who dwells in knowledge;' the *Mādhyandinas*, 'He who dwells in the Self.' If the latter reading is adopted, the word 'Self' denotes the individual soul; if the former, the individual soul is denoted by the word 'knowledge;' for the individual soul consists of knowledge. It is therefore a settled matter that some being different from the individual soul, viz. the lord, is denoted by the term 'internal ruler.'—But how, it may be asked, is it possible that there should be within one body two seers, viz. the lord who rules internally and the individual soul different from him?—Why—we ask in return—should that be impossible?—Because, the opponent replies, it is contrary to scriptural passages, such as, 'There is no other seer but he,' &c., which deny that there is any seeing, hearing, perceiving, knowing Self, but the internal ruler under discussion.—May, we rejoin, that passage not have the purpose of denying the existence of another ruler?—No, the opponent replies, for there is no occasion for another ruler (and therefore no occasion for denying his existence), and the text does not contain any specification, (but merely denies the existence of any other seer in general.)

We therefore advance the following final refutation of the opponent's objection.—The declaration of the difference of the embodied Self and the internal ruler has its reason in the limiting adjunct, consisting of the organs of action, presented by Nescience, and is not absolutely true. For the

Self within is one only ; two internal Selfs are not possible. But owing to its limiting adjunct the one Self is practically treated as if it were two ; just as we make a distinction between the ether of the jar and the universal ether. Hence there is room for those scriptural passages which set forth the distinction of knower and object of knowledge, for perception and the other means of proof, for the intuitive knowledge of the apparent world, and for that part of Scripture which contains injunctions and prohibitions. In accordance with this, the scriptural passage, 'Where there is duality, as it were, there one sees another,' declares that the whole practical world exists only in the sphere of Nescience ; while the subsequent passage, 'But when the Self only is all this, how should he see another?' declares that the practical world vanishes in the sphere of true knowledge.

21. That which possesses the attributes of invisibility and so on (is Brahman), on account of the declaration of attributes.

Scripture says, 'The higher knowledge is this by which the Indestructible is apprehended. That which cannot be seen nor seized, which is without origin and qualities, without eyes and ears, without hands and feet, the eternal, all-pervading, omnipresent, infinitesimal, that which is imperishable, that it is which the wise regard as the source of all beings' (Mu. Up. I, 1, 5 ; 6).—Here the doubt arises whether the source of all beings which is spoken of as characterised by invisibility, &c. be the pradhāna, or the embodied soul, or the highest Lord.

We must, the pūrṇapakshin says, understand by the source of all beings the non-intelligent pradhāna because (in the passage immediately subsequent to the one quoted) only non-intelligent beings are mentioned as parallel instances. 'As the spider sends forth and draws in its thread, as plants grow on the earth, as from the living man hairs spring forth on the head and the body, thus everything arises here from the Indestructible.'—But, it

may be objected, men and spiders which are here quoted as parallel instances are of intelligent nature.—No, the pûrvapakshin replies; for the intelligent being as such is not the source of the threads and the hair, but everybody knows that the non-intelligent body of the spider ruled by intelligence is the source of the threads; and so in the case of man also.—While, moreover, in the case of the preceding Sûtra, the pradhâna hypothesis could not be accepted, because, although some qualities mentioned, such as invisibility and so on, agreed with it, others such as being the seer and the like did not; we have here to do only with attributes such as invisibility which agree with the pradhâna, no attribute of a contrary nature being mentioned.—But the qualities mentioned in the complementary passage (Mu. Up. I, 1, 9), ‘He who knows all and perceives all,’ do not agree with the non-intelligent pradhâna; how, then, can the source of all beings be interpreted to mean the pradhâna?—To this the pûrvapakshin replies: The passage, ‘The higher knowledge is that by which the Indestructible is apprehended, that which cannot be seen,’ &c., points, by means of the term ‘the Indestructible,’ to the source of all beings characterised by invisibility and similar attributes. This same ‘Indestructible’ is again mentioned later on in the passage, ‘It is higher than the high Imperishable.’ Now that which in this latter passage is spoken of as higher than the Imperishable may possess the qualities of knowing and perceiving everything, while the pradhâna denoted by the term ‘the Imperishable’ is the source of all beings.—If, however, the word ‘source’ (yonî) be taken in the sense of operative cause, we may by ‘the source of the beings’ understand the embodied Self also, which, by means of merit and demerit, is the cause of the origin of the complex of things.

To this we make the following reply.—That which here is spoken of as the source of all beings, distinguished by such qualities as invisibility and so on, can be the highest Lord only, nothing else.—Whereupon is this conclusion founded?—On the statement of attributes. For the clause, ‘He who is all-knowing, all-perceiving,’ clearly states an

attribute belonging to the highest Lord only, since the attributes of knowing all and perceiving all cannot be predicated either of the non-intelligent pradhāna or the embodied soul whose power of sight is narrowed by its limiting conditions. To the objection that the qualities of knowing and perceiving all are, in the passage under discussion, attributed to that which is higher than the source of all beings—which latter is denoted by the term 'the Imperishable'—not to the source itself, we reply that this explanation is inadmissible because the source of all beings, which—in the clause, 'From the Indestructible everything here arises'—is designated as the material cause of all created beings, is later on spoken of as all-knowing, and again as the cause of all created beings, viz. in the passage (I, 1, 9), 'From him who knows all and perceives all, whose brooding consists of knowledge, from him is born that Brahman, name, form, and food.' As therefore the Indestructible which forms the general topic of discussion is, owing to the identity of designation, recognised (as being referred to in the later passage also), we understand that it is the same Indestructible to which the attributes of knowing and perceiving all are ascribed.—We further maintain that also the passage, 'Higher than the high Imperishable,' does not refer to any being different from the imperishable source of all beings which is the general topic of discussion. We conclude this from the circumstance that the passage, 'He truly told that knowledge of Brahman through which he knows the imperishable true person,' (I, 2, 13; which passage leads on to the passage about that which is higher than the Imperishable,) merely declares that the imperishable source of all beings, distinguished by invisibility and the like—which formed the subject of the preceding chapter—will be discussed. The reason why that imperishable source is called higher than the high Imperishable, we shall explain under the next Sūtra.—Moreover, two kinds of knowledge are enjoined there (in the Upanishad), a lower and a higher one. Of the lower one it is said that it comprises the *R̥g-veda* and so on, and then the text continues, 'The higher knowledge

is that by which the Indestructible is apprehended.' Here the Indestructible is declared to be the subject of the higher knowledge. If we now were to assume that the Indestructible distinguished by invisibility and like qualities is something different from the highest Lord, the knowledge referring to it would not be the higher one. For the distinction of lower and higher knowledge is made on account of the diversity of their results, the former leading to mere worldly exaltation, the latter to absolute bliss; and nobody would assume absolute bliss to result from the knowledge of the *pradhāna*.—Moreover, as on the view we are controverting the highest Self would be assumed to be something higher than the imperishable source of all beings, three kinds of knowledge would have to be acknowledged, while the text expressly speaks of two kinds only.—Further, the reference to the knowledge of everything being implied in the knowledge of one thing—which is contained in the passage (I, 1, 3), 'Sir, what is that through which if it is known everything else becomes known?'—is possible only if the allusion is to Brahman the Self of all, and not either to the *pradhāna* which comprises only what is non-intelligent or to the enjoyer viewed apart from the objects of enjoyment.—The text, moreover, by introducing the knowledge of Brahman as the chief subject—which it does in the passage (I, 1, 1), 'He told the knowledge of Brahman, the foundation of all knowledge, to his eldest son Atharvan'—and by afterwards declaring that out of the two kinds of knowledge, viz. the lower one and the higher one, the higher one leads to the comprehension of the Imperishable, shows that the knowledge of the Imperishable is the knowledge of Brahman. On the other hand, the term 'knowledge of Brahman' would become meaningless if that Imperishable which is to be comprehended by means of it were not Brahman. The lower knowledge of works which comprises the *Rig-veda*, and so on, is mentioned preliminarily to the knowledge of Brahman for the mere purpose of glorifying the latter; as appears from the passages in which it (the lower knowledge) is spoken of slightly, such as (I, 2, 7), 'But frail

indeed are those boats, the sacrifices, the eighteen in which this lower ceremonial has been told. Fools who praise this as the highest good are subject again and again to old age and death.' After these slighting remarks the text declares that he who turns away from the lower knowledge is prepared for the highest one (I, 2, 12), 'Let a Brāhmaṇa after he has examined all these worlds which are gained by works acquire freedom from all desires. Nothing that is eternal (not made) can be gained by what is not eternal (made). Let him in order to understand this take fuel in his hand and approach a guru who is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman.'—The remark that, because the earth and other non-intelligent things are adduced as parallel instances, that also which is compared to them, viz. the source of all beings must be non-intelligent, is without foundation, since it is not necessary that two things of which one is compared to the other should be of absolutely the same nature. The things, moreover, to which the source of all beings is compared, viz. the earth and the like, are material, while nobody would assume the source of all beings to be material.—For all these reasons the source of all beings, which possesses the attributes of invisibility and so on, is the highest Lord.

22. The two others (i. e. the individual soul and the pradhâna) are not (the source of all beings) because there are stated distinctive attributes and difference.

The source of all beings is the highest Lord, not either of the two others, viz. the pradhâna and the individual soul, on account of the following reason also. In the first place, the text distinguishes the source of all beings from the embodied soul, as something of a different nature; compare the passage (II, 1, 2), 'That heavenly person is without body, he is both without and within, not produced, without breath and without mind, pure.' The distinctive attributes mentioned here, such as being of a heavenly nature, and so on, can in no way belong to the individual soul,

which erroneously considers itself to be limited by name and form as presented by Nescience, and erroneously imputes their attributes to itself. Therefore the passage manifestly refers to the Person which is the subject of all the Upanishads.—In the second place, the source of all beings which forms the general topic is represented in the text as something different from the *pradhāna*, viz. in the passage, ‘Higher than the high Imperishable.’ Here the term ‘Imperishable’ means that undeveloped entity which represents the seminal potentiality of names and forms, contains the fine parts of the material elements, abides in the Lord, forms his limiting adjunct, and being itself no effect is high in comparison to all effects; the whole phrase, ‘Higher than the high Imperishable,’ which expresses a difference then clearly shows that the highest Self is meant here.—We do not on that account assume an independent entity called *pradhāna* and say that the source of all beings is stated separately therefrom; but if a *pradhāna* is to be assumed at all (in agreement with the common opinion) and if being assumed it is assumed of such a nature as not to be opposed to the statements of Scripture, viz. as the subtle cause of all beings denoted by the terms ‘the Undeveloped’ and so on, we have no objection to such an assumption, and declare that, on account of the separate statement therefrom, i.e. from that *pradhāna*, ‘the source of all beings’ must mean the highest Lord.—A further argument in favour of the same conclusion is supplied by the next Sūtra.

23. And on account of its form being mentioned.

Subsequently to the passage, ‘Higher than the high Imperishable,’ we meet (in the passage, ‘From him is born breath,’ &c.) with a description of the creation of all things, from breath down to earth, and then with a statement of the form of this same source of beings as consisting of all created beings, ‘Fire is his head, his eyes the sun and the moon, the quarters his ears, his speech the Vedas disclosed, the wind his breath, his heart the universe; from his feet came the earth; he is indeed the inner Self of all things.’ This statement of form can refer only to the

highest Lord, and not either to the embodied soul, which, on account of its small power, cannot be the cause of all effects, or to the *pradhâna*, which cannot be the inner Self of all beings. We therefore conclude that the source of all beings is the highest Lord, not either of the other two.—But wherefrom do you conclude that the quoted declaration of form refers to the source of all beings?—From the general topic, we reply. The word ‘he’ (in the clause, ‘He is indeed the inner Self of all things’) connects the passage with the general topic. As the source of all beings constitutes the general topic, the whole passage, from ‘From him is born breath,’ up to, ‘He is the inner Self of all beings,’ refers to that same source. Similarly, when in ordinary conversation a certain teacher forms the general topic of the talk, the phrase, ‘Study under him ; he knows the Veda and the *Vedângas* thoroughly,’ as a matter of course, refers to that same teacher.—But how can a bodily form be ascribed to the source of all beings which is characterised by invisibility and similar attributes?—The statement as to its nature, we reply, is made for the purpose of showing that the source of all beings is the Self of all beings, not of showing that it is of a bodily nature. The case is analogous to such passages as, ‘I am food, I am food, I am the eater of food’ (*Taitt. Up. III, 10, 6*).—Others, however, are of opinion¹ that the statement quoted does not refer to the source of all beings, because that to which it refers is spoken of as something produced. For, on the one hand, the immediately preceding passage (‘From him is born health, mind, and all organs of sense, ether, air, light, water, and the earth, the support of all’) speaks of the aggregate of beings from air down to earth as something produced, and, on the other

¹ *Vṛittikṛīdvākyāṁ dūshayati*, Go. Ân. ; *ekadesinam dūshayati*, Ânanda Giri ; *tad etat paramatenâkshepasamâdhânâbhyām vyākhyāya svamatena vyākashṭe*, *punaḥ sabdoḥ pi pūrvasmād viśesham dyotayann asyeshatātām sūkayati*, Bhāmatī.—The statement of the two former commentators must be understood to mean—in agreement with the Bhāmatī—that Śaṅkara is now going to refute the preceding explanation by the statement of his own view. Thus Go. Ân. later on explains ‘*asmin pakṣe*’ by ‘*svapakṣe*.’

hand, a passage met with later on ('From him comes Agni, the sun being his fuel,' up to 'All herbs and juices') expresses itself to the same purpose. How then should all at once, in the midst of these two passages (which refer to the creation), a statement be made about the nature of the source of all beings?—The attribute of being the Self of all beings (which above was said to be mentioned in the passage about the creation, 'Fire is his head,' &c., is not mentioned there but) is stated only later on in a passage subsequent to that which refers to the creation, viz. 'The Person is all this, sacrifice,' &c. (II, 1, 10).—Now, we see that *śruti* as well as *smṛiti* speaks of the birth of *Pragâpati*, whose body is this three-fold world; compare *Rig-veda Samh.* X, 121, 1, 'Hiranyagarbha arose in the beginning; he was the one born Lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky; to what God shall we offer our oblation?' where the expression 'arose' means 'he was born.' And in *smṛiti* we read, 'He is the first embodied one, he is called the Person; as the primal creator of the beings Brahman was evolved in the beginning.' This Person which is (not the original Brahman but) an effect (like other created beings) may be called the internal Self of all beings (as it is called in II, 1, 4), because in the form of the Self of breath it abides in the Selves of all beings.—On this latter explanation (according to which the passage, 'Fire is his head,' &c., does not describe the nature of the highest Lord, and can therefore not be referred to in the Sûtra) the declaration as to the Lord being the 'nature' of all which is contained in the passage, 'The Person is all this, sacrifice,' &c., must be taken as the reason for establishing the highest Lord, (i. e. as the passage which, according to the Sûtra, proves that the source of all beings is the highest Lord¹.)

¹ The question is to what passage the 'rûpopyâsât' of the Sûtra refers.—According to the opinion set forth first it refers to *Mu. Up.* II, 1, 4 ff.—But, according to the second view, II, 1, 4 to II, 1, 9, cannot refer to the source of all beings, i. e. the highest Self, because that entire passage describes the creation, the inner Self of which is not the highest Self but *Pragâpati*, i. e. the *Hiranyagarbha* or *Sûtrâtman* of the later Vedânta, who is himself an

24. Vaisvânara (is the highest Lord) on account of the distinction qualifying the common terms (Vaisvânara and Self).

(In *Kh. Up. V*, 11 ff.) a discussion begins with the words, 'What is our Self, what is Brahman?' and is carried on in the passage, 'You know at present that Vaisvânara Self, tell us that;' after that it is declared with reference to Heaven, sun, air, ether, water, and earth, that they are connected with the qualities of having good light, &c., and, in order to disparage devout meditation on them singly, that they stand to the Vaisvânara in the relation of being his head, &c., merely; and then finally (*V*, 18) it is said, 'But he who meditates on the Vaisvânara Self as measured by a span, as *abhivimâna*¹, he eats food in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selves. Of that Vaisvânara Self the head is *Sutegas* (having good light), the eye *Viśvarûpa* (multiform), the breath *Prîthag-vartman* (moving in various courses), the trunk *Bahula* (full), the bladder *Rayi* (wealth), the feet the earth, the chest the altar, the hairs the grass on the altar, the heart the *Gârhapatya* fire, the mind the *Anvâhârya* fire, the mouth the *Âhavanîya* fire.'—Here the doubt arises whether by the term 'Vaisvânara' we have to understand the gastric fire, or the elemental fire, or the divinity presiding over the latter, or the embodied soul, or the highest Lord.—But what, it may be asked, gives rise to this doubt?—The circumstance, we reply, of 'Vaisvânara' being employed as a common term for the gastric fire, the elemental fire, and the divinity of the latter, while 'Self' is a term applying to the embodied soul as well as to the highest Lord. Hence the doubt arises which meaning of the term is to be accepted and which to be set aside.

Which, then, is the alternative to be embraced?—Vaisvânara, the *pûrvapakshin* maintains, is the gastric fire, because we meet, in some passages, with the term used in

'effect,' and who is called the inner Self, because he is the breath of life (*prâṇa*) in everything.—Hence the *Sûtra* must be connected with another passage, and that passage is found in *II*, 1, 10, where it is said that the Person (i. e. the highest Self) is all this, &c.

¹ About which term see later on.

that special sense ; so, for instance (*Bṛi. Up. V, 9*), ‘Agni Vaisvânara is the fire within man by which the food that is eaten is cooked.’—Or else the term may denote fire in general, as we see it used in that sense also ; so, for instance (*Rig-veda Samh. X, 88, 12*), ‘For the whole world the gods have made the Agni Vaisvânara a sign of the days.’ Or, in the third place, the word may denote that divinity whose body is fire. For passages in which the term has that sense are likewise met with ; compare, for instance, *Rig-veda Samh. I, 98, 1*, ‘May we be in the favour of Vaisvânara ; for he is the king of the beings, giving pleasure, of ready grace ;’ this and similar passages properly applying to a divinity endowed with power and similar qualities. Perhaps it will be urged against the preceding explanations, that, as the word Vaisvânara is used in co-ordination with the term ‘Self,’ and as the term ‘Self’ alone is used in the introductory passage (‘What is our Self, what is Brahman?’), Vaisvânara has to be understood in a modified sense, so as to be in harmony with the term Self. Well, then, the pûrvapakshin rejoins, let us suppose that Vaisvânara is the embodied Self which, as being an enjoyer, is in close vicinity to the Vaisvânara fire,¹ (i.e. the fire within the body,) and with which the qualification expressed by the term, ‘Measured by a span,’ well agrees, since it is restricted by its limiting condition (viz. the body and so on).—In any case it is evident that the term Vaisvânara does not denote the highest Lord.

To this we make the following reply.—The word Vaisvânara denotes the highest Self, on account of the distinction qualifying the two general terms.—Although the term ‘Self,’ as well as the term ‘Vaisvânara,’ has various meanings—the latter term denoting three beings while the former denotes two—yet we observe a distinction from which we conclude that both terms can here denote the highest Lord only ; viz. in the passage, ‘Of that Vaisvânara Self the head is Suteḡas,’ &c. For it is clear that that passage refers to the highest Lord in so far as he is distinguished by having heaven, and so on, for his head and limbs, and in so far as

¹ Sâfire lakṣaṇayâ vaisvânaraśabdopapattim āha tasyeti. Ân. Gi.

he has entered into a different state (viz. into the state of being the Self of the threefold world); represents him, in fact, for the purpose of meditation, as the internal Self of everything. As such the absolute Self may be represented, because it is the cause of everything; for as the cause virtually contains all the states belonging to its effects, the heavenly world, and so on, may be spoken of as the members of the highest Self.—Moreover, the result which Scripture declares to abide in all worlds—viz. in the passage, ‘He eats food in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selves’—is possible only if we take the term *Vaiśvānara* to denote the highest Self.—The same remark applies to the declaration that all the sins are burned of him who has that knowledge, ‘Thus all his sins are burned,’ &c. (*Kh. Up. V, 24, 3*).—Moreover, we meet at the beginning of the chapter with the words ‘Self’ and ‘Brahman;’ viz. in the passage, ‘What is our Self, what is Brahman?’ Now these are marks of Brahman, and indicate the highest Lord only. Hence he only can be meant by the term *Vaiśvānara*.

25. (And) because that which is stated by *Smṛiti* (i. e. the shape of the highest Lord as described by *Smṛiti*) is an inference (i. e. an indicatory mark from which we infer the meaning of *Sruti*).

The highest Lord only is *Vaiśvānara*, for that reason also that *Smṛiti* ascribes to the highest Lord only a shape consisting of the threefold world, the fire constituting his mouth, the heavenly world his head, &c. So, for instance, in the following passage, ‘He whose mouth is fire, whose head the heavenly world, whose navel the ether, whose feet the earth, whose eye the sun, whose ears the regions, reverence to him the Self of the world.’ The shape described here in *Smṛiti* allows us to infer a *Sruti* passage on which the *Smṛiti* rests, and thus constitutes an inference, i. e. a sign indicatory of the word ‘*Vaiśvānara*’ denoting the highest Lord. For, although the quoted *Smṛiti* passage contains a glorification¹,

¹ And as such might be said not to require a basis for its statements.

still even a glorification in the form in which it there appears is not possible, unless it has a Vedic passage to rest on.—Other Smṛiti passages also may be quoted in connexion with this Sūtra, so, for instance, the following one, 'He whose head the wise declare to be the heavenly world, whose navel the ether, whose eyes sun and moon, whose ears the regions, and whose feet the earth, he is the inscrutable leader of all beings.'

26. If it be maintained that (Vaisvânara is) not (the highest Lord) on account of the term (viz. Vaisvânara, having a settled different meaning), &c., and on account of his abiding within (which is a characteristic of the gastric fire); (we say) no, on account of the perception (of the highest Lord), being taught thus (viz. in the gastric fire), and on account of the impossibility (of the heavenly world, &c. being the head, &c. of the gastric fire), and because they (the Vâgasaneyins) read of him (viz. the Vaisvânara) as man (which term cannot apply to the gastric fire).

Here the following objection is raised.—Vaisvânara cannot be the highest Lord, on account of the term, &c., and on account of the abiding within. The term, viz. the term Vaisvânara, cannot be applied to the highest Lord, because the settled use of language assigns to it a different sense. Thus, also, with regard to the term Agni (fire) in the passage (Sat. Brâ. X, 6, 1, 11), 'He is the Agni Vaisvânara.' The word '&c.' (in the Sūtra) hints at the fiction concerning the three sacred fires, the gârhapatya being represented as the heart, and so on, of the Vaisvânara Self (*Kh. Up. V, 18, 2*¹).—Moreover, the passage, 'Therefore the first food which a man may take is in the place of homa' (*Kh. Up. V, 19, 1*), contains a glorification of (Vaisvânara) being the abode of the oblation to Prâna². For these reasons we have to under-

¹ Na ka gârhapatyâdihridayâditâ brahmanah sambhavinî. Bhâmatî.

² Na ka prânâhutyadhikaranatâ - nyatra gatharâgner yugyate. Bhâmatî.

stand by Vaisvânara the gastric fire.—Moreover, Scripture speaks of the Vaisvânara as abiding within, ‘He knows him abiding within man;’ which again applies to the gastric fire only.—With reference to the averment that on account of the specifications contained in the passage, ‘His head is Sutegas,’ &c., Vaisvânara is to be explained as the highest Self, we (the pûrvapakshin) ask: How do you reach the decision that those specifications, although agreeing with both interpretations, must be assumed to refer to the highest Lord only, and not to the gastric fire?—Or else we may assume that the passage speaks of the elemental fire which abides within and without; for that that fire is also connected with the heavenly world, and so on, we understand from the mantra, ‘He who with his light has extended himself over earth and heaven, the two halves of the world, and the atmosphere’ (*Rig-veda Samh.* X, 88, 3).—Or else the attribute of having the heavenly world, and so on, for its members may, on account of its power, be attributed to that divinity which has the elemental fire for its body.—Therefore Vaisvânara is not the highest Lord.

To all this we reply as follows.—Your assertions are unfounded, ‘because there is taught the perception in this manner.’ The reasons (adduced in the former part of the Sûtra), viz. the term, and so on, are not sufficient to make us abandon the interpretation according to which Vaisvânara is the highest Lord.—Why?—On account of perception being taught in this manner, i. e. without the gastric fire being set aside. For the passages quoted teach the perception of the highest Lord in the gastric fire, analogously to such passages as ‘Let a man meditate on the mind as Brahman’ (*Kh. Up.* III, 18, 1).—Or else they teach that the object of perception is the highest Lord, in so far as he has the gastric fire called Vaisvânara for his limiting condition; analogously to such passages as ‘He who consists of mind, whose body is breath, whose form is light’ (*Kh. Up.* III, 14, 2¹). If it were the aim of the passages about the Vais-

¹ According to the former explanation the gastric fire is to be looked on as the outward manifestation (*pratîka*) of the highest Lord; according to the latter as his limiting condition.

vânara to make statements not concerning the highest Lord, but merely concerning the gastric fire, there would be no possibility of specifications such as contained in the passage 'His head is Sutegas,' &c. That also on the assumption of Vaisvânara being either the divinity of fire or the elemental fire no room is to be found for the said specifications, we shall show under the following Sûtra.—Moreover, if the mere gastric fire were meant, there would be room only for a declaration that it abides within man, not that it is man. But, as a matter of fact, the Vâgasaneyins speak of him—in their sacred text—as man, 'This Agni Vaisvânara is man; he who knows this Agni Vaisvânara as man-like, as abiding within man,' &c. (Sat. Brâ. X, 6, 1, 11). The highest Lord, on the other hand, who is the Self of everything, may be spoken of as well as man, as abiding within man.—Those who, in the latter part of the Sûtra, read 'man-like' (puru-shavidham) instead of 'man' (purusham), wish to express the following meaning: If Vaisvânara were assumed to be the gastric fire only, he might be spoken of as abiding within man indeed, but not as man-like. But the Vâgasaneyins do speak of him as man-like, 'He who knows him as man-like, as abiding within man.'—The meaning of the term man-like is to be concluded from the context, whence it will be seen that, with reference to nature, it means that the highest Lord has the heaven for his head, &c., and is based on the earth; and with reference to man, that he forms the head, &c., and is based on the chin (of the devout worshipper¹).

27. For the same reasons (the Vaisvânara) cannot be the divinity (of fire), or the element (of fire).

The averment that the fanciful attribution of members contained in the passage 'His head is Sutegas,' &c. may apply to the elemental fire also which from the mantras is seen to be connected with the heavenly world, &c., or else to the divinity whose body is fire, on account of its power, is refuted by the following remark: For the reasons

¹ I. e. that he may be fancifully identified with the head and so on of the devout worshipper.

already stated Vaisvânara is neither the divinity nor the element. For to the elemental fire which is mere heat and light the heavenly world and so on cannot properly be ascribed as head and so on, because an effect cannot be the Self of another effect.—Again, the heavenly world cannot be ascribed as head, &c. to the divinity of fire, in spite of the power of the latter ; for, on the one hand, it is not a cause (but a mere effect), and on the other hand its power depends on the highest Lord. Against all these interpretations there lies moreover the objection founded on the inapplicability of the term ‘Self.’

28. Gaimini (declares that there is) no contradiction even on the assumption of a direct (worship of the highest Lord as Vaisvânara).

Above (Sûtra 26) it has been said that Vaisvânara is the highest Lord, to be meditated upon as having the gastric fire either for his outward manifestation or for his limiting condition ; which interpretation was accepted in deference to the circumstance that he is spoken of as abiding within—and so on.—The teacher Gaimini however is of opinion that it is not necessary to have recourse to the assumption of an outward manifestation or limiting condition, and that there is no objection to refer the passage about Vaisvânara to the direct worship of the highest Lord.—But, if you reject the interpretation based on the gastric fire, you place yourself in opposition to the statement that Vaisvânara abides within, and to the reasons founded on the term, &c. (Sû. 26).—To this we reply that we in no way place ourselves in opposition to the statement that Vaisvânara abides within. For the passage, ‘He knows him as man-like, as abiding within man,’ does not by any means refer to the gastric fire, the latter being neither the general topic of discussion nor having been mentioned by name before.—What then does it refer to?—It refers to that which forms the subject of discussion, viz. that similarity to man (of the highest Self) which is fancifully found in the members of man from the upper part of the head down to the chin ; the text therefore says, ‘He knows him as man-like,

as abiding within man,' just as we say of a branch that it abides within the tree¹.—Or else we may adopt another interpretation and say that after the highest Self has been represented as having the likeness to man as a limiting condition, with regard to nature as well as to man, the passage last quoted ('He knows him as abiding within man') speaks of the same highest Self as the mere witness (sākshin; i. e. as the pure Self, non-related to the limiting conditions).—The consideration of the context having thus shown that the highest Self has to be resorted to for the interpretation of the passage, the term 'Vaisvânara' must denote the highest Self in some way or other. The word 'Visvânara' is to be explained either as 'he who is all and man (i. e. the individual soul),' or 'he to whom souls belong' (in so far as he is their maker or ruler), and thus denotes the highest Self which is the Self of all. And the form 'Vaisvânara' has the same meaning as 'Visvânara,' the taddhita-suffix, by which the former word is derived from the latter, not changing the meaning; just as in the case of rākshasa (derived from rakshas), and vāyasa (derived from vayas).—The word 'Agni' also may denote the highest Self if we adopt the etymology agni=agranî, i. e. he who leads in front.—As the Gârhapatya-fire finally, and as the abode of the oblation to breath the highest Self may be represented because it is the Self of all.

But, if it is assumed that Vaisvânara denotes the highest Self, how can Scripture declare that he is measured by a span?—On the explanation of this difficulty we now enter.

29. On account of the manifestation, so Âsmara-thya opines.

The circumstance of the highest Lord who transcends all measure being spoken of as measured by a span has for its reason 'manifestation.' The highest Lord manifests

¹ Whereby we mean not that it is inside the tree, but that it forms a part of the tree.—The Vaisvânara Self is identified with the different members of the body, and these members abide within, i. e. form parts of the body.

himself as measured by a span, i. e. he specially manifests himself for the benefit of his worshippers in some special places, such as the heart and the like, where he may be perceived. Hence, according to the opinion of the teacher Āsmarathya, the scriptural passage which speaks of him who is measured by a span may refer to the highest Lord.

30. On account of remembrance; so Bādari opines.

Or else the highest Lord may be called 'measured by a span' because he is remembered by means of the mind which is seated in the heart which is measured by a span. Similarly, barley-corns which are measured by means of prasthas are themselves called prasthas. It must be admitted that barley-grains themselves have a certain size which is merely rendered manifest through their being connected with a prastha measure; while the highest Lord himself does not possess a size to be rendered manifest by his connexion with the heart. Still the remembrance (of the Lord by means of the mind) may be accepted as offering a certain foundation for the Sruti passage concerning him who is measured by a span.—Or else¹ the Sūtra may be interpreted to mean that the Lord, although not really measured by a span, is to be remembered (meditated upon) as being of the measure of a span; whereby the passage is furnished with an appropriate sense.—Thus the passage about him who is measured by a span may, according to the opinion of the teacher Bādari, be referred to the highest Lord, on account of remembrance.

31. On the ground of imaginative identification (the highest Lord may be called prādesamātra), Gaimini thinks; for thus (Scripture) declares.

Or else the passage about him who is measured by a span may be considered to rest on imaginative combination.—Why?—Because the passage of the Vāgasaneyi-

¹ Parimānasya hrīdayadvārāropitasya smaryamāne katham āropi vishayavishayitvena bhedād ity āraṅkya vyākhyāntaram āha prādeseti. Ānanda Giri.

brāhmaṇa which treats of the same topic identifies heaven, earth, and so on—which are the members of Vaisvānara viewed as the Self of the threefold world—with certain parts of the human frame, viz. the parts comprised between the upper part of the head and the chin, and thus declares the imaginative identity of Vaisvānara with something whose measure is a span. There we read, ‘The Gods indeed reached him, knowing him as measured by a span as it were. Now I will declare them (his members) to you so as to identify him (the Vaisvānara) with that whose measure is a span; thus he said. Pointing to the upper part of the head he said: This is what stands above (i. e. the heavenly world) as Vaisvānara (i. e. the head of Vaisvānara ¹). Pointing to the eyes he said: This is he with good light (i. e. the sun) as Vaisvānara (i. e. the eye of V.). Pointing to the nose he said: This is he who moves on manifold paths (i. e. the air) as Vaisvānara (i. e. the breath of V.). Pointing to the space (ether) within his mouth he said: This is the full one (i. e. the ether) as Vaisvānara. Pointing to the saliva within his mouth he said: This is wealth as Vaisvānara (i. e. the water in the bladder of V.). Pointing to the chin he said: This is the base as Vaisvānara (i. e. the feet of V.).’—Although in the Vāgasaneyi-brāhmaṇa the heaven is denoted as that which has the attribute of standing above and the sun as that which has the attribute of good light, while in the *Khândogya* the heaven is spoken of as having good light and the sun as being multiform; still this difference does not interfere (with the unity of the vidyā) ², because both texts equally use the term ‘measured by a span,’ and because all sâkhās intimate the same.—The above explanation of the term ‘measured by a span,’ which rests on imaginative identification, the teacher Gaimini considers the most appropriate one.

32. Moreover they (the Gābālas) speak of him

¹ Atra sarvatra vaisvānaraśabdāś tadaṅgaparāḥ. Go. Âṇ.

² Which unity entitles us to use the passage from the *Sat. Brâ.* for the explanation of the passage from the *Kh. Up.*

(the highest Lord) in that (i. e. the interstice between the top of the head and the chin which is measured by a span).

Moreover the *Gābālas* speak in their text of the highest Lord as being in the interstice between the top of the head and the chin. 'The unevolved infinite Self abides in the *avimukta* (i. e. the non-released soul). Where does that *avimukta* abide? It abides in the *Varaṇā* and the *Nâsî*, in the middle. What is that *Varaṇā*, what is that *Nâsî*?' The text thereupon etymologises the term *Varaṇā* as that which wards off (*vārayati*) all evil done by the senses, and the term *Nâsî* as that which destroys (*nāsayati*) all evil done by the senses; and then continues, 'And what is its place?—The place where the eyebrows and the nose join. That is the joining place of the heavenly world (represented by the upper part of the head) and of the other (i. e. the earthly world represented by the chin).' (*Gābāla Up. I.*)—Thus it appears that the scriptural statement which ascribes to the highest Lord the measure of a span is appropriate. That the highest Lord is called *abhivimāna* refers to his being the inward Self of all. As such he is directly measured, i. e. known by all animate beings. Or else the word may be explained as 'he who is near everywhere—as the inward Self—and who at the same time is measureless' (as being infinite). Or else it may denote the highest Lord as him who, as the cause of the world, measures it out, i. e. creates it. By all this it is proved that *Vaiṣvānara* is the highest Lord.

THIRD PĀDA.

REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. The abode of heaven, earth, and so on (is Brahman), on account of the term 'own,' i.e. Self.

We read (Mu. Up. II, 2, 5), 'He in whom the heaven, the earth, and the sky are woven, the mind also with all the vital airs, know him alone as the Self, and leave off other words! He is the bridge of the Immortal.'—Here the doubt arises whether the abode which is intimated by the statement of the heaven and so on being woven in it is the highest Brahman or something else.

The pūrvapakshin maintains that the abode is something else, on account of the expression, 'It is the bridge of the Immortal.' For, he says, it is known from every-day experience that a bridge presupposes some further bank to which it leads, while it is impossible to assume something further beyond the highest Brahman, which in Scripture is called 'endless, without a further shore' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 12*). Now if the abode is supposed to be something different from Brahman, it must be supposed to be either the pradhāna known from *Smṛiti*, which, as being the (general) cause, may be called the (general) abode; or the air known from *Sruti*, of which it is said (*Bṛi. Up. III, 7, 2*, 'Air is that thread, O Gautama. By air as by a thread, O Gautama, this world and the other world and all beings are strung together'), that it supports all things; or else the embodied soul which, as being the enjoyer, may be considered as an abode with reference to the objects of its fruition.

Against this view we argue with the sūtrakāra as follows:— 'Of the world consisting of heaven, earth, and so on, which in the quoted passage is spoken of as woven (upon something), the highest Brahman must be the abode.'—Why?—On account of the word 'own,' i.e. on account of the word 'Self.' For we meet with the word 'Self' in the passage, 'Know him alone as the Self.' This term 'Self' is

thoroughly appropriate only if we understand the highest Self and not anything else.—(To propound another interpretation of the phrase ‘*svasabdât*’ employed in the *Sûtra*.) Sometimes also Brahman is spoken of in *Sruti* as the general abode by its own terms (i.e. by terms properly designating Brahman), as, for instance (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 4), ‘All these creatures, my dear, have their root in the being, their abode in the being, their rest in the being¹.’—(Or else we have to explain ‘*svasabdena*’ as follows), In the passages preceding and following the passage under discussion Brahman is glorified with its own names²; cp. *Mu. Up.* II, 1, 10, ‘The Person is all this, sacrifice, penance, Brahman, the highest Immortal,’ and II, 2, 11, ‘That immortal Brahman is before, is behind, Brahman is to the right and left.’ Here, on account of mention being made of an abode and that which abides, and on account of the co-ordination expressed in the passage, ‘Brahman is all’ (*Mu. Up.* II, 2, 11), a suspicion might arise that Brahman is of a manifold variegated nature, just as in the case of a tree consisting of different parts we distinguish branches, stem, and root. In order to remove this suspicion the text declares (in the passage under discussion), ‘Know him alone as the Self.’ The sense of which is: The Self is not to be known as manifold, qualified by the universe of effects; you are rather to dissolve by true knowledge the universe of effects, which is the mere product of Nescience, and to know that one Self, which is the general abode, as uniform. Just as when somebody says, ‘Bring that on which Devadatta sits,’ the person addressed brings the chair only (the abode of Devadatta), not Devadatta himself; so the passage, ‘Know him alone as the Self,’ teaches that the object to be known is the one uniform Self which constitutes the general abode. Similarly another scriptural passage reproves him who believes in the unreal world of effects,

¹ From passages of which nature we may infer that in the passage under discussion also the ‘abode’ is Brahman.

² From which circumstance we may conclude that the passage under discussion also refers to Brahman.

'From death to death goes he who sees any difference here' (Ka. Up. II, 4, 11). The statement of co-ordination made in the clause 'All is Brahman' aims at dissolving (the wrong conception of the reality of) the world, and not in any way at intimating that Brahman is multiform in nature¹; for the uniformity (of Brahman's nature) is expressly stated in other passages such as the following one, 'As a mass of salt has neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of taste, thus indeed has that Self neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of knowledge' (Bri. Up. IV, 5, 13).—For all these reasons the abode of heaven, earth, &c. is the highest Brahman.—Against the objection that on account of the text speaking of a 'bridge,' and a bridge requiring a further bank, we have to understand by the abode of heaven and earth something different from Brahman, we remark that the word 'bridge' is meant to intimate only that that which is called a bridge supports, not that it has a further bank. We need not assume by any means that the bridge meant is like an ordinary bridge made of clay and wood. For as the word *setu* (bridge) is derived from the root *si*, which means 'to bind,' the idea of holding together, supporting is rather implied in it than the idea of being connected with something beyond (a further bank).

According to the opinion of another (commentator) the word 'bridge' does not glorify the abode of heaven, earth, &c., but rather the knowledge of the Self which is glorified in the preceding clause, 'Know him alone as the Self,' and the abandonment of speech advised in the clause, 'leave off other words;' to them, as being the means of obtaining immortality, the expression 'the bridge of the immortal' applies². On that account we have to set aside the assertion that, on account of the word 'bridge,' something different from Brahman is to be understood by the abode of heaven, earth, and so on.

¹ Yat sarvam avidyāropitam tat sarvaṃ paramārthato brahma na tu yad brahma tat sarvaṃ ity arthaḥ. Bhāmatī.

² So that the passage would have to be translated, 'That, viz. knowledge, &c. is the bridge of the Immortal.'

2. And on account of its being designated as that to which the Released have to resort.

By the abode of heaven, earth, and so on, we have to understand the highest Brahman for that reason also that we find it denoted as that to which the Released have to resort.—The conception that the body and other things contained in the sphere of the Not-self are our Self, constitutes Nescience; from it there spring desires with regard to whatever promotes the well-being of the body and so on, and aversions with regard to whatever tends to injure it; there further arise fear and confusion when we observe anything threatening to destroy it. All this constitutes an endless series of the most manifold evils with which we all are acquainted. Regarding those on the other hand who have freed themselves from the stains of Nescience desire aversion and so on, it is said that they have to resort to that, viz. the abode of heaven, earth, &c. which forms the topic of discussion. For the text, after having said, 'The fetter of the heart is broken, all doubts are solved, all his works perish when He has been beheld who is the higher and the lower' (Mu. Up. II, 2, 8), later on remarks, 'The wise man freed from name and form goes to the divine Person who is greater than the great' (Mu. Up. III, 2, 8). That Brahman is that which is to be resorted to by the released, is known from other scriptural passages, such as 'When all desires which once entered his heart are undone then does the mortal become immortal, then he obtains Brahman' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 7). Of the *pradhāna* and similar entities, on the other hand, it is not known from any source that they are to be resorted to by the released. Moreover, the text (in the passage, 'Know him alone as the Self and leave off other words') declares that the knowledge of the abode of heaven and earth, &c. is connected with the leaving off of all speech; a condition which, according to another scriptural passage, attaches to (the knowledge of) Brahman; cp. *Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 21, 'Let a wise *Brāhmaṇa*, after he has discovered him, practise wisdom. Let him not seek after many words, for that is mere weariness of the tongue.'—For that

reason also the abode of heaven, earth, and so on, is the highest Brahman.

3. Not (i. e. the abode of heaven, earth, &c. cannot be) that which is inferred, (i. e. the *pradhâna*), on account of the terms not denoting it.

While there has been shown a special reason in favour of Brahman (being the abode), there is no such special reason in favour of anything else. Hence he (the *sûtrakâra*) says that that which is inferred, i. e. the *pradhâna* assumed by the *Sāṅkhya-smṛiti*, is not to be accepted as the abode of heaven, earth, &c.—Why?—On account of the terms not denoting it. For the sacred text does not contain any term intimating the non-intelligent *pradhâna*, on the ground of which we might understand the latter to be the general cause or abode; while such terms as ‘he who perceives all and knows all’ (*Mu. Up. I, 1, 9*) intimate an intelligent being opposed to the *pradhâna* in nature.—For the same reason the air also cannot be accepted as the abode of heaven, earth, and so on.

4. (Nor) also the individual soul (*prâṇabhṛit*).

Although to the cognitional (individual) Self the qualities of Selfhood and intelligence do belong, still omniscience and similar qualities do not belong to it as its knowledge is limited by its adjuncts; thus the individual soul also cannot be accepted as the abode of heaven, earth, &c., for the same reason, i. e. on account of the terms not denoting it.—Moreover, the attribute of forming the abode of heaven, earth, and so on, cannot properly be given to the individual soul because the latter is limited by certain adjuncts and therefore non-pervading (not omnipresent)¹.—The special enunciation (of the individual soul) is caused by what follows².—The individual soul is not to be

¹ *Bhogyasya bhoktriśeshatvât tasyâyatanatvam uktam âsaṅkyâha na kēti, gñasyâdrishadvârâ dyubhvâdinimitatve•pi na sâkshât tadâyatanatvam aupâdhikatvenâvibhutvâd ity arthaḥ. Ānanda Giri.*

² It would not have been requisite to introduce a special *Sûtra*

accepted as the abode of heaven, earth, &c. for the following reason also.

5. On account of the declaration of difference.

The passage 'Know him alone as the Self' moreover implies a declaration of difference, viz. of the difference of the object of knowledge and the knower. Here the individual soul as being that which is desirous of release is the knower, and consequently Brahman, which is denoted by the word 'self' and represented as the object of knowledge, is understood to be the abode of heaven, earth, and so on.—For the following reason also the individual soul cannot be accepted as the abode of heaven, earth, &c.

6. On account of the subject-matter.

The highest Self constitutes the subject-matter (of the entire chapter), as we see from the passage, 'Sir, what is that through which, when it is known, everything else becomes known?' (Mu. Up. I, 1, 3), in which the knowledge of everything is declared to be dependent on the knowledge of one thing. For all this (i. e. the entire world) becomes known if Brahman the Self of all is known, not if only the individual soul is known.—Another reason against the individual soul follows.

7. And on account of the two conditions of standing and eating (of which the former is characteristic of the highest Lord, the latter of the individual soul).

With reference to that which is the abode of heaven, earth, and so on, the text says, 'Two birds, inseparable friends,' &c. (Mu. Up. III, 1, 1). This passage describes the two states of mere standing, i. e. mere presence, and of eating, the clause, 'One of them eats the sweet fruit,' referring to the eating, i. e. the fruition of the results of works,

for the individual soul—which, like the air, is already excluded by the preceding Sūtra—if it were not for the new argument brought forward in the following Sūtra which applies to the individual soul only.

and the clause, 'The other one looks on without eating,' describing the condition of mere inactive presence. The two states described, viz. of mere presence on the one hand and of enjoyment on the other hand, show that the Lord and the individual soul are referred to. Now there is room for this statement which represents the Lord as separate from the individual soul, only if the passage about the abode of heaven and earth likewise refers to the Lord; for in that case only there exists a continuity of topic. On any other supposition the second passage would contain a statement about something not connected with the general topic, and would therefore be entirely uncalled for.—But, it may be objected, on your interpretation also the second passage makes an uncalled-for statement, viz. in so far as it represents the individual soul as separate from the Lord.—Not so, we reply. It is nowhere the purpose of Scripture to make statements regarding the individual soul. From ordinary experience the individual soul, which in the different individual bodies is joined to the internal organs and other limiting adjuncts, is known to every one as agent and enjoyer, and we therefore must not assume that it is that which Scripture aims at setting forth. The Lord, on the other hand, about whom ordinary experience tells us nothing, is to be considered as the special topic of all scriptural passages, and we therefore cannot assume that any passage should refer to him merely casually¹.—

¹ If the individual soul were meant by the abode of heaven, earth, &c., the statement regarding Īsvara made in the passage about the two birds would be altogether abrupt, and on that ground objectionable. The same difficulty does not present itself with regard to the abrupt mention of the individual soul which is well known to everybody, and to which therefore casual allusions may be made.—I subjoin Ānanda Giri's commentary on the entire passage: *Gīvasyopādhyaikeyanāvivakshitatvāt tadgñāne•pi sarvagñāna-siddhes tasyāyatanatvādyabhāve hetvantaram vākyam ity āśaṅkya sūtreṇa pariharati kutastetyādinā. Tad vyākṣaṇḍya dyubhavadīti. Nirdeśam eva darsayati tayor iti. Vibhaktiyartham āha tābhyām keti. Sthityesvarasyādanāg gīvasamgraha•pi katham īsvarasyaiva visvāyatanatvam tadāha yadīti. Īsvarasyāyanatvenāprakṛitatve gīvapri-*

That the mantra 'two birds,' &c. speaks of the Lord and the individual soul we have already shown under I, 2, 11. —And if, according to the interpretation given in the *Pañgī-upanishad* (and quoted under I, 2, 11), the verse is understood to refer to the internal organ (*sattva*) and the individual soul (not to the individual soul and the Lord), even then there is no contradiction (between that interpretation and our present averment that the individual soul is not the abode of heaven and earth).—How so?—Here (i.e. in the present *Sûtra* and the *Sûtras* immediately preceding) it is denied that the individual soul which, owing to its imagined connexion with the internal organ and other limiting adjuncts, has a separate existence in separate bodies—its division being analogous to the division of universal space into limited spaces such as the spaces within jars and the like—is that which is called the abode of heaven and earth. That same soul, on the other hand, which exists in all bodies, if considered apart from the limiting adjuncts, is nothing else but the highest Self. Just as the spaces within jars, if considered apart from their limiting conditions, are merged in universal space, so the individual soul also is incontestably that which is denoted as the abode of heaven and earth, since it (the soul) cannot really be separate from the highest Self. That it is not the abode of heaven and earth, is therefore said of the individual soul in so far only as it imagines itself to be connected with the internal organ and so on. Hence it follows that the highest Self is the abode of heaven, earth, and so on.—The same conclusion has already been arrived at under I, 2, 21; for in the passage concerning the source of all beings (which passage is discussed under the *Sûtra* quoted) we meet with the clause, 'In which heaven and

thakkathanânupapattir ity uktam eva vyatirekadvârâha anyatheti. Gīvasyāyatanatvenâprakṛitatve tulyânupapattir iti saṅkate nanviti. Tasyaikyârtham lokasiddhasyānuvâdatvân naivam ity âha neti. Gīvasyâpūrvatvâbhāvenâpratipādyatvam eva prakāśayati kṣhetragṛhīti. Īśvarasyâpi lokavādisiddhatvād apratipādyatety āśaṅkyāha īśvaras tv iti.

earth and the sky are woven.' In the present *adhikarana* the subject is resumed for the sake of further elucidation.

8. The *bhūman* (is Brahman), as the instruction about it is additional to that about the state of deep sleep (i. e. the vital air which remains awake even in the state of deep sleep).

We read (*Kh. Up. VII, 23 ; 24*), 'That which is much (*bhūman*) we must desire to understand.—Sir, I desire to understand it.—Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is what is much (*bhūman*). Where one sees something else, hears something else, understands something else, that is the Little.'—Here the doubt arises whether that which is much is the vital air (*prāṇa*) or the highest Self.—Whence the doubt?—The word '*bhūman*,' taken by itself, means the state of being much, according to its derivation as taught by *Pāṇini*, VI, 4, 158. Hence there is felt the want of a specification showing what constitutes the Self of that muchness. Here there presents itself at first the approximate passage, 'The vital air is more than hope' (*Kh. Up. VII, 15, 1*), from which we may conclude that the vital air is *bhūman*.—On the other hand, we meet at the beginning of the chapter, where the general topic is stated, with the following passage, 'I have heard from men like you that he who knows the Self overcomes grief. I am in grief. Do, Sir, help me over this grief of mine;' from which passage it would appear that the *bhūman* is the highest Self.—Hence there arises a doubt as to which of the two alternatives is to be embraced, and which is to be set aside.

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that the *bhūman* is the vital air,¹ since there is found no further series of questions and answers as to what is more. For while we meet with a series of questions and answers (such as, 'Sir, is there something which is more than a name?'—'Speech is more than name.'—'Is there something which is more than speech?'—'Mind is more than speech'); which extends from name up to vital air, we do not meet with a similar question and answer as to what might be more than vital air (such as, 'Is there something

which is more than vital air?'—'Such and such a thing is more than vital air'). The text rather at first declares at length (in the passage, 'The vital air is more than hope,' &c.) that the vital air is more than all the members of the series from name up to hope; it then acknowledges him who knows the vital air to be an *ativâdin*, i.e. one who makes a statement surpassing the preceding statements (in the passage, 'Thou art an *ativâdin*. He may say I am an *ativâdin*; he need not deny it'); and it thereupon (in the passage, 'But he in reality is an *ativâdin* who declares something beyond by means of the True'¹),—not leaving off, but rather continuing to refer to the quality of an *ativâdin* which is founded on the vital air,—proceeds, by means of the series beginning with the True, to lead over to the *bhûman*; so that we conclude the meaning to be that the vital air is the *bhûman*.—But, if the *bhûman* is interpreted to mean the vital air, how have we to explain the passage in which the *bhûman* is characterised, 'Where one sees nothing else?' &c.—As, the *pûrvapakshin* replies, in the state of deep sleep we observe a cessation of all activity, such as seeing, &c., on the part of the organs merged in the vital air, the vital air itself may be characterised by a passage such as, 'Where one sees nothing else.' Similarly, another scriptural passage (*Pra. Up. IV, 2; 3*) describes at first (in the words, 'He does not hear, he does not see,' &c.) the state of deep sleep as characterised by the cessation of the activity of all bodily organs, and then by declaring that in that state the vital air, with its five modifications, remains awake ('The fires of the *prâṇas* are awake in that town'), shows the vital air to occupy the principal position in the state of deep sleep.—That passage also, which speaks of the bliss of the *bhûman* ('The *bhûman* is bliss,' *Kh. Up. VII, 23*), can be reconciled with our explanation, because *Pra. Up. IV, 6* declares bliss to attach to the state of deep sleep ('Then that god sees no dreams and at that time that happiness arises in his body').—Again, the statement, 'The *bhûman* is immortality' (*Kh. Up. VII, 24, 1*), may

¹ As might be the *primâ facie* conclusion from the particle 'but' introducing the sentence 'but he in reality,' &c.

likewise refer to the vital air ; for another scriptural passage says, 'Prāṇa is immortality' (Kau. Up. III, 2).—But how can the view according to which the bhūman is the vital air be reconciled with the fact that in the beginning of the chapter the knowledge of the Self is represented as the general topic ('He who knows the Self overcomes grief,' &c.)?—By the Self there referred to, the pūrvapakshin replies, nothing else is meant but the vital air. For the passage, 'The vital air is father, the vital air is mother, the vital air is brother, the vital air is sister, the vital air is teacher, the vital air is Brāhmaṇa' (Kh. Up. VII, 15, 1), represents the vital air as the Self of everything. As, moreover, the passage, 'As the spokes of a wheel rest in the nave, so all this rests in prāṇa,' declares the prāṇa to be the Self of all—by means of a comparison with the spokes and the nave of a wheel—the prāṇa may be conceived under the form of bhūman, i.e. plenitude. —Bhūman, therefore, means the vital air.

To this we make the following reply.—Bhūman can mean the highest Self only, not the vital air.—Why?—'On account of information being given about it, subsequent to bliss.' The word 'bliss' (samprasāda) means the state of deep sleep, as may be concluded, firstly, from the etymology of the word ('In it he, i.e. man, is altogether pleased—samprasīdati')—and, secondly, from the fact of samprasāda being mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* together with the state of dream and the waking state. And as in the state of deep sleep the vital air remains awake, the word 'samprasāda' is employed in the Sūtra to denote the vital air ; so that the Sūtra means, 'on account of information being given about the bhūman, subsequently to (the information given about) the vital air.' If the bhūman were the vital air itself, it would be a strange proceeding to make

- statements about the bhūman in addition to the statements about the vital air. For in the preceding passages also we do not meet, for instance, with a statement about name subsequent to the previous statement about name (i.e. the text does not say 'name is more than name'), but after something has been said about name, a new statement is

made about speech, which is something different from name (i.e. the text says, 'Speech is more than name'), and so on up to the statement about vital air, each subsequent statement referring to something other than the topic of the preceding one. We therefore conclude that the bhûman also, the statement about which follows on the statement about the vital air, is something other than the vital air.—But—it may be objected—we meet here neither with a question, such as, 'Is there something more than vital air?' nor with an answer, such as, 'That and that is more than vital air.' How, then, can it be said that the information about the bhûman is given subsequently to the information about the vital air?—Moreover, we see that the circumstance of being an ativâdin, which is exclusively connected with the vital air, is referred to in the subsequent passage (viz. 'But in reality he is an ativâdin who makes a statement surpassing (the preceding statements) by means of the True'). There is thus no information additional to the information about the vital air.—To this objection we reply that it is impossible to maintain that the passage last quoted merely continues the discussion of the quality of being an ativâdin, as connected with the knowledge of the vital air; since the clause, 'He who makes a statement surpassing, &c. by means of the True,' states a specification.—But, the objector resumes, this very statement of a specification may be explained as referring to the vital air. If you ask how, we refer you to an analogous case. If somebody says, 'This Agnihotrin speaks the truth,' the meaning is not that the quality of being an Agnihotrin depends on speaking the truth; that quality rather depends on the (regular performance of the) agnihotra only, and speaking the truth is mentioned merely as a special attribute of that special Agnihotrin. So our passage also ('But in reality he is an ativâdin who makes a statement, &c. by means of the True') does not intimate that the quality of being an ativâdin depends on speaking the truth, but merely expresses that speaking the truth is a special attribute of him who knows the vital air; while the quality of being an ativâdin must be considered to depend on the knowledge of the vital air.—This

objection we rebut by the remark that it involves an abandonment of the direct meaning of the sacred text. For from the text, as it stands, we understand that the quality of being an *ativādin* depends on speaking the truth ; the sense being : An *ativādin* is he who is an *ativādin* by means of the True. The passage does not in anyway contain a eulogisation of the knowledge of the vital air. It could be connected with the latter only on the ground of general subject-matter (*prakaraṇa*)¹; which would involve an abandonment of the direct meaning of the text in favour of *prakaraṇa* ².—Moreover, the particle but (' But in reality he is,' &c.), whose purport is to separate (what follows) from the subject-matter of what precedes, would not agree (with the *prāṇa* explanation). The following passage also, ' But we must desire to know the True ' (VII, 16), which presupposes a new effort, shows that a new topic is going to be entered upon.—For these reasons we have to consider the statement about the *ativādin* in the same light as we should consider the remark—made in a conversation which previously had turned on the praise of those who study one Veda—that he who studies the four Vedas is a great *Brāhmaṇa* ; a remark which we should understand to be laudatory of persons different from those who study one Veda, i.e. of those who study all the four Vedas. Nor is there any reason to assume that a new topic can be introduced in the form of question and answer only ; for that the matter propounded forms a new topic is sufficiently clear from the circumstance that no connexion can be established between it and the preceding topic. The succession of topics in the chapter under discussion is as follows: *Nārada* at first listens to the instruction which *Sanatkumāra* gives him about various matters, the last of which is *Prāṇa*, and then becomes silent. Thereupon *Sanatkumāra* explains to him spontaneously (without being

¹ It being maintained that the passage referred to is to be viewed in connexion with the general subject-matter of the preceding part of the chapter.

² And would thus involve a violation of a fundamental principle of the *Mīmāṃsā*.

asked) that the quality of being an *ativâdin*, if merely based on the knowledge of the vital air—which knowledge has for its object an unreal product,—is devoid of substance, and that he only is an *ativâdin* who is such by means of the True. By the term ‘the True’ there is meant the highest Brahman; for Brahman is the Real, and it is called the ‘True’ in another scriptural passage also, viz. Taitt. Up. II, 1, ‘The True, knowledge, infinite is Brahman.’ Nârada, thus enlightened, starts a new line of enquiry (‘Might I, Sir, become an *ativâdin* by the True?’) and Sanatkumâra then leads him, by a series of instrumental steps, beginning with understanding, up to the knowledge of *bhûman*. We therefrom conclude that the *bhûman* is that very True whose explanation had been promised in addition to the (knowledge of the) vital air. We thus see that the instruction about the *bhûman* is additional to the instruction about the vital air, and *bhûman* must therefore mean the highest Self, which is different from the vital air. With this interpretation the initial statement, according to which the enquiry into the Self forms the general subject-matter, agrees perfectly well. The assumption, on the other hand (made by the *pûrvapakshin*), that by the Self we have here to understand the vital air is indefensible. For, in the first place, Self-hood does not belong to the vital air in any non-figurative sense. In the second place, cessation of grief cannot take place apart from the knowledge of the highest Self; for, as another scriptural passage declares, ‘There is no other path to go’ (Svet. Up. VI, 15). Moreover, after we have read at the outset, ‘Do, Sir, lead me over to the other side of grief’ (*Kh.* Up. VII, 1, 3), we meet with the following concluding words (VII, 26, 2), ‘To him, after his faults had been rubbed out, the venerable Sanatkumâra showed the other side of darkness.’ The term ‘darkness’ here denotes Nescience, the cause of grief, and so on.—Moreover, if the instruction terminated with the vital air, it would not be said of the latter that it rests on something else. But the *brâhmaṇa* (*Kh.* Up. VII, 26, 1) does say, ‘The vital air springs from the Self.’ Nor can it be objected against this last argument that the concluding

part of the chapter may refer to the highest Self, while, all the same, the bhûman (mentioned in an earlier part of the chapter) may be the vital air. For, from the passage (VII, 24, 1), ('Sir, in what does the bhûman rest? In its own greatness,' &c.), it appears that the bhûman forms the continuous topic up to the end of the chapter.—The quality of being the bhûman—which quality is plenitude—agreës, moreover, best with the highest Self, which is the cause of everything.

9. And on account of the agreement of the attributes (mentioned in the text).

The attributes, moreover, which the sacred text ascribes to the bhûman agree well with the highest Self. The passage, 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the bhûman,' gives us to understand that in the bhûman the ordinary activities of seeing and so on are absent; and that this is characteristic of the highest Self, we know from another scriptural passage, viz. 'But when the Self only is all this, how should he see another?' &c. (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 5, 15*). What is said about the absence of the activities of seeing and so on in the state of deep sleep (*Pra. Up. IV, 2*) is said with the intention of declaring the non-attachedness of the Self, not of describing the nature of the *prāṇa*; for the highest Self (not the vital air) is the topic of that passage. The bliss also of which Scripture speaks as connected with that state is mentioned only in order to show that bliss constitutes the nature of the Self. For Scripture says (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 32*), 'This is his highest bliss. All other creatures live on a small portion of that bliss.'—The passage under discussion also ('The bhûman is bliss. There is no bliss in that which is little (limited). The bhûman only is bliss') by denying the reality of bliss on the part of whatever is perishable shows that Brahman only is bliss as bhûman, i.e. in its plenitude.—Again, the passage, 'The bhûman is immortality,' shows that the highest cause is meant; for the immortality of all effected things is a merely relative one,

and another scriptural passage says that 'whatever is different from that (Brahman) is perishable' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 4, 2*).—Similarly, the qualities of being the True, and of resting in its own greatness, and of being omnipresent, and of being the Self of everything which the text mentions (as belonging to the bhûman) can belong to the highest Self only, not to anything else.—By all this it is proved that the bhûman is the highest Self.

10. The Imperishable (is Brahman) on account of (its) supporting (all things) up to ether.

We read (*Bṛi. Up. III, 8, 7 ; 8*), 'In what then is the ether woven, like warp and woof?—He said: O Gârgî, the Brâhmaṇas call this the akshara (the Imperishable). It is neither coarse nor fine,' and so on.—Here the doubt arises whether the word 'akshara' means 'syllable' or 'the highest Lord.'

The pûrvapakshin maintains that the word 'akshara' means 'syllable' merely, because it has, in such terms as akshara-samâmnâya, the meaning of 'syllable'; because we have no right to disregard the settled meaning of a word; and because another scriptural passage also ('The syllable Om is all this,' *Kṛ. Up. II, 23, 4*) declares a syllable, represented as the object of devotion, to be the Self of all.

To this we reply that the highest Self only is denoted by the word 'akshara.'—Why?—Because it (the akshara) is said to support the entire aggregate of effects, from earth up to ether. For the sacred text declares at first that the entire aggregate of effects beginning with earth and differentiated by threefold time is based on ether, in which it is 'woven like warp and woof;' leads then (by means of the question, 'In what then is the ether woven, like warp and woof?') over to the akshara, and, finally, concludes with the words, 'In that akshara then, O Gârgî, the ether is woven, like warp and woof.'—Now the attribute of supporting everything up to ether cannot be ascribed to any being but Brahman. The text (quoted from the *Kṛ. Up.*) says indeed that the syllable Om is all this, but that statement

is to be understood as a mere glorification of the syllable Om considered as a means to obtain Brahman.—Therefore we take akshara to mean either ‘the Imperishable’ or ‘that which pervades ;’ on the ground of either of which explanations it must be identified with the highest Brahman.

But—our opponent resumes—while we must admit that the above reasoning holds good so far that the circumstance of the akshara supporting all things up to ether is to be accepted as a proof of all effects depending on a cause, we point out that it may be employed by those also who declare the pradhāna to be the general cause. How then does the previous argumentation specially establish Brahman (to the exclusion of the pradhāna) ?—The reply to this is given in the next Sūtra.

11. This (supporting can), on account of the command (attributed to the Imperishable, be the work of the highest Lord only).

The supporting of all things up to ether is the work of the highest Lord only.—Why ?—On account of the command.—For the sacred text speaks of a command (‘By the command of that akshara, O Gârgi, sun and moon stand apart!’ III, 8, 9), and command can be the work of the highest Lord only, not of the non-intelligent pradhāna. For non-intelligent causes such as clay and the like are not capable of command, with reference to their effects, such as jars and the like.

12. And on account of (Scripture) separating (the akshara) from that whose nature is different (from Brahman).

Also on account of the reason stated in this Sūtra Brahman only is to be considered as the Imperishable, and the supporting of all things up to ether is to be looked upon as the work of Brahman only, not of anything else. The meaning of the Sūtra is as follows. Whatever things other than Brahman might possibly be thought to be denoted by the term ‘akshara,’ from the nature of all those things Scripture separates the akshara spoken of as the

support of all things up to ether. The scriptural passage alluded to is III, 8, 11, 'That akshara, O Gârî, is unseen but seeing, unheard but hearing, unperceived but perceiving, unknown but knowing.' Here the designation of being unseen, &c. agrees indeed with the pradhâna also, but not so the designation of seeing, &c., as the pradhâna is non-intelligent.—Nor can the word akshara denote the embodied soul with its limiting conditions, for the passage following on the one quoted declares that there is nothing different from the Self ('there is nothing that sees but it, nothing that hears but it, nothing that perceives but it, nothing that knows but it'); and, moreover, limiting conditions are expressly denied (of the akshara) in the passage, 'It is without eyes, without ears, without speech, without mind,' &c. (III, 8, 8). An embodied soul without limiting conditions does not exist¹.—It is therefore certain beyond doubt that the Imperishable is nothing else but the highest Brahman.

13. On account of his being designated as the object of sight (the highest Self is meant, and) the same (is meant in the passage speaking of the meditation on the highest person by means of the syllable Om).

(In Pra. Up. V, 2) the general topic of discussion is set forth in the words, 'O Satyakâma, the syllable Om is the highest and also the other Brahman; therefore he who knows it arrives by the same means at one of the two.' The text then goes on, 'Again, he who meditates with this syllable Om of three mât-râs on the highest Person,' &c.—Here the doubt presents itself, whether the object of meditation referred to in the latter passage is the highest Brahman or the other Brahman; a doubt based on the former passage, according to which both are under discussion.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that the other, i. e. the lower

¹ A remark directed against the possible attempt to explain the passage last quoted as referring to the embodied soul.

Brahman, is referred to, because the text promises only a reward limited by a certain locality for him who knows it. For, as the highest Brahman is omnipresent, it would be inappropriate to assume that he who knows it obtains a fruit limited by a certain locality. The objection that, if the lower Brahman were understood, there would be no room for the qualification, 'the highest person,' is not valid, because the vital principal (*prāṇa*) may be called 'higher' with reference to the body¹.

To this we make the following reply : What is here taught as the object of meditation is the highest Brahman only. — Why?—On account of its being spoken of as the object of sight. For the person to be meditated upon is, in a complementary passage, spoken of as the object of the act of seeing, 'He sees the person dwelling in the castle (of the body ; *purusham purisayam*), higher than that one who is of the shape of the individual soul, and who is himself higher (than the senses and their objects).' Now, of an act of meditation an unreal thing also can be the object, as, for instance, the merely imaginary object of a wish. But of the act of seeing, real things only are the objects, as we know from experience ; we therefore conclude, that in the passage last quoted, the highest (only real) Self which corresponds to the mental act of complete intuition² is spoken of as the object of sight. This same highest Self we recognise in the passage under discussion as the object of meditation, in consequence of the term, 'the highest person.'—But—an objection will be raised—as the object of meditation we have the highest person, and as the object of sight the person higher than that one who is himself higher, &c. ; how, then, are we to know that those two are identical?—The two passages, we

¹ *Pindaḥ sthūlo dehaḥ, prāṇaḥ sūtrātmā*. Ānanda Giri.—The lower Brahman (*hiraṇyagarbha* or *sūtrātmā*) is the vital principle (*prāṇa*) in all creatures.

² *Samyagdarsana*, i. e. complete seeing or intuition ; the same term which in other places—where it is not requisite to insist on the idea of 'seeing' in contradistinction from 'reflecting' or 'meditating'—is rendered by perfect knowledge.

reply, have in common the terms 'highest' (or 'higher,' para), and 'person.' And it must not by any means be supposed that the term *gīvaghana*¹ refers to that highest person which, considered as the object of meditation, had previously been introduced as the general topic. For the consequence of that supposition would be that that highest person which is the object of sight would be different from that highest person which is represented as the object of meditation. We rather have to explain the word *gīvaghana* as 'He whose shape² is characterised by the *gīvas*;' so that what is really meant by that term is that limited condition of the highest Self which is owing to its adjuncts, and manifests itself in the form of *gīvas*, i. e. individual souls; a condition analogous to the limitation of salt (in general) by means of the mass of a particular lump of salt. That limited condition of the Self may itself be called 'higher,' if viewed with regard to the senses and their objects.

Another (commentator) says that we have to understand by the word '*gīvaghana*' the world of Brahman spoken of in the preceding sentence ('by the *Sāman* verses he is led up to the world of Brahman'), and again in the following sentence (v. 7), which may be called 'higher,' because it is higher than the other worlds. That world of Brahman may be called *gīvaghana* because all individual souls (*gīva*) with their organs of action may be viewed as comprised (*saṅghāta* = *ghana*) within *Hiranyagarbha*, who is the Self of all organs, and dwells in the *Brahma*-world. We thus understand that he who is higher than that *gīvaghana*, i. e. the highest Self, which constitutes the object of sight, also constitutes the object of meditation. The qualification, moreover, expressed in the term 'the highest person' is in its place only if we understand the highest Self to be meant. For the name, 'the highest person,' can be given only to the highest Self, higher than which there is nothing. So another scriptural passage also says, 'Higher than the person there is nothing—this is the goal, the highest road.' Hence the

¹ Translated above by 'of the shape of the individual soul.'

² *Pāṇini* III, 3, 77, '*mūrtam ghaṇaḥ*.'

sacred text, which at first distinguishes between the higher and the lower Brahman ('the syllable Om is the higher and the lower Brahman'), and afterwards speaks of the highest Person to be meditated upon by means of the syllable Om, gives us to understand that the highest Person is nothing else but the highest Brahman. That the highest Self constitutes the object of meditation, is moreover intimated by the passage declaring that release from evil is the fruit (of meditation), 'As a snake is freed from its skin, so is he freed from evil.'—With reference to the objection that a fruit confined to a certain place is not an appropriate reward for him who meditates on the highest Self, we finally remark that the objection is removed, if we understand the passage to refer to emancipation by degrees. He who meditates on the highest Self by means of the syllable Om, 'as consisting of three mātṛās, obtains for his (first) reward the world of Brahman, and after that, gradually, complete intuition.

14. The small (ether) (is Brahman) on account of the subsequent (arguments).

We read (*Kh. Up. VIII, 1, 1*), 'There is this city of Brahman, and in it the palace, the small lotus, and in it that small ether. Now what exists within that small ether that is to be sought for, that is to be understood,' &c.—Here the doubt arises whether the small ether within the small lotus of the heart of which Scripture speaks, is the elemental ether, or the individual soul (*viśvānātman*), or the highest Self. This doubt is caused by the words 'ether' and 'city of Brahman.' For the word 'ether,' in the first place, is known to be used in the sense of elemental ether as well as of highest Brahman. Hence the doubt whether the small ether of the text be the elemental ether or the highest ether, i. e. Brahman. In explanation of the expression 'city of Brahman,' in the second place, it might be said either that the individual soul is here called Brahman and the body Brahman's city, or else that the city of Brahman means the city of the highest Brahman. Here (i. e. in consequence of this latter doubt) a further doubt arises as to

the nature of the small ether, according as the individual soul or the highest Self is understood by the Lord of the city.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that by the small ether we have to understand the elemental ether, since the latter meaning is the conventional one of the word âkâra. The elemental ether is here called small with reference to its small abode (the heart).—In the passage, 'As large as this ether is, so large is that ether within the heart,' it is represented as constituting at the same time the two terms of a comparison, because it is possible to make a distinction between the outer and the inner ether¹; and it is said that 'heaven and earth are contained within it,' because the whole ether, in so far as it is space, is one².—Or else, the pûrvapakshin continues, the 'small one' may be taken to mean the individual soul, on account of the term, 'the city of Brahman.' The body is here called the city of Brahman because it is the abode of the individual soul; for it is acquired by means of the actions of the soul. On this interpretation we must assume that the individual soul is here called Brahman metaphorically. The highest Brahman cannot be meant, because it is not connected with the body as its lord. The lord of the city, i. e. the soul, is represented as dwelling in one spot of the city (viz. the heart), just as a real king resides in one spot of his residence. Moreover, the mind (manas) constitutes the limiting adjunct of the individual soul, and the mind chiefly abides in the heart; hence the individual soul only can be spoken of as dwelling in the heart. Further, the individual soul only can be spoken of as small, since it is (elsewhere; Svêd. Up. V, 8) compared in size to the point of a goad. That it is compared (in the passage under discussion) to the ether must be understood to intimate its non difference from Brahman.—

¹ So that the interpretation of the pûrvapakshin cannot be objected to on the ground of its involving the comparison of a thing to itself.

² So that no objection can be raised on the ground that heaven and earth cannot be contained in the small ether of the heart.

Nor does the scriptural passage say that the 'small' one is to be sought for and to be understood, since in the clause, 'That which is within that,' &c., it is represented as a mere distinguishing attribute of something else ¹.

To all this we make the following reply :—The small ether can mean the highest Lord only, not either the elemental ether or the individual soul.—Why?—On account of the subsequent reasons, i. e. on account of the reasons implied in the complementary passage. For there, the text declares at first, with reference to the small ether, which is enjoined as the object of sight, 'If they should say to him,' &c.; thereupon follows an objection, 'What is there that deserves to be sought for or that is to be understood?' and thereon a final decisive statement, 'Then he should say: As large as this ether is, so large is that ether within the heart. Both heaven and earth are contained within it.' Here the teacher, availing himself of the comparison of the ether within the heart with the known (universal) ether, precludes the conception that the ether within the heart is small—which conception is based on the statement as to the smallness of the lotus, i. e. the heart—and thereby precludes the possibility of our understanding by the term 'the small ether,' the elemental ether. For, although the ordinary use of language gives to the word 'ether' the sense of elemental ether, here the elemental ether cannot be thought of, because it cannot possibly be compared with itself.—But, has it not been stated above, that the ether, although one only, may be compared with itself, in consequence of an assumed difference between the outer and the inner ether?—That explanation, we reply, is impossible; for we cannot admit that a comparison of a thing with itself may be based upon a merely imaginary difference. And even if we admitted

¹ Viz. of that which is within it. Ānanda Giri proposes two explanations: na *keti*, paravisheshanātvenety atra paro daharākāśa upādānāt tasminn iti saptamyanta-takḥḥabdasyeti seshah. Yadvā parasabdo = ntaḥsthavastuvishayas tadviseshanātvena tasminn iti daharākāśasyokter ity arthah. Takḥḥabdasya samnikrīṣhānvaya-yoge vipakrīṣhānvayasya gaghanyatvād ākāśāntargatam dhieyam iti bhāvaḥ.

the possibility of such a comparison, the extent of the outer ether could never be ascribed to the limited inner ether. Should it be said that to the highest Lord also the extent of the (outer) ether cannot be ascribed, since another scriptural passage declares that he is greater than ether (Sa. Brâ. X, 6, 3, 2), we invalidate this objection by the remark, that the passage (comparing the inner ether with the outer ether) has the purport of discarding the idea of smallness (of the inner ether), which is *primâ facie* established by the smallness of the lotus of the heart in which it is contained, and has not the purport of establishing a certain extent (of the inner ether). If the passage aimed at both, a split of the sentence¹ would result.—Nor, if we allowed the assumptive difference of the inner and the outer ether, would it be possible to represent that limited portion of the ether which is enclosed in the lotus of the heart, as containing within itself heaven, earth, and so on. Nor can we reconcile with the nature of the elemental ether the qualities of Self-hood, freeness from sin, and so on, (which are ascribed to the 'small' ether) in the following passage, 'It is the Self free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, of true desires, of true purposes.'—Although the term 'Self' (occurring in the passage quoted) may apply to the individual soul, yet other reasons exclude all idea of the individual soul being meant (by the small ether). For it would be impossible to dissociate from the individual soul, which is restricted by limiting conditions and elsewhere compared to the point of a goad, the attribute of smallness attaching to it, on account of its being enclosed in the lotus of the heart.—Let it then be assumed—our opponent remarks—that the qualities of all-pervadingness, &c. are ascribed to the individual soul with the intention of intimating its non-difference from Brahman.—Well, we reply, if you suppose that the small ether is called all-pervading because it is one with Brahman, our own suppo-

¹ A *vâkyabheda*—split of the sentence—takes place according to the *Mīmāṃsâ* when one and the same sentence contains two new statements which are different.

sition, viz. that the all-pervadingness spoken of is directly predicated of Brahman itself, is the much more simple one.—Concerning the assertion that the term ‘city of Brahman’ can only be understood, on the assumption that the individual soul dwells, like a king, in one particular spot of the city of which it is the Lord, we remark that the term is more properly interpreted to mean ‘the body in so far as it is the city of the highest Brahman ;’ which interpretation enables us to take the term ‘Brahman’ in its primary sense¹. The highest Brahman also is connected with the body, for the latter constitutes an abode for the perception of Brahman². Other scriptural passages also express the same meaning, so, for instance, Pra. Up. V, 5, ‘He sees the highest person dwelling in the city’ (purusha=purisaya), &c., and Bri. Up. II, 5, 18, ‘This person (purusha) is in all cities (bodies) the dweller within the city (purisaya).’—Or else (taking brahmapura to mean gīvapura) we may understand the passage to teach that Brahman is, in the city of the individual soul, near (to the devout worshipper), just as Viṣṇu is near to us in the Śālagrāma-stone.—Moreover, the text (VIII, 1, 6) at first declares the result of works to be perishable (‘as here on earth whatever has been acquired by works perishes, so perishes whatever is acquired for the next world by good actions,’ &c.), and afterwards declares the imperishableness of the results flowing from a knowledge of the small ether, which forms the general subject of discussion (‘those who depart from hence after having discovered the Self and those true desires, for them there is freedom in all worlds’). From this again it is manifest that the small ether is the highest Self.—We now turn to the statement made by the pūrvapakshin, ‘that the sacred text does not represent the small ether as that

¹ While the explanation of Brahman by gīva would compel us to assume that the word Brahman secondarily denotes the individual soul.

² Upalabdher adhiṣṭhānam brahmaṇa deha ishyate ।
Tenāsādhāratvena deho brahmapuram bhavet ॥

Bhāmati.

which is to be sought for and to be understood, because it is mentioned as a distinguishing attribute of something else,' and reply as follows: If the (small) ether were not that which is to be sought for and to be understood, the description of the nature of that ether, which is given in the passage ('as large as this ether is, so large is that ether within the heart'), would be devoid of purport.—But—the opponent might say—that descriptive statement also has the purport of setting forth the nature of the thing abiding within (the ether); for the text after having raised an objection (in the passage, 'And if they should say to him: Now with regard to that city of Brahman and the palace in it, i.e. the small lotus of the heart, and the small ether within the heart, what is there within it that deserves to be sought for or that is to be understood?') declares, when replying to that objection, that heaven, earth, and so on, are contained within it (the ether), a declaration to which the comparison with the ether forms a mere introduction.—Your reasoning, we reply, is faulty. If it were admitted, it would follow that heaven, earth, &c., which are contained within the small ether, constitute the objects of search and enquiry. But in that case the complementary passage would be out of place. For the text carrying on, as the subject of discussion, the ether that is the abode of heaven, earth, &c.—by means of the clauses, 'In it all desires are contained,' 'It is the Self free from sin,' &c., and the passage, 'But those who depart from hence having discovered the Self, and the true desires' (in which passage the conjunction 'and' has the purpose of joining the desires to the Self)—declares that the Self as well, which is the abode of the desires, as the desires which abide in the Self, are the objects of knowledge. From this we conclude that in the beginning of the passage also, the small ether abiding within the lotus of the heart, together with whatever is contained within it as earth, true desires, and so on, is represented as the object of knowledge. And, for the reasons explained, that ether is the highest Lord.

15. (The small ether is Brahman) on account of

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the action of going (into Brahman) and of the word (brahmaloka); for thus it is seen (i. e. that the individual souls go into Brahman is seen elsewhere in Scripture); and (this going of the souls into Brahman constitutes) an inferential sign (by means of which we may properly interpret the word 'brahmaloka').

It has been declared (in the preceding Sūtra) that the small (ether) is the highest Lord, on account of the reasons contained in the subsequent passages. These subsequent reasons are now set forth.—For this reason also the small (ether) can be the highest Lord only, because the passage complementary to the passage concerning the small (ether) contains a mention of going and a word, both of which intimate the highest Lord. In the first place, we read (*Kh. Up. VIII, 3, 2*), 'All these creatures, day after day going into that Brahma-world, do not discover it.' This passage which refers back, by means of the word 'Brahma-world,' to the small ether which forms the general subject-matter, speaks of the going to it of the creatures, i. e. the individual souls, wherefrom we conclude that the small (ether) is Brahman. For this going of the individual souls into Brahman, which takes place day after day in the state of deep sleep, is seen, i. e. is met with in another scriptural passage, viz. *Kh. Up. VI, 8, 1*, 'He becomes united with the True,' &c. In ordinary life also we say of a man who lies in deep sleep, 'he has become Brahman,' 'he is gone into the state of Brahman.'—In the second place, the word 'Brahma-world,' which is here applied to the small (ether) under discussion, excludes all thought of the individual soul or the elemental ether, and thus gives us to understand that the small (ether) is Brahman.—But could not the word 'Brahma-world' convey as well the idea of the world of him whose throne is the lotus¹?—It might do so indeed, if we explained the compound 'Brahma-world' as 'the world of Brahman.' But if we explain it on the ground of the co-ordination of both members of the compound—so that

¹ I. e. Brahmā, the lower Brahman.

'Brahma-world' denotes that world which is Brahman—then it conveys the idea of the highest Brahman only.—And that daily going (of the souls) into Brahman (mentioned above) is, moreover, an inferential sign for explaining the compound 'Brahma-world,' on the ground of the co-ordination of its two constituent members. For it would be impossible to assume that all those creatures daily go into the world of the effected (lower) Brahman; which world is commonly called the Satyaloka, i. e. the world of the True.

16. And on account of the supporting also (attributed to it), (the small ether must be the Lord) because that greatness is observed in him (according to other scriptural passages).

And also on account of the 'supporting' the small ether can be the highest Lord only.—How?—The text at first introduces the general subject of discussion in the passage, 'In it is that small ether;' declares thereupon that the small one is to be compared with the universal ether, and that everything is contained in it; subsequently applies to it the term 'Self,' and states it to possess the qualities of being free from sin, &c.; and, finally, declares with reference to the same general subject of discussion, 'That Self is a bank, a liminary support (*vidhrīti*), that these worlds may not be confounded.' As 'support' is here predicated of the Self, we have to understand by it a supporting agent. Just as a dam stems the spreading water so that the boundaries of the fields are not confounded, so that Self acts like a liminary dam in order that these outer and inner worlds, and all the different castes and āśramas may not be confounded. In accordance with this our text declares that greatness, which is shown in the act of holding asunder, to belong to the small (ether) which forms the subject of discussion; and that such greatness is found in the highest Lord only, is seen from other scriptural passages, such as 'By the command of that Imperishable, O Gārgī, sun and moon are held apart' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 8, 9*). Similarly, we read in another passage also, about whose referring to the highest

Lord there is no doubt, 'He is the Lord of all, the king of all things, the protector of all things. He is a bank and a liminary support, so that these worlds may not be confounded' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 22*).—Hence, on account of the 'supporting,' also the small (ether) is nothing else but the highest Lord.

17. And on account of the settled meaning.

The small ether within cannot denote anything but the highest Lord for this reason also, that the word 'ether' has (among other meanings) the settled meaning of 'highest Lord.' Compare, for instance, the sense in which the word 'ether' is used in *Kh. Up. VIII, 14*, 'He who is called ether is the revealer of all forms and names;' and *Kh. Up. I, 9, 1*, 'All these beings take their rise from the ether,' &c. On the other hand, we do not meet with any passage in which the word 'ether' is used in the sense of 'individual soul.'—We have already shown that the word cannot, in our passage, denote the elemental ether; for, although the word certainly has that settled meaning, it cannot have it here, because the elemental ether cannot possibly be compared to itself, &c. &c.

18. If it be said that the other one (i.e. the individual soul) (is meant) on account of a reference to it (made in a complementary passage), (we say) no, on account of the impossibility.

If the small (ether) is to be explained as the highest Lord on account of a complementary passage, then, the *pūrvapakshin* resumes, we point out that another complementary passage contains a reference to the other one, i.e. to the individual soul: 'Now that serene being (literally: serenity, complete satisfaction), which after having risen out from this earthly body and having reached the highest light, appears in its true form, that is, the Self; thus he spoke' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 3, 4*). For there the word 'serenity,' which is known to denote, in another scriptural passage, the state of deep sleep, can convey the idea of the individual soul only when it is in

that state, not of anything else. The 'rising from the body' also can be predicated of the individual soul only whose abode the body is; just as air, &c., whose abode is the ether, are said to arise from the ether. And just as the word 'ether,' although in ordinary language not denoting the highest Lord, yet is admitted to denote him in such passages as, 'The ether is the revealer of forms and names,' because it there occurs in conjunction with qualities of the highest Lord, so it may likewise denote the individual soul. Hence the term 'the small ether' denotes in the passage under discussion the individual soul, 'on account of the reference to the other.'

Not so, we reply, 'on account of the impossibility.' In the first place, the individual soul, which imagines itself to be limited by the internal organ and its other adjuncts, cannot be compared with the ether. And, in the second place, attributes such as freedom from evil, and the like, cannot be ascribed to a being which erroneously transfers to itself the attributes of its limiting adjuncts. This has already been set forth in the first Sûtra of the present adhikarana, and is again mentioned here in order to remove all doubt as to the soul being different from the highest Self. That the reference pointed out by the pûrvapakshin is not to the individual soul will, moreover, be shown in one of the next Sûtras (I, 3, 21).

19. If it be said that from the subsequent (chapter it appears that the individual soul is meant), (we point out that what is there referred to is) rather (the individual soul in so far) as its true nature has become manifest (i. e. as it is non-different from Brahman).

The doubt whether, 'on account of the reference to the other,' the individual soul might not possibly be meant, has been discarded on the ground of 'impossibility.' But, like a dead man on whom amṛita has been sprinkled, that doubt rises again, drawing new strength from the subsequent chapter which treats of Pragâpati. For there he (Pragâpati)

at the outset declares that the Self, which is free from sin and the like, is that which is to be searched out, that which we must try to understand (*Kṛ. Up. VIII, 7, 1*); after that he points out that the seer within the eye, i.e. the individual soul, is the Self ('that person that is seen in the eye is the Self,' *VIII, 7, 3*); refers again and again to the same entity (in the clauses 'I shall explain him further to you,' *VIII, 9, 3*; *VIII, 10, 4*); and (in the explanations fulfilling the given promises) again explains the (nature of the) same individual soul in its different states ('He who moves about happy in dreams is the Self,' *VIII, 10, 1*; 'When a man being asleep, reposing, and at perfect rest sees no dreams, that is the Self,' *VIII, 11, 1*). The clause attached to both these explanations (viz. 'That is the immortal, the fearless; that is Brahman') shows, at the same time, the individual soul to be free from sin, and the like. After that *Pragāpati*, having discovered a shortcoming in the condition of deep sleep (in consequence of the expostulation of *Indra*, 'In that way he does not know himself that he is I, nor does he know these beings,' *VIII, 11, 2*), enters on a further explanation ('I shall explain him further to you, and nothing more than this'), begins by blaming the (soul's) connexion with the body, and finally declares the individual soul, when it has risen from the body, to be the highest person. ('Thus does that serene being, arising from this body, appear in its own form as soon as it has approached the highest light. That is the highest person.')

—From this it appears that there is a possibility of the qualities of the highest Lord belonging to the individual soul also, and on that account we maintain that the term, 'the small ether within it,' refers to the individual soul.

This position we counter-argue as follows. 'But in so far as its nature has become manifest.' The particle 'but' (in the *Sūtra*) is meant to set aside the view of the *pūrvapakshin*, so that the sense of the *Sūtra* is, 'Not even on account of the subsequent chapter a doubt as to the small ether being the individual soul is possible, because there also that which is meant to be intimated is the individual soul, in so far only as its (true) nature has become manifest.' The *Sūtra* uses the expression 'he whose nature has become manifest,'

which qualifies *gîva*, the individual soul, with reference to its previous condition¹.—The meaning is as follows. *Pragâpati* speaks at first of the seer characterised by the eye ('That person which is within the eye,' &c.); shows thereupon, in the passage treating of (the reflection in) the waterpan, that he (*viz.* the seer) has not his true Self in the body; refers to him repeatedly as the subject to be explained (in the clauses 'I shall explain him further to you'); and having then spoken of him as subject to the states of dreaming and deep sleep, finally explains the individual soul in its real nature, *i.e.* in so far as it is the highest Brahman, not in so far as it is individual soul ('As soon as it has approached the highest light it appears in its own form'). The highest light mentioned, in the passage last quoted, as what is to be approached, is nothing else but the highest Brahman, which is distinguished by such attributes as freeness from sin, and the like. That same highest Brahman constitutes—as we know from passages such as 'that art thou'—the real nature of the individual soul, while its second nature, *i.e.* that aspect of it which depends on fictitious limiting conditions, is not its real nature. For as long as the individual soul does not free itself from Nescience in the form of duality—which Nescience may be compared to the mistake of him who in the twilight mistakes a post for a man—and does not rise to the knowledge of the Self, whose nature is unchangeable, eternal Cognition—which expresses itself in the form 'I am Brahman'—so long it remains the individual soul. But when, discarding the aggregate of body, sense-organs and mind, it arrives, by means of Scripture, at the knowledge that it is not itself that aggregate, that it does not form part of transmigratory existence, but is the True, the Real, the Self, whose nature is pure intelligence; then

¹ The masculine '*âvirbhûtasvarûpaḥ*' qualifies the substantive *gîvaḥ* which has to be supplied. Properly speaking the *gîva* whose true nature has become manifest, *i.e.* which has become Brahman, is no longer *gîva*; hence the explanatory statement that the term *gîva* is used with reference to what the *gîva* was before it became Brahman.

knowing itself to be of the nature of unchangeable, eternal Cognition, it lifts itself above the vain conceit of being one with this body, and itself becomes the Self, whose nature is unchanging, eternal Cognition. As is declared in such scriptural passages as 'He who knows the highest Brahman becomes even Brahman' (Mu. Up. III, 2, 9). And this is the real nature of the individual soul by means of which it arises from the body and appears in its own form.

Here an objection may be raised. How, it is asked, can we speak of the true nature (svarûpa) of that which is unchanging and eternal, and then say that 'it appears in its own form (true nature)?' Of gold and similar substances, whose true nature becomes hidden, and whose specific qualities are rendered non-apparent by their contact with some other substance, it may be said that their true nature is rendered manifest when they are cleaned by the application of some acid substance; so it may be said, likewise, that the stars, whose light is during daytime overpowered (by the superior brilliancy of the sun), become manifest in their true nature at night when the overpowering (sun) has departed. But it is impossible to speak of an analogous overpowering of the eternal light of intelligence by whatever agency, since, like ether, it is free from all contact, and since, moreover, such an assumption would be contradicted by what we actually observe. For the (energies of) seeing, hearing, noticing, cognising constitute the character of the individual soul, and that character is observed to exist in full perfection, even in the case of that individual soul which has not yet risen beyond the body. Every individual soul carries on the course of its practical existence by means of the activities of seeing, hearing, cognising; otherwise no practical existence at all would be possible. If, on the other hand, that character would realise itself in the case of that soul only which has risen above the body, the entire aggregate of practical existence, as it actually presents itself prior to the soul's rising, would thereby be contradicted. We therefore ask: Wherein consists that (alleged) rising from the body? Wherein consists that appearing (of the soul) in its own form?

To this we make the following reply.—Before the rise of

discriminative knowledge the nature of the individual soul, which is (in reality) pure light, is non-discriminated as it were from its limiting adjuncts consisting of body, senses, mind, sense-objects and feelings, and appears as consisting of the energies of seeing and so on. Similarly—to quote an analogous case from ordinary experience—the true nature of a pure crystal, i.e. its transparency and whiteness, is, before the rise of discriminative knowledge (on the part of the observer), non-discriminated as it were from any limiting adjuncts of red or blue colour; while, as soon as through some means of true cognition discriminative knowledge has arisen, it is said to have now accomplished its true nature, i.e. transparency and whiteness, although in reality it had already done so before. Thus the discriminative knowledge, effected by *Sruti*, on the part of the individual soul which previously is non-discriminated as it were from its limiting adjuncts, is (according to the scriptural passage under discussion) the soul's rising from the body, and the fruit of that discriminative knowledge is its accomplishment in its true nature, i.e. the comprehension that its nature is the pure Self. Thus the embodiedness and the non-embodiedness of the Self are due merely to discrimination and non-discrimination, in agreement with the mantra, 'Bodiless within the bodies,' &c. (*Ka. Up. I, 2, 22*), and the statement of *Smṛiti* as to the non-difference between embodiedness and non-embodiedness 'Though dwelling in the body, O Kaunteya, it does not act and is not tainted' (*Bha. Gī. XIII, 31*). The individual soul is therefore called 'That whose true nature is non-manifest' merely on account of the absence of discriminative knowledge, and it is called 'That whose nature has become manifest' on account of the presence of such knowledge. Manifestation and non-manifestation of its nature of a different kind are not possible, since its nature is nothing but its nature (i.e. in reality is always the same). Thus the difference between the individual soul and the highest Lord is owing to wrong knowledge only, not to any reality, since, like ether, the highest Self is not in real contact with anything.

And wherefrom is all this to be known?—From the instruc-

tion given by Pragâpati who, after having referred to the *giva* ('the person that is seen in the eye,' &c.), continues 'This is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.' If the well-known seer within the eye were different from Brahman which is characterised as the immortal and fearless, it would not be co-ordinated (as it actually is) with the immortal, the fearless, and Brahman. The reflected Self, on the other hand, is not spoken of as he who is characterised by the eye (the seer within the eye), for that would render Pragâpati obnoxious to the reproach of saying deceitful things.—So also, in the second section, the passage, 'He who moves about happy in dreams,' &c. does not refer to a being different from the seeing person within the eye spoken of in the first chapter, (but treats of the same topic) as appears from the introductory clause, 'I shall explain him further to you.' Moreover¹, a person who is conscious of having seen an elephant in a dream and of no longer seeing it when awake discards in the waking state the object which he had seen (in his sleep), but recognises himself when awake to be the same person who saw something in the dream.—Thus in the third section also Pragâpati does indeed declare the absence of all particular cognition in the state of deep sleep, but does not contest the identity of the cognising Self ('In that way he does not know himself that he is I, nor all these beings'). The following clause also, 'He is gone to utter annihilation,' is meant to intimate only the annihilation of all specific cognition, not the annihilation of the cogniser. For there is no destruction of the knowing of the knower as—according to another scriptural passage (*Bri. Up. IV, 3, 30*)—that is imperishable.—Thus, again, in the fourth section the introductory phrase of Pragâpati is, 'I shall explain him further to you and nothing different from this;' he thereupon refutes the connexion (of the Self) with the body and other limiting conditions ('Maghavat, this body is mortal,' &c.), shows the individual soul—which is there called 'the serene being'—

¹ To state another reason showing that the first and second chapters of Pragâpati's instruction refer to the same subject.

in the state when it has reached the nature of Brahman ('It appears in its own form'), and thus proves the soul to be non-different from the highest Brahman whose characteristics are immortality and fearlessness.

Some (teachers) however are of opinion that if the highest Self is meant (in the fourth section) it would be inappropriate to understand the words 'This (him) I will explain further,' &c., as referring to the individual soul, and therefore suppose that the reference is (not to the individual soul forming the topic of the three preceding sections, but) to the Self possessing the qualities of freeness from sin, &c., which Self is pointed out at the beginning of the entire chapter (VII, 1).—Against this interpretation we remark that, in the first place, it disregards the direct enunciation of the pronoun (i. e. the 'this' in 'this I will explain') which rests on something approximate (i. e. refers to something mentioned not far off), and, in the second place, is opposed to the word 'further' (or 'again') met with in the text, since from that interpretation it would follow that what had been discussed in the preceding sections is not again discussed in the subsequent section. Moreover, if Pragāpati, after having made a promise in the clause, 'This I shall explain' (where that clause occurs for the first time), did previously to the fourth section explain a different topic in each section, we should have to conclude that he acted deceitfully.—Hence (our opinion about the purport of the whole chapter remains valid, viz. that it sets forth how) the unreal aspect of the individual soul as such—which is a mere presentation of Nescience, is stained by all the desires and aversions attached to agents and enjoyers, and is connected with evils of various kinds—is dissolved by true knowledge, and how the soul is thus led over into the opposite state, i. e. into its true state in which it is one with the highest Lord and distinguished by freedom from sin and similar attributes. The whole process is similar to that by which an imagined snake passes over into a rope as soon as the mind of the beholder has freed itself from its erroneous imagination.

Others again, and among them some of ours (*asmadyās ka keṭi*), are of opinion that the individual soul as such

is real. To the end of refuting all these speculators who obstruct the way to the complete intuition of the unity of the Self this sârîraka-sâstra has been set forth, whose aim it is to show that there is only one highest Lord ever unchanging, whose substance is cognition¹, and who, by means of Nescience, manifests himself in various ways, just as a thaumaturg appears in different shapes by means of his magical power. Besides that Lord there is no other substance of cognition.—If, now, the Sûtrakâra raises and refutes the doubt whether a certain passage which (in reality) refers to the Lord does refer to the individual soul, as he does in this and the preceding Sûtras², he does so for the following purpose. To the highest Self which is eternally pure, intelligent and free, which is never changing, one only, not in contact with anything, devoid of form, the opposite characteristics of the individual soul are erroneously ascribed; just as ignorant men ascribe blue colour to the colourless ether. In order to remove this erroneous opinion by means of Vedic passages tending either to prove the unity of the Self or to disprove the doctrine of duality—which passages he strengthens by arguments—he insists on the difference of the highest Self from the individual soul, does however not mean to prove thereby that the soul is different from the highest Self, but, whenever speaking of the soul, refers to its distinction (from the Self) as forming an item of ordinary thought, due to the power of Nescience. For thus, he thinks, the Vedic injunctions of works which are given with a view to the states of acting and enjoying, natural (to the non-enlightened soul), are not stultified:—That, however, the absolute unity of the Self is the real purport of the sâstra's teaching, the Sûtrakâra declares, for instance, in I, 1, 30³. The refutation of the reproach of

¹ I. e. of whom cognition is not a mere attribute.

² Although in reality there is no such thing as an individual soul.

³ Nanu g'vabrahmazor aikyam na kvâpi sûtrakâro mukhato vadati kim tu sarvatra bheda eva, ato naikyam ish'am tatrâha pratipâdyam tv iti.

futility raised against the injunctions of works has already been set forth by us, on the ground of the distinction between such persons as possess full knowledge, and such as do not.

20. And the reference (to the individual soul) has a different meaning.

The alleged reference to the individual soul which has been pointed out (by the *pûrvapakshin*) in the passage complementary to the passage about the small ether ('Now that serene being,' &c., VIII, 3, 4) teaches, if the small ether is interpreted to mean the highest Lord, neither the worship of the individual soul nor any qualification of the subject under discussion (*viz.* the small ether), and is therefore devoid of meaning.—On that account the *Sûtra* declares that the reference has another meaning, i. e. that the reference to the individual soul is not meant to determine the nature of the individual soul, but rather the nature of the highest Lord. In the following manner. The individual soul which, in the passage referred to, is called the serene being, acts in the waking state as the ruler of the aggregate comprising the body and the sense-organs; permeates in sleep the *naḍīs* of the body, and enjoys the dream visions resulting from the impressions of the waking state; and, finally, desirous of reaching an inner refuge, rises in the state of deep sleep beyond its imagined connexion with the gross and the subtle body, reaches the highest light, i. e. the highest Brahman previously called ether, and thus divesting itself of the state of specific cognition appears in its own (true) nature. The highest light which the soul is to reach and through which it is manifested in its true nature is the Self, free from sin and so on, which is there represented as the object of worship.—In this sense the reference to the individual soul can be admitted by those also who maintain that in reality the highest Lord is meant.

21. If it be said that on account of the scriptural

declaration of the smallness (of the ether) (the Lord cannot be meant ; we reply that) that has been explained (before).

The pûrvapakshin has remarked that the smallness of the ether stated by Scripture ('In it is that small ether') does not agree with the highest Lord, that it may however be predicated of the individual soul which (in another passage) is compared to the point of a goad. As that remark calls for a refutation we point out that it has been refuted already, it having been shown—under I, 2, 7—that a relative smallness may be attributed to the Lord. The same refutation is—as the Sûtra points out—to be applied here also.—That smallness is, moreover, contradicted by that scriptural passage which compares (the ether within the heart) with the known (universal) ether. ('As large as is this ether, so large is the ether within the heart.')

22. On account of the acting after (i. e. the shining after), (that after which sun, moon, &c. are said to shine is the highest Self), and (because by the light) of him (all this is said to be lighted).

We read (Mu. Up. II, 2, 10, and Ka. Up. V, 15), 'The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, much less this fire. After him when he shines everything shines ; by the light of him all this is lighted.' The question here arises whether he 'after whom when he shines everything shines, and by whose light all this is lighted,' is some luminous substance, or the highest Self (prāgñā ātman).

A luminous substance, the pûrvapakshin maintains.—Why?—Because the passage denies the shining only of such luminous bodies as the sun and the like. It is known (from every-day experience) that luminous bodies such as the moon and the stars do not shine at daytime when the sun, which is itself a luminous body, is shining. Hence we infer that that thing on account of which all this, including the moon, the stars, and the sun himself, does not

shine is likewise a thing of light. The 'shining after' also is possible only if there is a luminous body already, for we know from experience that 'acting after' (imitation) of any kind takes place only when there are more than one agent of similar nature; one man, for instance, walks after another man who walks himself. Therefore we consider it settled that the passage refers to some luminous body.

To this we reply that the highest Self only can be meant.—Why?—On account of the acting after. The shining after mentioned in the passage, 'After him when he shines everything shines,' is possible only if the *prâgñā* Self, i. e. the highest Self, is understood. Of that *prâgñā* Self another scriptural passage says, 'His form is light, his thoughts are true' (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 2*). On the other hand, it is not by any means known that the sun, &c. shines after some other luminous body. Moreover, on account of the equality of nature of all luminous bodies such as the sun and the like, there is no need for them of any other luminous body after which they should shine; for we see that a lamp, for instance, does not 'shine after' another lamp. Nor is there any such absolute rule (as the *pûrvapakshin* asserted) that acting after is observed only among things of similar nature. It is rather observed among things of dissimilar nature also; for a red-hot iron ball acts after, i. e. burns after the burning fire, and the dust of the ground blows (is blown) after the blowing wind.—The clause 'on account of the acting after' (which forms part of the *Sûtra*) points to the shining after (mentioned in the scriptural sloka under discussion); the clause 'and of him' points to the fourth *pâda* of the same sloka. The meaning of this latter clause is that the cause assigned for the light of the sun, &c. (in the passage 'by the light of him everything is lighted') intimates the *prâgñā* Self. For of that Self Scripture says, 'Him the gods worship as the light of lights, as immortal time' (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 16*). That, on the other hand, the light of the sun, the moon, &c. should shine by some other (physical) light is, in the first place, not known; and, in the second place, absurd

as one (physical) light is counteracted by another.—Or else the cause assigned for the shining does not apply only to the sun and the other bodies mentioned in the sloka; but the meaning (of the last pāda) rather is—as we may conclude from the comprehensive statement ‘all this’—that the manifestation of this entire world consisting of names and forms, acts, agents and fruits (of action) has for its cause the existence of the light of Brahman; just as the existence of the light of the sun is the cause of the manifestation of all form and colour.—Moreover, the text shows by means of the word ‘there’ (‘the sun does not shine there,’ &c.) that the passage is to be connected with the general topic, and that topic is Brahman as appears from Mu. Up. II, 2, 5, ‘In whom the heaven, the earth, and the sky are woven,’ &c. The same appears from a passage subsequent (on the one just quoted and immediately preceding the passage under discussion). ‘In the highest golden sheath there is the Brahman without passion and without parts; that is pure, that is the light of lights, that is it which they know who know the Self.’ This passage giving rise to the question, ‘How is it the light of lights?’ there is occasion for the reply given in ‘The sun does not shine there,’ &c.—In refutation of the assertion that the shining of luminous bodies such as the sun and the moon can be denied only in case of there being another luminous body—as, for instance, the light of the moon and the stars is denied only when the sun is shining—we point out that it has been shown that he (the Self) only can be the luminous being referred to, nothing else. And it is quite possible to deny the shining of sun, moon, and so on with regard to Brahman; for whatever is perceived is perceived by the light of Brahman only so that sun, moon, &c. can be said to shine in it; while Brahman as self-luminous is not perceived by means of any other light. Brahman manifests everything else, but is not manifested by anything else; according to such scriptural passages as, ‘By the Self alone as his light man sits,’ &c. (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 3, 6), and ‘He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended’ (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 2, 4).

23. Moreover *Smṛiti* also speaks of him (i. e. of the *prāgñā* Self as being the universal light).

Moreover that aspect of the *prāgñā* Self is spoken of in *Smṛiti* also, viz. in the *Bhagavad Gītā* (XV, 6, 12), 'Neither the sun, nor the moon, nor the fire illumines that; having gone into which men do not return, that is my highest seat.' And 'The light which abiding in the sun illumines the whole world, and that which is in the moon and that which is in the fire, all that light know to be mine.'

24. On account of the term, (viz. the term 'lord' applied to it) the (person) measured (by a thumb) (is the highest Lord).

We read (Ka. Up. II, 4, 12), 'The person of the size of a thumb stands in the middle of the Self,' &c., and (II, 4, 13), 'That person, of the size of a thumb, is like a light without smoke, lord of the past and of the future, he is the same to-day and to-morrow. This is that.'—The question here arises whether the person of the size of a thumb mentioned in the text is the cognitional (individual) Self or the highest Self.

The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that on account of the declaration of the person's size the cognitional Self is meant. For to the highest Self which is of infinite length and breadth Scripture would not ascribe the measure of a span; of the cognitional Self, on the other hand, which is connected with limiting adjuncts, extension of the size of a span may, by means of some fictitious assumption, be predicated. *Smṛiti* also confirms this, 'Then Yama drew forth, by force, from the body of Satyavat the person of the size of a thumb tied to Yama's noose and helpless' (*Mahābh.* III, 16763). For as Yama could not pull out by force the highest Self, the passage is clearly seen to refer to the transmigrating (individual soul) of the size of a thumb, and we thence infer that the same Self is meant in the Vedic passage under discussion.

To this we reply that the person a thumb long can only

be the highest Lord.—Why?—On account of the term ‘lord of the past and of the future.’ For none but the highest Lord is the absolute ruler of the past and the future.—Moreover, the clause ‘this is that’ connects the passage with that which had been enquired about, and therefore forms the topic of discussion. And what had been enquired about is Brahman, ‘That which thou seest as neither this nor that, as neither effect nor cause, as neither past nor future, tell me that’ (I, 2, 14).—‘On account of the term,’ i. e. on account of the direct statement, in the text, of a designation, viz. the term ‘Lord,’ we understand that the highest Lord is meant¹.—But still the question remains how a certain extension can be attributed to the omnipresent highest Self.—The reply to this is given in the next Sūtra.

25. But with reference to the heart (the highest Self is said to be of the size of a span), as men are entitled (to the study of the Veda).

The measure of a span is ascribed to the highest Lord, although omnipresent with reference to his abiding within the heart ; just as to ether (space) the measure of a cubit is ascribed with reference to the joint of a bamboo. For, on the one hand, the measure of a span cannot be ascribed directly to the highest Self which exceeds all measure, and, on the other hand, it has been shown that none but the highest Lord can be meant here, on account of the term ‘Lord,’ and so on.—But—an objection may be raised—as the size of the heart varies in the different classes of living beings it cannot be maintained that the declaration

¹ This last sentence is directed against the possible objection that ‘sabda,’ which the Sūtra brings forward as an argument in favour of the highest Lord being meant, has the sense of ‘sentence’ (vākya), and is therefore of less force than līnga, i. e. indicatory or inferential mark which is represented in our passage by the aṅguṣṭhā/amātrātā of the puruṣa, and favours the gīva-interpretation. Sabda, the text remarks, here means sruti, i. e. direct enunciation, and sruti ranks, as a means of proof, higher than līnga.

of the highest Self being of the size of a thumb can be explained with reference to the heart.—To this objection the second half of the Sûtra replies: On account of men (only) being entitled. For the *sâstra*, although propounded without distinction (i. e. although not itself specifying what class of beings is to proceed according to its precepts), does in reality entitle men¹ only (to act according to its precepts); for men only (of the three higher castes) are, firstly, capable (of complying with the precepts of the *sâstra*); are, secondly, desirous (of the results of actions enjoined by the *sâstra*); are, thirdly, not excluded by prohibitions; and are, fourthly, subject to the precepts about the upanayana ceremony and so on². This point has been explained in the section treating of the definition of *adhikâra* (Pûrva Mîm. S. VI, 1).—Now the human body has ordinarily a fixed size, and hence the heart also has a fixed size, viz. the size of a thumb. Hence, as men (only) are entitled to study and practise the *sâstra*, the highest Self may, with reference to its dwelling in the human heart, be spoken of as being of the size of a thumb.—In reply to the *pûrvapakshin's* reasoning that on account of the statement of size and on account of *Smṛiti* we can understand by him who is of the size of a thumb the transmigrating soul only, we remark that—analogously to such passages as 'That is the Self,' 'That art thou'—our passage

¹ I. e. men belonging to the three upper castes.

² The first reason excludes animals, gods, and *rîshis*. Gods cannot themselves perform sacrifices, the essential feature of which is the parting, on the part of the sacrificer, with an offering meant for the gods. *Rîshis* cannot perform sacrifices in the course of whose performance the ancestral *rîshis* of the sacrificer are invoked.—The second reason excludes those men whose only desire is emancipation and who therefore do not care for the perishable fruits of sacrifices.—The third and fourth reasons exclude the *Sûdras* who are indirectly disqualified for *sâstric* works because the Veda in different places gives rules for the three higher castes only, and for whom the ceremony of the upanayana—indispensable for all who wish to study the Veda—is not prescribed.—Cp. Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ Sûtras VI, 1.

teaches that the transmigrating soul which is of the size of a thumb is (in reality) Brahman. For the Vedānta-passages have a twofold purport; some of them aim at setting forth the nature of the highest Self, some at teaching the unity of the individual soul with the highest Self. Our passage teaches the unity of the individual soul with the highest Self, not the size of anything. This point is made clear further on in the Upanishad, 'The person of the size of a thumb, the inner Self, is always settled in the heart of men. Let a man draw that Self forth from his body with steadiness, as one draws the pith from a reed. Let him know that Self as the Bright, as the Immortal' (II, 6, 17).

26. Also (beings) above them, (viz. men) (are qualified for the study and practice of the Veda), on account of the possibility (of it), according to Bādarāyaṇa.

It has been said above that the passage about him who is of the size of a thumb has reference to the human heart, because men are entitled to study and act according to the śāstra. This gives us an occasion for the following discussion.—It is true that the śāstra entitles men, but, at the same time, there is no exclusive rule entitling men only to the knowledge of Brahman; the teacher, Bādarāyaṇa, rather thinks that the śāstra entitles those (classes of beings) also which are above men, viz. gods, and so on.—On what account?—On the account of possibility.—For in their cases also the different causes on which the qualification depends, such as having certain desires, and so on, may exist. In the first place, the gods also may have the desire of final release, caused by the reflection that all effects, objects, and powers are non-permanent. In the second place, they may be capable of it as their corporeality appears from mantras, arthavādas, itihāsas, purāṇas, and ordinary experience. In the third place, there is no prohibition (excluding them like Sûdras). Nor does, in the fourth place, the scriptural rule about the upanayana-ceremony annul their title; for that

ceremony merely subserves the study of the Veda, and to the gods the Veda is manifest of itself (without study). That the gods, moreover, for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, undergo discipleship, and the like, appears from such scriptural passages as 'One hundred and one years Indra lived as a disciple with Pragâpati' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 11, 3), and 'Bhrîgu Vârûni went to his father Varuṇa, saying, "Sir, teach me Brahman"' (*Taitt. Up.* III, 1).—And the reasons which have been given above against gods and *rishis* being entitled to perform religious works (such as sacrifices), viz. the circumstance of there being no other gods (to whom the gods could offer sacrifices), and of there being no other *rishis* (who could be invoked during the sacrifice), do not apply to the case of branches of knowledge. For Indra and the other gods, when applying themselves to knowledge, have no acts to perform with a view to Indra, and so on; nor have Bhrîgu and other *rishis*, in the same case, to do anything with the circumstance of their belonging to the same gotra as Bhrîgu, &c. What, then, should stand in the way of the gods' and *rishis*' right to acquire knowledge?—Moreover, the passage about that which is of the size of a thumb remains equally valid, if the right of the gods, &c. is admitted; it has then only to be explained in each particular case by a reference to the particular size of the thumb (of the class of beings spoken of).

27. If it be said that (the corporeal individuality of the gods involves) a contradiction to (sacrificial) works; we deny that, on account of the observation of the assumption (on the part of the gods) of several (forms).

If the right of the gods, and other beings superior to men, to the acquisition of knowledge is founded on the assumption of their corporeality, &c., we shall have to admit, in consequence of that corporeality, that Indra and the other gods stand in the relation of subordinate members (*aṅga*) to sacrificial acts, by means of their being present in person

just as the priests are. But this admission will lead to 'a contradiction in the sacrificial acts,' because the circumstance of the gods forming the members of sacrificial acts by means of their personal presence, is neither actually observed nor possible. For it is not possible that one and the same Indra should, at the same time, be present in person at many sacrifices.

To this we reply, that there is no such contradiction.—Why?—On account of the assumption of several (forms). For it is possible for one and the same divine Self to assume several forms at the same time.—How is that known?—From observation.—For a scriptural passage at first replies to the question how many gods there are, by the declaration that there are 'Three and three hundred, three and three thousand,' and subsequently, on the question who they are, declares 'They (the 303 and 3003) are only the various powers of them, in reality there are only thirty-three gods' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 9, 1, 2*); showing thereby that one and the same divine Self may at the same time appear in many forms. After that it proceeds to show that these thirty-three gods themselves are in reality contained in six, five, &c., and, finally, by replying to the question, 'Who is the one god?' that Breath is the one god, shows that the gods are all forms of Breath, and that Breath, therefore, can at the same time appear in many forms.—*Smṛiti* also has a similar statement, 'A Yogin, O hero of the Bharatas, may, by his power, multiply his Self in many thousand shapes, and in them walk about on the earth. In some he may enjoy the objects, in others he may undergo dire penance, and, finally, he may again retract them all, just as the sun retracts the multitude of his rays.' If such *Smṛiti* passages as the above declare that even Yogins, who have merely acquired various extraordinary powers, such as subtlety of body, and the like, may animate several bodies at the same time, how much more capable of such feats must the gods be, who naturally possess all supernatural powers. The gods thus being able to assume several shapes, a god may divide himself into many forms and enter into relation with many sacrifices at the same time, remaining all the

while unseen by others, in consequence of his power to render himself invisible.

The latter part of the Sûtra may be explained in a different manner also, viz. as meaning that even beings enjoying corporeal individuality are seen to enter into mere subordinate relation to more than one action. Sometimes, indeed, one individual does not at the same time enter into subordinate relation to different actions; one Brâhmaṇa, for instance, is not at the same time entertained by many entertainers. But in other cases one individual stands in subordinate relation to many actions at the same time; one Brâhmaṇa, for instance, may constitute the object of the reverence done to him by many persons at the same time. Similarly, it is possible that, as the sacrifice consists in the parting (on the part of the sacrificer with some offering) with a view (to some divinity), many persons may at the same time part with their respective offerings, all of them having in view one and the same individual divinity. The individuality of the gods does not, therefore, involve any contradiction in sacrificial works.

28. If it be said (that a contradiction will result) in respect of the word; we refute this objection on the ground that (the world) originates from the word, as is shown by perception and inference.

Let it then be granted that, from the admission of the corporeal individuality of the gods, no contradiction will result in the case of sacrificial works. Still a contradiction will result in respect of the 'word' (śabda).—How?—The authoritativeness of the Veda has been proved 'from its independence,' basing on the original (eternal) connexion of the word with its sense ('the thing signified')¹. But now, although a divinity possessing corporeal individuality, such as admitted above, may, by means of its supernatural powers, be able to enjoy at the same time the oblations

¹ The reference is to Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ Sûtras I, 1, 5 (not to I, 2, 21, as stated in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, III, p. 69).

which form part of several sacrifices, yet it will, on account of its very individuality, be subject to birth and death just as we men are, and hence, the eternal connexion of the eternal word with a non-eternal thing being destroyed, a contradiction will arise with regard to the authoritative-ness proved to belong to the word of the Veda.

To this we reply that no such contradiction exists.—Why? —‘On account of their origin from it.’ For from that very same word of the Veda the world, with the gods and other beings, originates.—But—an objection will be raised—in Sūtra I, 1, 2 (‘That whence there is the origin, &c. of this world’) it has been proved that the world originates from Brahman; how then can it be said here that it originates from the word? And, moreover, even if the origin of the world from the word of the Veda be admitted, how is the contradiction in regard to the word removed thereby, inasmuch as the Vasus, the Rudras, the Âdityas, the Virvedevas, and the Maruts¹ are non-eternal beings, because produced; and if they are non-eternal, what is there to preclude the non-eternality of the Vedic words Vasu, &c. designating them? For it is known from every-day life that only when the son of Devadatta is born, the name Yagñadatta is given to him (lit. made for him)². Hence we adhere to our opinion that a contradiction does arise with regard to the ‘word.’

This objection we negative, on the ground that we observe the eternity of the connexion between such words as cow, and so on, and the things denoted by them. For, although the individuals of the (species denoted by the word) cow have an origin, their species³ does not have an origin, since of (the three categories) substances, qualities, and actions the individuals only originate, not the species. Now it is with the species that the words are connected, not with the individuals, which, as being infinite in number, are not capable of entering into that connexion. Hence, although

¹ In which classes of beings all the gods are comprised.

² Which shows that together with the non-eternality of the thing denoted there goes the non-eternality of the denoting word.

³ Âkrīti, best translated by εἶδος.

the individuals do not originate, no contradiction arises in the case of words such as cow, and the like, since the species are eternal. Similarly, although individual gods are admitted to originate, there arises no contradiction in the case of such words as Vasu, and the like, since the species denoted by them are eternal. And that the gods, and so on, belong to different species, is to be concluded from the descriptions of their various personal appearance, such as given in the mantras, arthavâdas, &c. Terms such as 'Indra' rest on the connexion (of some particular being) with some particular place, analogously to terms such as 'army-leader;' hence, whoever occupies that particular place is called by that particular name.—The origination of the world from the 'word' is not to be understood in that sense, that the word constitutes the material cause of the world, as Brahman does; but while there exist the everlasting words, whose essence is the power of denotation in connexion with their eternal sense (i. e. the âkrîtis denoted), the accomplishment of such individual things as are capable of having those words applied to them is called an origination from those words.

How then is it known that the world originates from the word?—'From perception and inference.' Perception here denotes Scripture which, in order to be authoritative, is independent (of anything else). 'Inference' denotes Smṛiti which, in order to be authoritative, depends on something else (viz. Scripture). These two declare that creation is preceded by the word. Thus a scriptural passage says, 'At the word these Pragâpati created the gods; at the words were poured out he created men; at the word drops he created the fathers; at the words through the filter he created the Soma cups; at the words the swift ones he created the stotra; at the words to all he created the sastra; at the word blessings he created the other beings.' And another passage says, 'He with his mind united himself with speech (i. e. the word of the Veda.—*Bṛi. Up. I, 2, 4*). Thus Scripture declares in different places that the word precedes the creation.—Smṛiti also delivers itself as follows, 'In the beginning

a divine voice, eternal, without beginning or end, formed of the Vedas was uttered by Svayambhū, from which all activities proceeded.' By the 'uttering' of the voice we have here to understand the starting of the oral tradition (of the Veda), because of a voice without beginning or end 'uttering' in any other sense cannot be predicated.—Again, we read, 'In the beginning Mahesvara shaped from the words of the Veda the names and forms of all beings and the procedure of all actions.' And again, 'The several names, actions, and conditions of all things he shaped in the beginning from the words of the Veda' (Manu I, 21). Moreover, we all know from observation that any one when setting about some thing which he wishes to accomplish first remembers the word denoting the thing, and after that sets to work. We therefore conclude that before the creation the Vedic words became manifest in the mind of Pragâpati the creator, and that after that he created the things corresponding to those words. Scripture also, where it says (Taitt. Brâ. II, 2, 4, 2) 'uttering bhûr he created the earth,' &c., shows that the worlds such as the earth, &c. became manifest, i. e. were created from the words bhûr, &c. which had become manifest in the mind (of Pragâpati).

Of what nature then is the 'word' with a view to which it is said that the world originates from the 'word?'—It is the sphoṭa, the pûrvapakshin says¹. For on the as-

¹ The pûrvapakshin, i. e. here the grammarian maintains, for the reasons specified further on, that there exists in the case of words a supersensuous entity called sphoṭa which is manifested by the letters of the word, and, if apprehended by the mind, itself manifests the sense of the word. The term sphoṭa may, according as it is viewed in either of these lights, be explained as the manifestor or that which is manifested.—The sphoṭa is a grammatical fiction, the word in so far as it is apprehended by us as a whole. That we cannot identify it with the 'notion' (as Deussen seems inclined to do, p. 80) follows from its being distinctly called vâṭaka or abhidhâyaka, and its being represented as that which causes the conception of the sense of a word (arthadhîhetu).

sumption that the letters are the word, the doctrine that the individual gods, and so on, originates from the eternal words of the Veda could not in any way be proved, since the letters perish as soon as they are produced (i. e. pronounced). These perishable letters are moreover apprehended as differing according to the pronunciation of the individual speaker. For this reason we are able to determine, merely from the sound of the voice of some unseen person whom we hear reading, who is reading, whether Devadatta or Yagñadatta or some other man. And it cannot be maintained that this apprehension of difference regarding the letters is an erroneous one; for we do not apprehend anything else whereby it is refuted. Nor is it reasonable to maintain that the apprehension of the sense of a word results from the letters. For it can neither be maintained that each letter by itself intimates the sense, since that would be too wide an assumption¹; nor that there takes place a simultaneous apprehension of the whole aggregate of letters; since the letters succeed one another in time. Nor can we admit the explanation that the last letter of the word together with the impressions produced by the perception of the preceding letters is that which makes us apprehend the sense. For the word makes us apprehend the sense only if it is itself apprehended in so far as having reference to the mental grasp of the constant connexion (of the word and the sense), just as smoke makes us infer the existence of fire only when it is itself apprehended; but an apprehension of the last letter combined with the impressions produced by the preceding letters does not actually take place, because those impressions are not objects of perception². Nor, again, can it be maintained that (although those im-

¹ For that each letter by itself expresses the sense is not observed; and if it did so, the other letters of the word would have to be declared useless.

² In order to enable us to apprehend the sense from the word, there is required the actual consciousness of the last letter plus the impressions of the preceding letters; just as smoke enables us to

pressions are not objects of perception, yet they may be inferred from their effects, and that thus) the actual perception of the last letter combined with the impressions left by the preceding letters—which impressions are apprehended from their effects—is that which intimates the sense of the word; for that effect of the impressions, viz. the remembrance of the entire word, is itself something consisting of parts which succeed each other in time.—From all this it follows that the *sphoṭa* is the word. After the apprehending agent, i. e. the buddhi, has, through the apprehension of the several letters of the word, received rudimentary impressions, and after those impressions have been matured through the apprehension of the last letter, the *sphoṭa* presents itself in the buddhi all at once as the object of one mental act of apprehension.—And it must not be maintained that that one act of apprehension is merely an act of remembrance having for its object the letters of the word; for the letters which are more than one cannot form the object of one act of apprehension.—As that *sphoṭa* is recognised as the same as often as the word is pronounced, it is eternal; while the apprehension of difference referred to above has for its object the letters merely. From this eternal word, which is of the nature of the *sphoṭa* and possesses denotative power, there is produced the object denoted, i. e. this world which consists of actions, agents, and results of action.

Against this doctrine the reverend Upavarsha maintains that the letters only are the word.—But—an objection is raised—it has been said above that the letters no sooner produced pass away!—That assertion is not true, we reply; for they are recognised as the same letters (each time they are produced anew).—Nor can it be maintained that the recognition is due to similarity only, as in the case of hairs, for instance; for the fact of the recognition being a recognition in the strict sense of the word is not contradicted by any other means of proof.—Nor, again, can it be said

infer the existence of fire only if we are actually conscious of the smoke. But that actual consciousness does not take place because the impressions are not objects of perceptive consciousness.

that the recognition has its cause in the species (so that not the same individual letter would be recognised, but only a letter belonging to the same species as other letters heard before); for, as a matter of fact, the same individual letters are recognised. That the recognition of the letters rests on the species could be maintained only if whenever the letters are pronounced different individual letters were apprehended, just as several cows are apprehended as different individuals belonging to the same species. But this is actually not the case; for the (same) individual letters are recognised as often as they are pronounced. If, for instance, the word *cow* is pronounced twice, we think not that two different words have been pronounced, but that the same individual word has been repeated.—But, our opponent reminds us, it has been shown above, that the letters are apprehended as different owing to differences of pronunciation, as appears from the fact that we apprehend a difference when merely hearing the sound of *Devadatta* or *Yagñadatta* reading.—Although, we reply, it is a settled matter that the letters are recognised as the same, yet we admit that there are differences in the apprehension of the letters; but as the letters are articulated by means of the conjunction and disjunction (of the breath with the palate, the teeth, &c.), those differences are rightly ascribed to the various character of the articulating agents and not to the intrinsic nature of the letters themselves. Those, moreover, who maintain that the individual letters are different have, in order to account for the fact of recognition, to assume species of letters, and further to admit that the apprehension of difference is conditioned by external factors. Is it then not much simpler to assume, as we do, that the apprehension of difference is conditioned by external factors while the recognition is due to the intrinsic nature of the letters? And this very fact of recognition is that mental process which prevents us from looking on the apprehension of difference as having the letters for its object (so that the opponent was wrong in denying the existence of such a process). For how should, for instance, the one syllable *ga*, when it is pronounced in

the same moment by several persons, be at the same time of different nature, viz. accented with the udātta, the anudātta, and the Svarita and nasal as well as non-nasal¹? Or else²—and this is the preferable explanation—we assume that the difference of apprehension is caused not by the letters but by the tone (dhvani). By this tone we have to understand that which enters the ear of a person who is listening from a distance and not able to distinguish the separate letters, and which, for a person standing near, affects the letters with its own distinctions, such as high or low pitch and so on. It is on this tone that all the distinctions of udātta, anudātta, and so on depend, and not on the intrinsic nature of the letters; for they are recognised as the same whenever they are pronounced. On this theory only we gain a basis for the distinctive apprehension of the udātta, the anudātta, and the like. For on the theory first propounded (but now rejected), we should have to assume that the distinctions of udātta and so on are due to the processes of conjunction and disjunction described above, since the letters themselves, which are ever recognised as the same, are not different. But as those processes of conjunction and disjunction are not matter of perception, we cannot definitely ascertain in the letters any differences based on those processes, and hence the apprehension of the udātta and so on remains without a basis.—Nor should it be urged that from the difference of the udātta and so on there results also a difference of the letters recognised. For a difference in one matter does not involve a difference in some other matter which in itself is free from difference. Nobody, for instance, thinks that because the individuals

¹ 'How should it be so?' i.e. it cannot be so; and on that account the differences apprehended do not belong to the letters themselves, but to the external conditions mentioned above.

² With 'or else' begins the exposition of the finally accepted theory as to the cause why the same letters are apprehended as different. Hitherto the cause had been found in the variety of the upādhis of the letters. Now a new distinction is made between articulated letters and non-articulated tone.

are different from each other the species also contains a difference in itself.

The assumption of the *sphoṭa* is further gratuitous, because the sense of the word may be apprehended from the letters.—But—our opponent here objects—I do not assume the existence of the *sphoṭa*. I, on the contrary, actually perceive it; for after the *buddhi* has been impressed by the successive apprehension of the letters of the word, the *sphoṭa* all at once presents itself as the object of cognition.—You are mistaken, we reply. The object of the cognitional act of which you speak is simply the letters of the word. That one comprehensive cognition which follows upon the apprehension of the successive letters of the word has for its object the entire aggregate of the letters constituting the word, and not anything else. We conclude this from the circumstance that in that final comprehensive cognition there are included those letters only of which a definite given word consists, and not any other letters. If that cognitional act had for its object the *sphoṭa*—i. e. something different from the letters of the given word—then those letters would be excluded from it just as much as the letters of any other word. But as this is not the case, it follows that that final comprehensive act of cognition is nothing but an act of remembrance which has the letters of the word for its object.—Our opponent has asserted above that the letters of a word being several cannot form the object of one mental act. But there he is wrong again. The ideas which we have of a row, for instance, or a wood or an army, or of the numbers ten, hundred, thousand, and so on, show that also such things as comprise several unities can become the objects of one and the same cognitional act. The idea which has for its object the word as one whole is a derived one, in so far as it depends on the determination of one sense in many letters¹; in the same way as the idea of a

¹ I. e. it is not directly one idea, for it has for its object more than one letter; but it may be called one in a secondary sense because it is based on the determinative knowledge that the letters, although more than one, express one sense only.

wood, an army, and so on.—But—our opponent may here object—if the word were nothing else but the letters which in their aggregate become the object of one mental act, such couples of words as *gârâ* and *râgâ* or *pika* and *kapi* would not be cognised as different words; for here the same letters are presented to consciousness in each of the words constituting one couple.—There is indeed, we reply, in both cases a comprehensive consciousness of the same totality of letters; but just as ants constitute the idea of a row only if they march one after the other, so the letters also constitute the idea of a certain word only if they follow each other in a certain order. Hence it is not contrary to reason that the same letters are cognised as different words, in consequence of the different order in which they are arranged.

The hypothesis of him who maintains that the letters are the word may therefore be finally formulated as follows. The letters of which a word consists—assisted by a certain order and number—have, through traditional use, entered into a connexion with a definite sense. At the time when they are employed they present themselves as such (i. e. in their definite order and number) to the buddhi, which, after having apprehended the several letters in succession, finally comprehends the entire aggregate, and they thus unerringly intimate to the buddhi their definite sense. This hypothesis is certainly simpler than the complicated hypothesis of the grammarians who teach that the *sphoṭa* is the word. For they have to disregard what is given by perception, and to assume something which is never perceived; the letters apprehended in a definite order are said to manifest the *sphoṭa*, and the *sphoṭa* in its turn is said to manifest the sense.

Or let it even be admitted that the letters are different ones each time they are pronounced; yet, as in that case we necessarily must assume species of letters as the basis of the recognition of the individual letters, the function of conveying the sense which we have demonstrated in the case of the (individual) letters has then to be attributed to the species.

From all this it follows that the theory according to which the individual gods and so on originate from the eternal words is unobjectionable.

29. And from this very reason there follows the eternity of the Veda.

As the eternity of the Veda is founded on the absence of the remembrance of an agent only, a doubt with regard to it had been raised owing to the doctrine that the gods and other individuals have sprung from it. That doubt has been refuted in the preceding Sûtra.—The present Sûtra now confirms the, already established, eternity of the Veda. The eternity of the word of the Veda has to be assumed for this very reason, that the world with its definite (eternal) species, such as gods and so on, originates from it.—A mantra also ('By means of the sacrifice they followed the trace of speech; they found it dwelling in the *rishis*,' *Rig-veda Samh.* X, 71, 3) shows that the speech found (by the *rishis*) was permanent.—On this point Vedavyâsa also speaks as follows: 'Formerly the great *rishis*, being allowed to do so by Svayambhû, obtained, through their penance, the Vedas together with the *itihâsas*, which had been hidden at the end of the yuga.'

30. And on account of the equality of names and forms there is no contradiction (to the eternity of the word of the Veda) in the renovation (of the world); as is seen from *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*.

If—the *pûrvapakshin* resumes—the individual gods and so on did, like the individual animals, originate and pass away in an unbroken succession so that there would be no break of the course of practical existence including denominations, things denominated and agents denominating; the connexion (between word and thing) would be eternal, and the objection as to a contradiction with reference to the word (raised in Sûtra 27) would thereby be refuted. But if, as *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* declare, the whole threefold

world periodically divests itself of name and form, and is entirely dissolved (at the end of a kalpa), and is after that produced anew; how can the contradiction be considered to have been removed?

To this we reply: 'On account of the sameness of name and form.'—Even then the beginninglessness of the world will have to be admitted (a point which the teacher will prove later on: II, 1, 36). And in the beginningless *sam-sāra* we have to look on the (relative) beginning, and the dissolution connected with a new kalpa in the same light in which we look on the sleeping and waking states, which, although in them according to Scripture (a kind of) dissolution and origination take place, do not give rise to any contradiction, since in the later waking state (subsequent to the state of sleep) the practical existence is carried on just as in the former one. That in the sleeping and the waking states dissolution and origination take place is stated Kaush. Up. III, 3, 'When a man being asleep sees no dream whatever he becomes one with that *prāṇa* alone. Then speech goes to him with all names, the eye with all forms, the ear with all sounds, the mind with all thoughts. And when he awakes then, as from a burning fire, sparks proceed in all directions, thus from that Self the *prāṇas* proceed, each towards its place; from the *prāṇas* the gods, from the gods the worlds.'

Well, the *pūrvapakshin* resumes, it may be that no contradiction arises in the case of sleep, as during the sleep of one person the practical existence of other persons suffers no interruption, and as the sleeping person himself when waking from sleep may resume the very same form of practical existence which was his previously to his sleep. The case of a *mahāpralaya* (i.e. a general annihilation of the world) is however a different one, as then the entire current of practical existence is interrupted, and the form of existence of a previous kalpa can be resumed in a subsequent kalpa no more than an individual can resume that form of existence which it enjoyed in a former birth.

This objection, we reply, is not valid. For although a *mahāpralaya* does cut short the entire current of practical

existence, yet, by the favour of the highest Lord, the Lords (Īsvara), such as Hiranyagarbha and so on, may continue the same form of existence which belonged to them in the preceding kalpa. Although ordinary animated beings do not, as we see, resume that form of existence which belonged to them in a former birth ; still we cannot judge of the Lords as we do of ordinary beings. For as in the series of beings which descends from man to blades of grass a successive diminution of knowledge, power, and so on, is observed—although they all have the common attribute of being animated—so in the ascending series extending from man up to Hiranyagarbha, a gradually increasing manifestation of knowledge, power, &c. takes place ; a circumstance which Śruti and Smṛiti mention in many places, and which it is impossible to deny. On that account it may very well be the case that the Lords, such as Hiranyagarbha and so on, who in a past kalpa were distinguished by superior knowledge and power of action, and who again appear in the present kalpa, do, if favoured by the highest Lord, continue (in the present kalpa) the same kind of existence which they enjoyed in the preceding kalpa ; just as a man who rises from sleep continues the same form of existence which he enjoyed previously to his sleep. Thus Scripture also declares, ‘He who first creates Brahman (Hiranyagarbha) and delivers the Vedas to him, to that God who is the light of his own thoughts, I, seeking for release, go for refuge’ (Svet. Up. VI, 18). Saunaka and others moreover declare (in the Anukramanīs of the Veda) that the ten books (of the *Rig-veda*) were seen by Madhukṛṇḍas and other *rishis*¹. And, similarly, Smṛiti tells us, for every Veda, of men of exalted mental vision (*rishis*) who ‘saw’ the subdivisions of their respective Vedas, such as *kāṇḍas* and so on. Scripture also declares that the performance of the sacrificial action by means of the mantra is to be preceded by the knowledge of the *rishi* and so on, ‘He who makes another person sacrifice or read by means of a mantra of which he

¹ Which circumstance proves that exalted knowledge appertains not only to Hiranyagarbha, but to many beings.

does not know the *rishi*, the metre, the divinity, and the Brāhmaṇa, runs against a post, falls into a pit¹, &c. &c., therefore one must know all those matters for each mantra' (Ārsheya Brāhmaṇa, first section).—Moreover, religious duty is enjoined and its opposite is forbidden, in order that the animate beings may obtain pleasure and escape pain. Desire and aversion have for their objects pleasure and pain, known either from experience or from Scripture, and do not aim at anything of a different nature. As therefore each new creation is (nothing but) the result of the religious merit and demerit (of the animated beings of the preceding creation), it is produced with a nature resembling that of the preceding creation. Thus Smṛiti also declares, 'To whatever actions certain of these (animated beings) had turned in a former creation, to the same they turn when created again and again. Whether those actions were harmful or harmless, gentle or cruel, right or wrong, true or untrue, influenced by them they proceed; hence a certain person delights in actions of a certain kind.'—Moreover, this world when being dissolved (in a mahāpralaya) is dissolved to that extent only that the potentiality (*sakti*) of the world remains, and (when it is produced again) it is produced from the root of that potentiality; otherwise we should have to admit an effect without a cause. Nor have we the right to assume potentialities of different kind (for the different periods of the world). Hence, although the series of worlds from the earth upwards, and the series of different classes of animate beings such as gods, animals, and men, and the different conditions based on caste, āsrama, religious duty and fruit (of works), although all these we say are again and again interrupted and thereupon produced anew; we yet have to understand that they are, in the beginningless *saṃsāra*, subject to a certain determinateness analogous to the determinateness governing the connexion between the senses and their objects. For it is impossible to imagine that the relation of senses and sense-objects should be a different one in different creations, so

¹ Viz. *naraka*, the commentaries say.

that, for instance, in some new creation a sixth sense and a corresponding sixth sense-object should manifest themselves. As, therefore, the phenomenal world is the same in all kalpas and as the Lords are able to continue their previous forms of existence, there manifest themselves, in each new creation, individuals bearing the same names and forms as the individuals of the preceding creations, and, owing to this equality of names and forms, the admitted periodical renovations of the world in the form of general pralayas and general creations do not conflict with the authoritativeness of the word of the Veda. The permanent identity of names and forms is declared in Sruti as well as Smṛiti; compare, for instance, *R̥ik. Samh.* X, 190, 3, 'As formerly the creator ordered sun and moon, and the sky, and the air, and the heavenly world;' which passage means that the highest Lord arranged at the beginning of the present kalpa the entire world with sun and moon, and so on, just as it had been arranged in the preceding kalpa. Compare also *Taitt. Brāhm.* III, 1, 4, 1, 'Agni desired: May I become the consumer of the food of the gods; for that end he offered a cake on eight potsherds to Agni and the *Kṛittikās*.' This passage, which forms part of the injunction of the *ishī* to the *Nakshatras*, declares equality of name and form connecting the Agni who offered and the Agni to whom he offered¹.

Smṛiti also contains similar statements to be quoted here; so, for instance, 'Whatever were the names of the *rishis* and their powers to see the Vedas, the same the Unborn one again gives to them when they are produced afresh at the end of the night (the *mahāpralaya*). As the various signs of the seasons return in succession in their due time, thus the same beings again appear in the different yugas. And of whatever individuality the gods of the

¹ Asmin kalpe sarveshām prāṇinām dāhapākaprakāsakāri yo-
yam agnir *dr̥isyate* so-yam agniḥ pūrvasmin kalpe manushyaḥ
sa devatvapadaprāpakam karmānushāyāsmīn kalpa etag ganma
labdhavān ataḥ pūrvasmin kalpe sa manushyo bhāvinīm *samgṛhām*
āsrityāgnir iti vyapadyate.—Sāyana on the quoted passage.

past ages were, equal to them are the present gods in name and form.'

31. On account of the impossibility of (the gods being qualified) for the madhu-vidyâ, &c. Gaimini (maintains) the non-qualification (of the gods for the Brahma-vidyâ).

A new objection is raised against the averment that the gods, &c. also are entitled to the knowledge of Brahman. The teacher, Gaimini, considers the gods and similar beings not to have any claim.—Why?—On account of the impossibility, in the case of the so-called Madhu-vidyâ, &c. If their claim to the knowledge of Brahman were admitted, we should have to admit their claim to the madhu-vidyâ ('the knowledge of the honey') also, because that also is a kind of knowledge not different (from the knowledge of Brahman). But to admit this latter claim is not possible; for, according to the passage, 'The Sun is indeed the honey of the devas' (*Kh. Up. III, 1, 1*), men are to meditate on the sun (the god Âditya) under the form of honey, and how, if the gods themselves are admitted as meditating worshippers, can Âditya meditate upon another Âditya?—Again, the text, after having enumerated five kinds of nectar, the red one, &c. residing in the sun, and after having stated that the five classes of gods, viz. the Vasus, Rudras, Âdityas, Maruts, and Sâdhyas, live on one of these nectars each, declares that 'he who thus knows this nectar becomes one of the Vasus, with Agni at their head, he sees the nectar and rejoices, &c., and indicates thereby that those who know the nectars enjoyed by the Vasus, &c., attain the greatness of the Vasus, &c. But how should the Vasus themselves know other Vasus enjoying the nectar, and what other Vasu-greatness should they desire to attain?—We have also to compare the passages 'Agni is one foot, Âditya is one foot, the quarters are one foot' (*Kh. Up. III, 18, 2*); 'Air is indeed the absorber' (*Kh. Up. IV, 3, 1*); 'Âditya is Brahman, this is the doctrine.' All these passages treat of the meditation on the Self of certain divinities, for which meditation these divinities them-

selves are not qualified.—So it is likewise impossible that the *rishis* themselves should be qualified for meditations connected with *rishis*, such as expressed in passages like *Bṛi. Up. II, 2, 4*, ‘These two are the *rishis* Gautama and Bharadvāga; the right Gautama, the left Bharadvāga.’—Another reason for the non-qualification of the gods is stated in the following Sūtra.

32. And (the devas, &c. are not qualified) on account of (the words denoting the devas, &c.) being (used) in the sense of (sphere of) light.

To that sphere of light, the *pūrvapakshin* resumes, which is stationed in the sky, and during its diurnal revolutions illumines the world, terms such as *Āditya*, i. e. the names of devas, are applied, as we know from the use of ordinary language, and from Vedic complementary passages¹. But of a mere sphere of light we cannot understand how it should be endowed with either a bodily form, consisting of the heart and the like, or intelligence, or the capability of forming wishes². For mere light we know to be, like earth, entirely devoid of intelligence. The same observation applies to *Agni* (fire), and so on. It will perhaps be said that our objection is not valid, because the personality of the devas is known from the mantras, *arthavādas*, *itihāsas*, *purāṇas*, and from the conceptions of ordinary life³; but we contest the relevancy of this remark. For the conceptions of ordinary life do not constitute an independent means of knowledge; we rather say that a thing is known from ordinary life if it is known by the (acknowledged) means of knowledge, perception, &c. But none of the recognised means of knowledge, such as perception and the like, apply to the

¹ As, for instance, ‘So long as *Āditya* rises in the east and sets in the west’ (*Kh. Up. III, 6, 4*).

² Whence it follows that the devas are not personal beings, and therefore not qualified for the knowledge of Brahman.

³ *Yama*, for instance, being ordinarily represented as a person with a staff in his hand, *Varuṇa* with a noose, *Indra* with a thunder-bolt, &c. &c.

matter under discussion. Itihāsas and purāṇas again being of human origin, stand themselves in need of other means of knowledge on which to base. The arthavāda passages also, which, as forming syntactical wholes with the injunctory passages, have merely the purpose of glorifying (what is enjoined in the latter), cannot be considered to constitute by themselves reasons for the existence of the personality, &c. of the devas. The mantras again, which, on the ground of direct enunciation, &c., are to be employed (at the different stages of the sacrificial action), have merely the purpose of denoting things connected with the sacrificial performance, and do not constitute an independent means of authoritative knowledge for anything¹.—For these reasons the devas, and similar beings, are not qualified for the knowledge of Brahman.

33. Bādarāyaṇa, on the other hand, (maintains) the existence (of qualification for Brahma-vidyā on the part of the gods); for there are (passages indicative of that).

The expression 'on the other hand' is meant to rebut the pūrvapaksha. The teacher, Bādarāyaṇa, maintains the existence of the qualification on the part of the gods, &c. For, although the qualification of the gods cannot be admitted with reference to the madhu-vidyā, and similar topics of knowledge, in which the gods themselves are implicated, still they may be qualified for the pure knowledge of Brahman, qualification in general depending on the presence of desire, capability, &c.² Nor does the impossibility of qualification in certain cases interfere with the presence of qualification in those other cases where it is not impossible. To the case of the gods the same reasoning applies as to the case of men; for among men also, all are not qualified for everything, Brāhmaṇas, for instance, not for the rāgasūya-sacrifice³.

¹ On the proper function of arthavāda and mantra according to the Mīmāṃsā, cp. Arthasaṃgraha, Introduction.

² See above, p. 197.

³ Which can be offered by kṣattriyas only.

And, with reference to the knowledge of Brahman, Scripture, moreover, contains express hints notifying that the devas are qualified; compare, for instance, *Bṛi. Up. I, 4, 10*, 'Whatever Deva was awakened (so as to know Brahman) he indeed became that; and the same with *rishis*;' *Kh. Up. VIII, 7, 2*, 'They said: Well, let us search for that Self by which, if one has searched it out, all worlds and all desires are obtained. Thus saying, Indra went forth from the Devas, Viroḥana from the Asuras.' Similar statements are met with in *Smṛiti*, so, for instance, in the colloquy of the Gandharva and Yāgyñavalkya¹.—Against the objection raised in the preceding Sūtra (32) we argue as follows. Words like *āditya*, and so on, which denote devas, although having reference to light and the like, yet convey the idea of certain divine Selves (persons) endowed with intelligence and pre-eminent power; for they are used in that sense in mantras and arthavāda passages. For the devas possess, in consequence of their pre-eminent power, the capability of residing within the light, and so on, and to assume any form they like. Thus we read in Scripture, in the arthavāda passage explaining the words 'ram of Medhātithi,' which form part of the Subrahmanya-formula, that 'Indra, having assumed the shape of a ram, carried off Medhātithi, the descendant of *Karva*' (*Shadv. Br. I, 1*). And thus *Smṛiti* says that 'Āditya, having assumed the shape of a man, came to Kuntī.' Moreover, even in such substances as earth, intelligent ruling beings must be admitted to reside, for that appears from such scriptural passages as 'the earth spoke,' 'the waters spoke,' &c. The non-intelligence of light and the like, in so far as they are mere material elements, is admitted in the case of the sun (*āditya*), &c. also; but—as already remarked—from the use of the words in mantras and

¹ *Srautalingenânūmānabādham darsayitvā smārtēnāpi tadbādham darsayati smārtam iti. Kim atra brahma amṛtam kim svid vedyam anuttamam, kintayet tatra vai gatvā gandharvo mām aprikkhata, Virvāvasus tato rāgan vedātagñānakovida iti mokshadharme ganakayāgyñavalkyasamvādāt prahlādāgagarasamvādāt kōk-tānūmānāsiddhir ity arthah.*

arthavādas it appears that there are intelligent beings of divine nature (which animate those material elements).

We now turn to the objection (raised above by the pûrvapakshin) that mantras and arthavādas, as merely subserving other purposes, have no power of setting forth the personality of the devas, and remark that not the circumstance of subordination or non-subordination to some other purpose, but rather the presence or absence of a certain idea furnishes a reason for (our assuming) the existence of something. This is exemplified by the case of a person who, having set out for some other purpose, (nevertheless) forms the conviction of the existence of leaves, grass, and the like, which he sees lying on the road.—But, the pûrvapakshin may here object, the instance quoted by you is not strictly analogous. In the case of the wanderer, perception, whose objects the grass and leaves are, is active, and through it he forms the conception of their existence. In the case of an arthavāda, on the other hand, which, as forming a syntactical unity with the corresponding injunctory passage, merely subserves the purpose of glorifying (the latter), it is impossible to determine any energy having a special object of its own. For in general any minor syntactical unity, which is included in a more comprehensive syntactical unity conveying a certain meaning, does not possess the power of expressing a separate meaning of its own. Thus, for instance, we derive, from the combination of the three words constituting the negative sentence, ‘(Do) not drink wine,’ one meaning only, i.e. a prohibition of drinking wine, and do not derive an additional meaning, viz. an order to drink wine, from the combination of the last two words, ‘drink wine.’—To this objection we reply, that the instance last quoted is not analogous (to the matter under discussion). The words of the sentence prohibiting the drinking of wine form only one whole, and on that account the separate sense which any minor syntactical unity included in the bigger sentence may possess cannot be accepted. In the case of injunction and arthavāda, on the other hand, the words constituting the arthavāda form a separate group of their own which refers to some accom-

plished thing¹, and only subsequently to that, when it comes to be considered what purpose they subserve, they enter on the function of glorifying the injunction. Let us examine, as an illustrative example, the injunctive passage, 'He who is desirous of prosperity is to offer to Vâyu a white animal.' All the words contained in this passage are directly connected with the injunction. This is, however, not the case with the words constituting the corresponding arthavâda passage, 'For Vâyu is the swiftest deity; Vâyu he approaches with his own share; he leads him to prosperity.' The single words of this arthavâda are not grammatically connected with the single words of the injunction, but form a subordinate unity of their own, which contains the praise of Vâyu, and glorify the injunction, only in so far as they give us to understand that the action enjoined is connected with a distinguished divinity. If the matter conveyed by the subordinate (arthavâda) passage can be known by some other means of knowledge, the arthavâda acts as a mere anuvâda, i. e. a statement referring to something (already known)². When its contents are contradicted by other means of knowledge it acts as a so-called *gunavâda*, i. e. a statement of a quality³. Where, again, neither of the two mentioned conditions is found, a doubt may arise whether the arthavâda is to be taken as a *gunavâda* on account of the absence of other means of knowledge, or as an arthavâda referring to something known (i. e. an anuvâda) on account of the absence of contradiction by other means of proof. The latter alternative is, however, to be embraced by reflecting people. —The same reasoning applies to mantras also.

There is a further reason for assuming the personality of the gods. The Vedic injunctions, as enjoining sacrificial offerings to Indra and the other gods, presuppose certain characteristic shapes of the individual divinities, because

¹ As opposed to an action to be accomplished.

² Of this nature is, for instance, the arthavâda, 'Fire is a remedy for cold.'

³ Of this nature is, for instance, the passage 'the sacrificial post is the sun' (i. e. possesses the qualities of the sun, luminousness, &c.; a statement contradicted by perception).

without such the sacrificer could not represent Indra and the other gods to his mind. And if the divinity were not represented to the mind it would not be possible to make an offering to it. So Scripture also says, 'Of that divinity for which the offering is taken he is to think when about to say *vaushaṣ'* (Ai. Br. III, 8, 1). Nor is it possible to consider the essential form (or character) of a thing to consist in the word only¹; for word (denoting) and thing (denoted) are different. He therefore who admits the authoritativeness of the scriptural word has no right to deny that the shape of Indra, and the other gods, is such as we understand it to be from the mantras and arthavādas.—Moreover, itihāsas and purāṇas also—because based on mantra and arthavāda which possess authoritative power in the manner described—are capable of setting forth the personality, &c. of the devas. Itihāsa and purāṇa can, besides, be considered as based on perception also. For what is not accessible to our perception may have been within the sphere of perception of people in ancient times. Smṛiti also declares that Vyāsa and others conversed with the gods face to face. A person maintaining that the people of ancient times were no more able to converse with the gods than people are at present, would thereby deny the (incontestable) variety of the world. He might as well maintain that because there is at present no prince ruling over the whole earth, there were no such princes in former times; a position by which the scriptural injunction of the *rāgasūya-sacrifice*² would be stultified. Or he might maintain that in former times the spheres of duty of the different castes and āśramas were as generally unsettled as they are now, and, on that account, declare those parts of Scripture which define those different duties to be purposeless. It is therefore altogether unobjectionable to assume that the men of ancient times, in consequence of their eminent religious

¹ And therefore to suppose that a divinity is nothing but a certain word forming part of a mantra.

² The *rāgasūya-sacrifice* is to be offered by a prince who wishes to become the ruler of the whole earth.

merit, conversed with the gods face to face. *Smṛiti* also declares that 'from the reading of the Veda there results intercourse with the favourite divinity' (*Yoga Sūtra* II, 44). And that Yoga does, as *Smṛiti* declares, lead to the acquirement of extraordinary powers, such as subtlety of body, and so on, is a fact which cannot be set aside by a mere arbitrary denial. Scripture also proclaims the greatness of Yoga, 'When, as earth, water, light, heat, and ether arise, the fivefold quality of Yoga takes place, then there is no longer illness, old age, or pain for him who has obtained a body produced by the fire of Yoga' (*Svet. Up.* II, 12). Nor have we the right to measure by our capabilities the capability of the *rishis* who see the mantras and *brāhmaṇa* passages (i. e. the Veda).—From all this it appears that the *itihāsas* and *purāṇas* have an adequate basis.—And the conceptions of ordinary life also must not be declared to be unfounded, if it is at all possible to accept them.

The general result is that we have the right to conceive the gods as possessing personal existence, on the ground of mantras, *arthavādas*, *itihāsas*, *purāṇas*, and ordinarily prevailing ideas. And as the gods may thus be in the condition of having desires and so on, they must be considered as qualified for the knowledge of Brahman. Moreover, the declarations which Scripture makes concerning gradual emancipation¹ agree with this latter supposition only.

34. Grief of him (i. e. of *Gānasruti*) (arose) on account of his hearing a disrespectful speech about himself; on account of the rushing on of that (grief) (*Raikva* called him *Sūdra*); for it (the grief) is pointed at (by *Raikva*).

(In the preceding *adhikarāṇa*) the exclusiveness of the claim of men to knowledge has been refuted, and it has been declared that the gods, &c. also possess such a claim. The present *adhikarāṇa* is entered on for the purpose of removing the doubt whether, as the exclusiveness of the

¹ In one of whose stages the being desirous of final emancipation becomes a *deva*.

claim of twice-born men is capable of refutation, the Sûdras also possess such a claim.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that the Sûdras also have such a claim, because they may be in the position of desiring that knowledge, and because they are capable of it; and because there is no scriptural prohibition (excluding them from knowledge) analogous to the text, 'Therefore¹ the Sûdra is unfit for sacrificing' (Taitt. Samh. VII, 1, 1, 6). The reason, moreover, which disqualifies the Sûdras for sacrificial works, viz. their being without the sacred fires, does not invalidate their qualification for knowledge, as knowledge can be apprehended by those also who are without the fires. There is besides an inferential mark supporting the claim of the Sûdras; for in the so-called samvarga-knowledge he (Raikva) refers to Gânasruti Pautrâyana, who wishes to learn from him, by the name of Sûdra 'Fie, necklace and carriage be thine, O Sûdra, together with the cows' (Kṛ. Up. IV, 2, 3). Smṛiti moreover speaks of Vidûra and others who were born from Sûdra mothers as possessing eminent knowledge.—Hence the Sûdra has a claim to the knowledge of Brahman.

To this we reply that the Sûdras have no such claim, on account of their not studying the Veda. A person who has studied the Veda and understood its sense is indeed qualified for Vedic matters; but a Sûdra does not study the Veda, for such study demands as its antecedent the upanayana-ceremony, and that ceremony belongs to the three (higher) castes only. The mere circumstance of being in a condition of desire does not furnish a reason for qualification, if capability is absent. Mere temporal capability again does not constitute a reason for qualification, spiritual capability being required in spiritual matters. And spiritual capability is (in the case of the Sûdras) excluded by their being excluded from the study of the Veda.—The Vedic statement, moreover, that the Sûdra is unfit for sacrifices intimates, because

¹ The commentaries explain 'therefore' by 'on account of his being devoid of the three sacred fires.' This explanation does not, however, agree with the context of the Taitt. Samh.

founded on reasoning, that he is unfit for knowledge also ; for the argumentation is the same in both cases¹.—With reference to the pūrvapakshin's opinion that the fact of the word 'Sūdra' being enounced in the samvarga-knowledge constitutes an inferential mark (of the Sūdra's qualification for knowledge), we remark that that inferential mark has no force, on account of the absence of arguments. For the statement of an inferential mark possesses the power of intimation only in consequence of arguments being adduced ; but no such arguments are brought forward in the passage quoted². Besides, the word 'Sūdra' which occurs in the samvarga-vidyā would establish a claim on the part of the Sūdras to that one vidyā only, not to all vidyās. In reality, however, it is powerless, because occurring in an arthavāda, to establish the Sūdras' claim to anything.—The word 'Sūdra' can moreover be made to agree with the context in which it occurs in the following manner. When Gānasruti Pautrāyana heard himself spoken of with disrespect by the flamingo ('How can you speak of him, being what he is, as if he were like Raikva with the car?' IV, 1, 3), grief (*suk*) arose in his mind, and to that grief the *rishi* Raikva alludes with the word Sūdra, in order to show thereby his knowledge of what is remote. This explanation must be accepted because a (real) born Sūdra is not qualified (for the samvarga-vidyā). If it be asked how the grief (*suk*) which had arisen in Gānasruti's mind can be referred to by means of the word Sūdra, we reply: On account of the rushing on (*ādravana*) of the grief. For we may etymologise the word Sūdra by dividing it into its parts, either as 'he rushed into grief' (*Sukam abhidudrāva*) or as 'grief rushed on

¹ The Sūdra not having acquired a knowledge of Vedic matters in the legitimate way, i. e. through the study of the Veda under the guidance of a guru, is unfit for sacrifices as well as for vidyā.

² The līnga contained in the word 'Sūdra' has no proving power as it occurs in an arthavāda-passage which has no authority if not connected with a corresponding injunctive passage. In our case the līnga in the arthavāda-passage is even directly contradicted by those injunctions which militate against the Sūdras' qualification for Vedic matters.

him,' or as 'he in his grief rushed to Raikva;' while on the other hand it is impossible to accept the word in its ordinary conventional sense. The circumstance (of the king actually being grieved) is moreover expressly touched upon in the legend ¹.

35. And because the kshattriyahood (of *Gānasruti*) is understood from the inferential mark (supplied by his being mentioned) later on with *Kaitraratha* (who was a kshattriya himself).

Gānasruti cannot have been a *Sūdra* by birth for that reason also that his being a kshattriya is understood from an inferential sign, viz. his being mentioned together (in one chapter) with the kshattriya *Kaitraratha Abhipratârin*. For, later on, i. e. in the passage complementary to the *samvarga-vidyâ*, a kshattriya *Kaitrarathi Abhipratârin* is glorified, 'Once while *Saunaka Kâpeya* and *Abhipratârin Kâkshaseni* were being waited on at their meal a religious student begged of them' (*Kh. Up. IV, 3, 5*). That this *Abhipratârin* was a *Kaitrarathi* (i. e. a descendant of *Kaitraratha*) we have to infer from his connexion with a *Kâpeya*. For we know (from *Sruti*) about the connexion of *Kaitraratha* himself with the *Kâpeyas* ('the *Kâpeyas* made *Kaitraratha* perform that sacrifice; ' *Tândya Br. XX, 12, 5*), and as a rule sacrificers of one and the same family employ officiating priests of one and the same family. Moreover, as we understand from *Scripture* ('from him a *Kaitrarathi* descended who was a prince ²') that he (*Kaitraratha*) was a prince, we must

¹ *Hamsāvâkyâd âtmano-nâdaram srutvâ gānasruteh sug utpannety etad eva katham gamyate yenâsau sūdrasabdena sūkyate tatrâha sprîsyate keti. Ānanda Giri.*

² I translate this passage as I find it in all MSS. of *Saṅkara* consulted by me (noting, however, that some MSS. read *kaitrarathinâmaikaḥ*). *Ānanda Giri* expressly explains *tasmât by kaitrarathâd* *ity arthaḥ*.—The text of the *Tândya Br.* runs: *tasmât kaitrarathinâm ekaḥ kshatrapatir gâryate*, and the commentary explains: *tasmât kâranâd adyâpi kaitravamsotpannânâm madhye eka eva râgâ kshatra-*

understand him to have been a kshattriya. The fact now of *Gânasruti* being praised in the same *vidyâ* with the kshattriya *Abhipratârin* intimates that the former also was a kshattriya. For as a rule equals are mentioned together with equals. That *Gânasruti* was a kshattriya we moreover conclude from his sending his door-keeper and from other similar signs of power (mentioned in the text).—Hence the *Sûdras* are not qualified (for the knowledge of Brahman).

36. On account of the reference to ceremonial purifications (in the case of the higher castes) and on account of their absence being declared (in the case of the *Sûdras*).

That the *Sûdras* are not qualified, follows from that circumstance also that in different places of the *vidyâs* such ceremonies as the *upanayana* and the like are referred to. Compare, for instance, *Sat. Br. XI, 5, 3, 13*, 'He initiated him as a pupil;' *Kh. Up. VII, 1, 1*, 'Teach me, Sir! thus he approached him;' *Pra. Up. I, 1*, 'Devoted to Brahman, firm in Brahman, seeking for the highest Brahman they, carrying fuel in their hands, approached the venerable *Pippalâda*, thinking that he would teach them all that.'—Thus the following passage also, 'He without having made them undergo the *upanayana* (said) to them' (*Kh. Up. V, 11, 7*), shows that the *upanayana* is a well-established ceremony¹.—With reference to the *Sûdras*, on the other hand, the absence of ceremonies is frequently mentioned; so, for instance, *Manu X, 4*, where they are spoken of as 'once born' only ('the *Sûdra* is the fourth caste, once-born'), and *Manu X, 126*, 'In the *Sûdra* there is not any sin, and he is not fit for any ceremony.'

patir balâdhipatir bhavati.—Grammar does not authorise the form *kaitraratha* used in the *Sûtra*.

¹ The king *Asvapati* receives some *Brâhmanas* as his pupils without insisting on the *upanayana*. This express statement of the *upanayana* having been omitted in a certain case shows it to be the general rule.

37. And on account of (Gautama) proceeding (to initiate Gâbâla) on the ascertainment of (his) not being that (i. e. a Sûdra).

The Sûdras are not qualified for that reason also that Gautama, having ascertained Gâbâla not to be a Sûdra from his speaking the truth, proceeded to initiate and instruct him. 'None who is not a Brâhmaṇa would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth' (*Kh. Up. IV, 4, 5*); which scriptural passage furnishes an inferential sign (of the Sûdras not being capable of initiation).

38. And on account of the prohibition, in *Smṛiti*, of (the Sûdras') hearing and studying (the Veda) and (knowing and performing) (Vedic) matters.

The Sûdras are not qualified for that reason also that *Smṛiti* prohibits their hearing the Veda, their studying the Veda, and their understanding and performing Vedic matters. The prohibition of hearing the Veda is conveyed by the following passages: 'The ears of him who hears the Veda are to be filled with (molten) lead and lac,' and 'For a Sûdra is (like) a cemetery, therefore (the Veda) is not to be read in the vicinity of a Sûdra.' From this latter passage the prohibition of studying the Veda results at once; for how should he study Scripture in whose vicinity it is not even to be read? There is, moreover, an express prohibition (of the Sûdras studying the Veda). 'His tongue is to be slit if he pronounces it; his body is to be cut through if he preserves it.' The prohibitions of hearing and studying the Veda already imply the prohibition of the knowledge and performance of Vedic matters; there are, however, express prohibitions also, such as 'he is not to impart knowledge to the Sûdra,' and 'to the twice-born belong study, sacrifice, and the bestowal of gifts.'—From those Sûdras, however, who, like Vidura and 'the religious hunter,' acquire knowledge in consequence of the after effects of former deeds, the fruit of their knowledge cannot be with-

held, since knowledge in all cases brings about its fruit. *Smṛiti*, moreover, declares that all the four castes are qualified for acquiring the knowledge of the *itihāsas* and *purāṇas*; compare the passage, 'He is to teach the four castes' (*Mahābh.*).—It remains, however, a settled point that they do not possess any such qualification with regard to the *Veda*.

39. (The *prāṇa* is Brahman), on account of the trembling (predicated of the whole world).

The discussion of qualification for Brahma-knowledge—on which we entered as an opportunity offered—being finished we return to our chief topic, i. e. the enquiry into the purport of the *Vedānta*-texts.—We read (*Ka. Up. II, 6, 2*), 'Whatever there is, the whole world when gone forth trembles in the *prāṇa*. It (the *prāṇa*) is a great terror, a raised thunderbolt. Those who know it become immortal¹.'—This passage declares that this whole world trembles, abiding in *prāṇa*, and that there is raised something very terrible, called a thunderbolt, and that through its knowledge immortality is obtained. But as it is not immediately clear what the *prāṇa* is, and what that terrible thunderbolt, a discussion arises.

The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that, in accordance with the ordinary meaning of the term, *prāṇa* denotes the air with its five modifications, that the word 'thunderbolt' also is to be taken in its ordinary sense, and that thus the whole passage contains a glorification of air. For, he says, this whole world trembles, abiding within air with its five forms—which is here called *prāṇa*—and the terrible thunderbolts also spring from air (or wind) as their cause. For in the air, people say, when it manifests itself in the form of *Parganya*, lightning, thunder, rain, and thunderbolts manifest themselves.—Through the knowledge of that air immortality

¹ As the words stand in the original they might be translated as follows (and are so translated by the *pūrvapakshin*), 'Whatever there is, the whole world trembles in the *prāṇa*, there goes forth (from it) a great terror, viz. the raised thunderbolt.'

also can be obtained ; for another scriptural passage says, 'Air is everything by itself, and air is all things together. He who knows this conquers death.'—We therefore conclude that the same air is to be understood in the passage under discussion.

To this we make the following reply.—Brahman only can be meant, on account of what precedes as well as what follows. In the preceding as well as the subsequent part of the chapter Brahman only is spoken of ; how then can it be supposed that in the intermediate part all at once the air should be referred to ? The immediately preceding passage runs as follows, 'That only is called the Bright, that is called Brahman, that alone is called the Immortal. All worlds are contained in it, and no one goes beyond it.' That the Brahman there spoken of forms the topic of our passage also, we conclude, firstly, from proximity ; and, secondly, from the circumstance that in the clause, 'The whole world trembles in *prāṇa*,' we recognise a quality of Brahman, viz. its constituting the abode of the whole world. That the word *prāṇa* can denote the highest Self also, appears from such passages as 'the *prāṇa* of *prāṇa*' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 18*). Being the cause of trembling, moreover, is a quality which properly appertains to the highest Self only, not to mere air. Thus Scripture says, 'No mortal lives by the *prāṇa* and the breath that goes down. We live by another in whom these two repose' (*Ka. Up. II, 5, 5*). And also in the passage subsequent to the one under discussion, ('From terror of it fire burns, from terror the sun burns, from terror Indra and *Vāyu*, and Death as the fifth run away,') Brahman, and not the air, must be supposed to be spoken of, since the subject of that passage is represented as the cause of fear on the part of the whole world inclusive of the air itself. Thence we again conclude that the passage under discussion also refers to Brahman, firstly, on the ground of proximity ; and, secondly, because we recognise a quality of Brahman, viz. its being the cause of fear, in the words, 'A great terror, a raised thunderbolt.' The word 'thunderbolt' is here used to denote a cause of fear in general. Thus in ordinary life also a man strictly

carries out a king's command because he fearfully considers in his mind, 'A thunderbolt (i. e. the king's wrath, or threatened punishment) is hanging over my head; it might fall if I did not carry out his command.' In the same manner this whole world inclusive of fire, air, sun, and so on, regularly carries on its manifold functions from fear of Brahman; hence Brahman as inspiring fear is compared to a thunderbolt. Similarly, another scriptural passage, whose topic is Brahman, declares, 'From terror of it the wind blows, from terror the sun rises; from terror of it Agni and Indra, yea, Death runs as the fifth.'—That Brahman is what is referred to in our passage, further follows from the declaration that the fruit of its cognition is immortality. For that immortality is the fruit of the knowledge of Brahman is known, for instance, from the mantra, 'A man who knows him only passes over death, there is no other path to go' (Svet. Up. VI, 15).—That immortality which the *pûrva*-*pakshin* asserts to be sometimes represented as the fruit of the knowledge of the air is a merely relative one; for there (i. e. in the chapter from which the passage is quoted) at first the highest Self is spoken of, by means of a new topic being started (*Bri. Up.* III, 4), and thereupon the inferior nature of the air and so on is referred to. ('Everything else is evil.')—That in the passage under discussion the highest Self is meant appears finally from the general subject-matter; for the question (asked by *Naïketas* in I, 2, 14, 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that, as neither effect nor cause, as neither past nor future tell me that') refers to the highest Self.

40. The light (is Brahman), on account of that (Brahman) being seen (in the scriptural passage).

We read in Scripture, 'Thus does that serene being, arising from this body, appear in its own form as soon as it has approached the highest light' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 12, 3). Here the doubt arises whether the word 'light' denotes the (physical) light, which is the object of sight and dispels darkness, or the highest Brahman.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that the word 'light' denotes the well-known (physical) light, because that is the conventional sense of the word. For while it is to be admitted that in another passage, discussed under I, 1, 24, the word 'light' does, owing to the general topic of the chapter, divest itself of its ordinary meaning and denote Brahman, there is in our passage no similar reason for setting the ordinary meaning aside. Moreover, it is stated in the chapter treating of the nâdis of the body, that a man going to final release reaches the sun ('When he departs from this body then he departs upwards by those very rays;' *Kh. Up.* VIII, 6, 5). Hence we conclude that the word 'light' denotes, in our passage, the ordinary light.

To this we make the following reply.—The word 'light' can denote the highest Brahman only, on account of that being seen. We see that in the whole chapter Brahman is carried on as the topic of discussion. For the Self, which is free from sin, &c. is introduced as the general subject-matter in VIII, 7, 1 ('the Self which is free from sin'); it is thereupon set forth as that which is to be searched out and to be understood (VIII, 7, 1); it is carried on by means of the clauses, 'I shall explain that further to you' (VIII, 9, 3 ff.); after that freedom from body is said to belong to it, because it is one with light ('when he is free from the body then neither pleasure nor pain touches him,' VIII, 12, 1)—and freedom from body is not possible outside Brahman—and it is finally qualified as 'the highest light, the highest person' (VIII, 12, 3).—Against the statement, made by the pûrvapakshin, that Scripture speaks of a man going to release as reaching the sun, we remark that the release there referred to is not the ultimate one, since it is said to be connected with going and departing upwards. That the ultimate release has nothing to do with going and departing upwards we shall show later on.

41. The ether is (Brahman), as it is designated as something different, &c. (from name and form).

Scripture says, 'He who is called ether (ākāśa) is the revealer of all forms and names. That within which these

forms and names are contained is the Brahman, the Immortal, the Self' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 14, 1).

There arising a doubt whether that which here is called ether is the highest Brahman or the ordinary elemental ether, the pûrvapakshin declares that the latter alternative is to be embraced, firstly, because it is founded on the conventional meaning of the word 'ether;' and, secondly, because the circumstance of revealing names and forms can very well be reconciled with the elemental ether, as that which affords room (for all things). Moreover, the passage contains no clear indicatory mark of Brahman, such as creative power, and the like.

To this we reply, that the word 'ether' can here denote the highest Brahman only, because it is designated as a different thing, &c. For the clause, 'That within which these two are contained is Brahman,' designates the ether as something different from names and forms. But, excepting Brahman, there is nothing whatever different from name and form, since the entire world of effects is evolved exclusively by names and forms. Moreover, the complete revealing of names and forms cannot be accomplished by anything else but Brahman, according to the text which declares Brahman's creative agency, 'Let me enter (into those beings) with this living Self (*giva âtman*), and evolve names and forms' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 3, 2). But—it may be said—from this very passage it is apparent that the living Self also (i. e. the individual soul) possesses revealing power with regard to names and forms.—True, we reply, but what the passage really wishes to intimate, is the non-difference (of the individual soul from the highest Self). And the very statement concerning the revealing of names and forms implies the statement of signs indicatory of Brahman, viz. creative power and the like.—Moreover, the terms 'the Brahman, the Immortal, the Self' (VIII, 14) indicate that Brahman is spoken of.

42. And (on account of the designation) (of the highest Self) as different (from the individual soul) in the states of deep sleep and departing,

In the sixth prapātḥaka of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* there is given, in reply to the question, 'Who is that Self?' a lengthy exposition of the nature of the Self, 'He who is within the heart, among the prāṇas, the person of light, consisting of knowledge' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 7*). Here the doubt arises, whether the passage merely aims at making an additional statement about the nature of the transmigrating soul (known already from other sources), or at establishing the nature of the non-transmigrating Self.

The pūrvapakshin maintains that the passage is concerned with the nature of the transmigrating soul, on account of the introductory and concluding statements. For the introductory statement, 'He among the prāṇas who consists of knowledge,' contains marks indicatory of the embodied soul, and so likewise the concluding passage, 'And that great unborn Self is he who consists of cognition,' &c. (*IV, 4, 22*). We must therefore adhere to the same subject-matter in the intermediate passages also, and look on them as setting forth the same embodied Self, represented in its different states, viz. the waking state, and so on.

In reply to this, we maintain that the passage aims only at giving information about the highest Lord, not at making additional statements about the embodied soul.—Why?—On account of the highest Lord being designated as different from the embodied soul, in the states of deep sleep and of departing from the body. His difference from the embodied soul in the state of deep sleep is declared in the following passage, 'This person embraced by the intelligent (prāṇā) Self knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within.' Here the term, 'the person,' must mean the embodied soul; for of him it is possible to deny that he knows, because he, as being the knower, may know what is within and without. The 'intelligent Self,' on the other hand, is the highest Lord, because he is never dissociated from intelligence, i. e.—in his case—all-embracing knowledge.—Similarly, the passage treating of departure, i. e. death ('this bodily Self mounted by the intelligent Self moves along groaning'), refers to the highest Lord as different from the individual Self. There also we have to understand by the 'embodied one' the indi-

vidual soul which is the Lord of the body, while the 'intelligent one' is again the Lord. We thus understand that 'on account of his being designated as something different, in the states of deep sleep and departure,' the highest Lord forms the subject of the passage.—With reference to the pûrvapakshin's assertion that the entire chapter refers to the embodied Self, because indicatory marks of the latter are found in its beginning, middle, and end, we remark that in the first place the introductory passage ('He among the prâṇas who consists of cognition') does not aim at setting forth the character of the transmigrating Self, but rather, while merely referring to the nature of the transmigrating Self as something already known, aims at declaring its identity with the highest Brahman; for it is manifest that the immediately subsequent passage, 'as if thinking, as if moving¹,' aims at discarding the attributes of the transmigrating Self. The concluding passage again is analogous to the initial one; for the words, 'And that great unborn Self is he who,' &c., mean: We have shown that that same cognitional Self, which is observed among the prâṇas, is the great unborn Self, i. e. the highest Lord.—He, again, who imagines that the passages intervening (between the two quoted) aim at setting forth the nature of the transmigrating Self by representing it in the waking state, and so on, is like a man who setting out towards the east, wants to set out at the same time towards the west. For in representing the states of waking, and so on, the passage does not aim at describing the soul as subject to different states or transmigration, but rather as free from all particular conditions and transmigration. This is evident from the circumstance that on Ganaka's question, which is repeated in every section, 'Speak on for the sake of emancipation,' Yâgyñavalkya replies each time, 'By all that he is not affected, for that person is not attached to anything' (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 3, 14-16). And later on he says (IV, 3, 22), 'He is not followed by

¹ The stress lies here on the 'as if,' which intimate that the Self does not really think or move.

good, not followed by evil, for he has then overcome all the sorrows of the heart.' We have, therefore, to conclude that the chapter exclusively aims at setting forth the nature of the non-transmigrating Self.

43. And on account of such words as Lord, &c.

That the chapter aims at setting forth the nature of the non-transmigrating Self, we have to conclude from that circumstance also that there occur in it terms such as Lord and so on, intimating the nature of the non-transmigrating Self, and others excluding the nature of the transmigrating Self. To the first class belongs, for instance, 'He is the lord of all, the king of all things, the protector of all things.' To the latter class belongs the passage, 'He does not become greater by good works, nor smaller by evil works.'—From all which we conclude that the chapter refers to the non-transmigrating highest Lord.

FOURTH PÂDA.

REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. If it be said that some (mention) that which is based on inference (i. e. the *pradhâna*) ; we deny this, because (the term alluded to) refers to what is contained in the simile of the body (i. e. the body itself) ; and (that the text) shows.

In the preceding part of this work—as whose topic there has been set forth an enquiry into Brahman—we have at first defined Brahman (I, 1, 2) ; we have thereupon refuted the objection that that definition applies to the *pradhâna* also, by showing that there is no scriptural authority for the latter (I, 1, 5), and we have shown in detail that the common purport of all Vedânta-texts is to set forth the doctrine that Brahman, and not the *pradhâna*, is the cause of the world. Here, however, the Sâṅkhya again raises an objection which he considers not to have been finally disposed of.

It has not, he says, been satisfactorily proved that there is no scriptural authority for the *pradhâna* ; for some *sâkhâs* contain expressions which seem to convey the idea of the *pradhâna*. From this it follows that Kapila and other supreme *rishis* maintain the doctrine of the *pradhâna* being the general cause only because it is based on the Veda.—As long therefore as it has not been proved that those passages to which the Sâṅkhyas refer have a different meaning (i. e. do not allude to the *pradhâna*), all our previous argumentation as to the omniscient Brahman being the cause of the world must be considered as unsettled. We therefore now begin a new chapter which aims at proving that those passages actually have a different meaning.

The Sâṅkhyas maintain that that also which is based on inference, i. e. the *pradhâna*, is perceived in the text of some *sâkhâs*. We read, for instance, they say, in the *Kâtaka* (I, 3, 11), ‘Beyond the Great there is the Undeveloped,

beyond the Undeveloped there is the Person.' There we recognise, named by the same names and enumerated in the same order, the three entities with which we are acquainted from the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti, viz. the great principle, the Undeveloped (the pradhāna), and the soul¹. That by the Undeveloped is meant the pradhāna is to be concluded from the common use of Smṛiti and from the etymological interpretation of which the word admits, the pradhāna being called undeveloped because it is devoid of sound and other qualities. It cannot therefore be asserted that there is no scriptural authority for the pradhāna. And this pradhāna vouched for by Scripture we declare to be the cause of the world, on the ground of Scripture, Smṛiti, and ratiocination.

Your reasoning, we reply, is not valid. The passage from the Kāthaka quoted by you intimates by no means the existence of that great principle and that Undeveloped which are known from the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti. We do not recognise there the pradhāna of the Sāṅkhyas, i. e. an independent general cause consisting of three constituting elements; we merely recognise the word 'Undeveloped,' which does not denote any particular determined thing, but may—owing to its etymological meaning, 'that which is not developed, not manifest'—denote anything subtle and difficult to distinguish. The Sāṅkhyas indeed give to the word a settled meaning, as they apply it to the pradhāna; but then that meaning is valid for their system only, and has no force in the determination of the sense of the Veda. Nor does mere equality of position prove equality of being, unless the latter be recognised independently. None but a fool would think a cow to be a horse because he sees it tied in the usual place of a horse. We, moreover, conclude, on the strength of the general subject-matter, that the passage does not refer to the pradhāna the fiction of the Sāṅkhyas, 'on account of there being referred

¹ The Great one is the technical Sāṅkhya-term for buddhi, avyakta is a common designation of pradhāna or prakṛiti, and puruṣa is the technical name of the soul. Compare, for instance, Sāṅkhya Kār. 2, 3.

to that which is contained in the simile of the body.' This means that the body which is mentioned in the simile of the chariot is here referred to as the Undeveloped. We infer this from the general subject-matter of the passage and from the circumstance of nothing else remaining.—The immediately preceding part of the chapter exhibits the simile in which the Self, the body, and so on, are compared to the lord of a chariot, a chariot, &c., 'Know the Self to be the lord of the chariot, the body to be the chariot, the intellect the charioteer, and the mind the reins. The senses they call the horses, the objects of the senses their roads. When he (the Self) is in union with the body, the senses and the mind, then wise people call him the enjoyer.' The text then goes on to say that he whose senses, &c. are not well controlled enters into *samsâra*, while he who has them under control reaches the end of the journey, the highest place of Vishnu. The question then arises: What is the end of the journey, the highest place of Vishnu? Whereupon the text explains that the highest Self which is higher than the senses, &c., spoken of is the end of the journey, the highest place of Vishnu. 'Beyond the senses there are the objects, beyond the objects there is the mind, beyond the mind there is the intellect, the great Self is beyond the intellect. Beyond the great there is the Undeveloped, beyond the Undeveloped there is the Person. Beyond the Person there is nothing—this is the goal, the highest Road.' In this passage we recognise the senses, &c. which in the preceding simile had been compared to horses and so on, and we thus avoid the mistake of abandoning the matter in hand and taking up a new subject. The senses, the intellect, and the mind are referred to in both passages under the same names. The objects (in the second passage) are the objects which are (in the former passage) designated as the roads of the senses; that the objects are beyond (higher than) the senses is known from the scriptural passage representing the senses as *grahas*, i. e. graspers, and the objects as *atigrahas*, i. e. superior to the *grahas* (*Bri. Up.* III, 2). The mind (*manas*) again is superior to the objects, because the relation of the senses and their objects is based on the mind. The intellect

(buddhi) is higher than the mind, since the objects of enjoyment are conveyed to the soul by means of the intellect. Higher than the intellect is the great Self which was represented as the lord of the chariot in the passage, 'Know the Self to be the lord of the chariot.' That the same Self is referred to in both passages is manifest from the repeated use of the word 'Self;' that the Self is superior to intelligence is owing to the circumstance that the enjoyer is naturally superior to the instrument of enjoyment. The Self is appropriately called great as it is the master.—Or else the phrase 'the great Self' may here denote the intellect of the first-born *Hiranyagarbha* which is the basis of all intellects; in accordance with the following *Smṛiti*-passage 'it is called mind, the great one; reflection, Brahman; the stronghold, intellect; enunciation, the Lord; highest knowledge, consciousness; thought, remembrance¹,' and likewise with the following scriptural passage, 'He (*Hiranyagarbha*) who first creates Brahman and delivers the Vedas to him' (*Svet. Up. VI, 18*). The intellect, which in the former passage had been referred to under its common name *buddhi*, is here mentioned separately, since it may be represented as superior to our human intellects. On this latter explanation of the term 'the great Self,' we must assume that the personal Self which in the simile had been compared to the charioteer is, in the latter passage, included in the highest person (mentioned last); to which there is no objection, since in reality the personal Self and the highest Self are identical.—Thus there remains now the body only which had before been compared to a chariot. We therefore con-

¹ *Samkalpavikalparūpamananasaktyâ hairanyagarbhî buddhir manas tasyâh vyashîmanasûsu samashîitayâ vyâptim âha mahân iti. Samkalpâdisaktitayâ tarhi samdehâtmatvam tatrâha matir iti. Mahatvam upapâdayati brahmeti. Bhogyagâtâdhâratvam âha pûr iti. Niskayâtmakatvam âha buddhir iti. Kîrtisaktimattvam âha khyâtir iti. Niyamanasaktimattvam âha îsvara iti. Loke yat prakrîshîtam gñânam tato natîrekam âha pragñeti. Tatphalam api tato nârthântaravishayam ity âha samvid iti. Kîtpradhânatvam âha kîtir iti. Gñâtasarvârthânusamdhânasaktim âha smṛiis keti. Ânanda Giri.*

clude that the text after having enumerated the senses and all the other things mentioned before, in order to point out the highest place, points out by means of the one remaining word, viz. *avyakta*, the only thing remaining out of those which had been mentioned before, viz. the body. The entire passage aims at conveying the knowledge of the unity of the inward Self and Brahman, by describing the soul's passing through *samsâra* and release under the form of a simile in which the body, &c. of the soul—which is affected by Nescience and therefore joined to a body, senses, mind, intellect, objects, sensations, &c.—are compared to a chariot, and so on.—In accordance with this the subsequent verse states the difficulty of knowing the highest place of Vishnu ('the Self is hidden in all beings and does not shine forth, but it is seen by subtle seers through their sharp and subtle intellect'), and after that the next verse declares Yoga to be the means of attaining that cognition. 'A wise man should keep down speech in the mind, he should keep down the mind in intelligence, intelligence he should keep down within the great Self, and he should keep that within the quiet Self.'—That means: The wise man should restrain the activity of the outer organs such as speech, &c., and abide within the mind only; he should further restrain the mind which is intent on doubtful external objects within intelligence, whose characteristic mark is decision, recognising that indecision is evil; he should further restrain intelligence within the great Self, i. e. the individual soul or else the fundamental intellect; he should finally fix the great Self on the calm Self, i. e. the highest Self, the highest goal, of which the whole chapter treats.—If we in this manner review the general context, we perceive that there is no room for the *pradhâna* imagined by the Sâṅkhya.

2. But the subtle (body is meant by the term *avyakta*) on account of its capability (of being so designated).

It has been asserted, under the preceding Sûtra, that the term 'the Undeveloped' signifies, on account of the general

subject-matter and because the body only remains, the body and not the *pradhāna* of the *Sāṅkhyas*.—But here the following doubt arises: How can the word ‘undeveloped’ appropriately denote the body which, as a gross and clearly appearing thing, should rather be called *vyakta*, i. e. that which is developed or manifested?

To this doubt the *Sūtra* replies that what the term *avyakta* denotes is the subtle causal body. Anything subtle may be spoken of as Undeveloped. The gross body indeed cannot directly be termed ‘undeveloped,’ but the subtle parts of the elements from which the gross body originates may be called so, and that the term denoting the causal substance is applied to the effect also is a matter of common occurrence; compare, for instance, the phrase ‘mix the Soma with cows, i. e. milk’ (*R̥g-veda* S. IX, 46, 4). Another scriptural passage also—‘now all this was then undeveloped’ (*Bṛi. Up.* I, 4, 7)—shows that this, i. e. this developed world with its distinction of names and forms, is capable of being termed undeveloped in so far as in a former condition it was in a merely seminal or potential state, devoid of the later evolved distinctions of name and form.

3. (Such a previous seminal condition of the world may be admitted) on account of its dependency on him (the Lord); (for such an admission is) according to reason.

Here a new objection is raised.—If, the opponent says, in order to prove the possibility of the body being called undeveloped you admit that this world in its antecedent seminal condition before either names or forms are evolved can be called undeveloped, you virtually concede the doctrine that the *pradhāna* is the cause of the world. For we *Sāṅkhyas* understand by the term *pradhāna* nothing but that antecedent condition of the world.

Things lie differently, we rejoin. If we admitted some antecedent state of the world as the independent cause of the actual world, we should indeed implicitly admit the

pradhāna doctrine. What we admit is, however, only a previous state dependent on the highest Lord, not an independent state. A previous stage of the world such as the one assumed by us must necessarily be admitted, since it is according to sense and reason. For without it the highest Lord could not be conceived as creator, as he could not become active if he were destitute of the potentiality of action. The existence of such a causal potentiality renders it moreover possible that the released souls should not enter on new courses of existence, as it is destroyed by perfect knowledge. For that causal potentiality is of the nature of Nescience; it is rightly denoted by the term 'undeveloped'; it has the highest Lord for its substratum; it is of the nature of an illusion; it is a universal sleep in which are lying the transmigrating souls destitute for the time of the consciousness of their individual character¹. This undeveloped principle is sometimes denoted by the term *ākāśa*, ether; so, for instance, in the passage, 'In that Imperishable then, O Gārgi, the ether is woven like warp and woof' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 8, 11*). Sometimes, again, it is denoted by the term *akshara*, the Imperishable; so, for instance (*Mu. Up. II, 1, 2*), 'Higher, than the high Imperishable.' Sometimes it is spoken of as *Mâyā*, illusion; so, for instance (*Sve. Up. IV, 10*), 'Know then *Prakṛiti* is *Mâyā*, and the great Lord he who is affected with *Mâyā*.' For *Mâyā* is properly called undeveloped or non-manifested since it cannot be defined either as that which is or that which is not.—The statement of the *Kāṭhaka* that 'the Undeveloped is beyond the Great

¹ Nanu na *bīgasaktir vidyayā dahyate vastutvād ātmavan nety āha avidyeti. Kekit tu pratigīvam avidyasaktibhedam ikkhanti tan na avyaktāvyākṛitādisabdhāyās tasyā bhedakābhāvād ekatve - pi svasakti yā vikītrakāryakaratvād ity āha avyakteti. Na ka tasyā gīvāśrayatvam gīvasabdhavākyasya kalpitatvād avidyārūpatvāt takkha-bdalakshyasya brahmāvyatirekād ity āha paramesvareti. Mâyā-vidyayor bhedād īśvarasya mâyāśrayatvam gīvānām avidyāśrayateti vadantam pratyāha mâyāmayiti. Yathā mâyāvino mâyā paratantrā tathaishāpīty arthah. Pratītau tasyās ketanāpekshām āha mahāsuptir iti. Ānanda Giri.*

one' is based on the fact of the Great one originating from the Undeveloped, if the Great one be the intellect of Hiraṇyagarbha. If, on the other hand, we understand by the Great one the individual soul, the statement is founded on the fact of the existence of the individual soul depending on the Undeveloped, i. e. Nescience. For the continued existence of the individual soul as such is altogether owing to the relation in which it stands to Nescience. The quality of being beyond the Great one which in the first place belongs to the Undeveloped, i. e. Nescience, is attributed to the body which is the product of Nescience, the cause and the effect being considered as identical. Although the senses, &c. are no less products of Nescience, the term 'the Undeveloped' here refers to the body only, the senses, &c. having already been specially mentioned by their individual names, and the body alone being left.—Other interpreters of the two last Sūtras give a somewhat different explanation¹.—There are, they say, two kinds of body, the gross one and the subtle one. The gross body is the one which is perceived; the nature of the subtle one will be explained later on. (Ved. Sū. III, 1, 1.) Both these bodies together were in the simile compared to the chariot; but here (in the passage under discussion) only the subtle body is referred to as the Undeveloped, since the subtle body only is capable of being denoted by that term. And as the soul's passing through bondage and release depends on the subtle body, the latter is said to be beyond the soul, like the things (arthavat), i. e. just as the objects are said to be beyond the senses because the activity of the latter depends on the objects.—But how—we ask those interpreters—is it possible that the word 'Undeveloped' should refer to the subtle body only, while, according to your opinion, both bodies had in the simile been represented as a chariot, and so equally constitute part of the topic of the chapter, and equally remain (to be mentioned in the

¹ Sūtradvayasya vṛttikṛidvyākhyānam utthāpayati. Go. Ān. Ākāryadesīyamataṁ utthāpayati. Ān. Gi.

passage under discussion)?—If you should rejoin that you are authorised to settle the meaning of what the text actually mentions, but not to find fault with what is not mentioned, and that the word *avyakta* which occurs in the text can denote only the subtle body, but not the gross body which is *vyakta*, i. e. developed or manifest; we invalidate this rejoinder by remarking that the determination of the sense depends on the circumstance of the passages interpreted constituting a syntactical whole. For if the earlier and the later passage do not form a whole they convey no sense, since that involves the abandonment of the subject started and the taking up of a new subject. But syntactical unity cannot be established unless it be on the ground of there being a want of a complementary part of speech or sentence. If you therefore construe the connexion of the passages without having regard to the fact that the latter passage demands as its complement that both bodies (which had been spoken of in the former passage) should be understood as referred to, you destroy all syntactical unity and so incapacitate yourselves from arriving at the true meaning of the text. Nor must you think that the second passage occupies itself with the subtle body only, for that reason that the latter is not easily distinguished from the Self, while the gross body is easily so distinguished on account of its readily perceived loathsomeness. For the passage does not by any means refer to such a distinction—as we conclude from the circumstance of there being no verb enjoining it—but has for its only subject the highest place of *Vishṇu*, which had been mentioned immediately before. For after having enumerated a series of things in which the subsequent one is always superior to the one preceding it, it concludes by saying that nothing is beyond the Person.—We might, however, accept the interpretation just discussed without damaging our general argumentation; for whichever explanation we receive, so much remains clear that the *Kāṭhaka* passage does not refer to the *pradhāna*.

4. And (the *pradhāna* cannot be meant) because

there is no statement as to (the avyakta) being something to be cognised.

The Sāṅkhyas, moreover, represent the pradhāna as something to be cognised in so far as they say that from the knowledge of the difference of the constitutive elements of the pradhāna and of the soul there results the desired isolation of the soul. For without a knowledge of the nature of those constitutive elements it is impossible to cognise the difference of the soul from them. And somewhere they teach that the pradhāna is to be cognised by him who wishes to attain special powers.—Now in the passage under discussion the avyakta is not mentioned as an object of knowledge; we there meet with the mere word avyakta, and there is no sentence intimating that the avyakta is to be known or meditated upon. And it is impossible to maintain that a knowledge of things which (knowledge) is not taught in the text is of any advantage to man.—For this reason also we maintain that the word avyakta cannot denote the pradhāna.—Our interpretation, on the other hand, is unobjectionable, since according to it the passage mentions the body (not as an object of knowledge, but merely) for the purpose of throwing light on the highest place of Viṣṇu, in continuation of the simile in which the body had been compared to a chariot.

5. And if you maintain that the text does speak (of the pradhāna as an object of knowledge) we deny that; for the intelligent (highest) Self is meant, on account of the general subject-matter.

Here the Sāṅkhya raises a new objection, and maintains that the averment made in the last Sūtra is not proved, since the text later on speaks of the pradhāna—which had been referred to as the Undeveloped—as an object of knowledge. 'He who has perceived that which is without sound, without touch, without form, without decay, without taste, eternal, without smell, without beginning, without end, beyond the great and unchangeable, is freed from the jaws of death' (Ka. Up. II, 3, 15). For here the text speaks of the pradhāna,

which is beyond the great, describing it as possessing the same qualities which the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti ascribes to it, and designating it as the object of perception. Hence we conclude that the pradhâna is denoted by the term avyakta.

To this we reply that the passage last quoted does represent as the object of perception not the pradhâna but the intelligent, i.e. the highest Self. We conclude this from the general subject-matter. For that the highest Self continues to form the subject-matter is clear from the following reasons. In the first place, it is referred to in the passage, 'Beyond the person there is nothing, this is the goal, the highest Road;' it has further to be supplied as the object of knowledge in the passage, 'The Self is hidden in all beings and does not shine forth,' because it is there spoken of as difficult to know; after that the restraint of passion, &c. is enjoined as conducive to its cognition, in the passage, 'A wise man should keep down speech within the mind;' and, finally, release from the jaws of death is declared to be the fruit of its knowledge. The Sāṅkhyas, on the other hand, do not suppose that a man is freed from the jaws of death merely by perceiving the pradhâna, but connect that result rather with the cognition of the intelligent Self.—The highest Self is, moreover, spoken of in all Vedānta-texts as possessing just those qualities which are mentioned in the passage quoted above, viz. absence of sound, and the like. Hence it follows, that the pradhâna is in the text neither spoken of as the object of knowledge nor denoted by the term avyakta.

6. And there is question and explanation relative to three things only (not to the pradhâna).

To the same conclusion we are led by the consideration of the circumstance that the Kathavallī-upanishad brings forward, as subjects of discussion, only three things, viz. the fire sacrifice, the individual soul, and the highest Self. These three things only Yama explains, bestowing thereby the boons he had granted, and to them only the questions of Nakīketas refer. Nothing else is mentioned or enquired

about. The question relative to the fire sacrifice is contained in the passage (Ka. Up. I, 1, 13), 'Thou knowest, O Death, the fire sacrifice which leads us to Heaven; tell it to me, who am full of faith.' The question as to the individual soul is contained in I, 1, 20, 'There is that doubt when a man is dead, some saying, he is; others, he is not. This I should like to know, taught by thee; this is the third of my boons.' And the question about the highest Self is asked in the passage (I, 2, 14), 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that, as neither effect nor cause, as neither past nor future, tell me that.'—The corresponding answers are given in I, 1, 15, 'Yama then told him that fire sacrifice, the beginning of all the worlds, and what bricks are required for the altar, and how many;' in the passage met with considerably later on (II, 5, 6; 7), 'Well then, O Gautama, I shall tell thee this mystery, the old Brahman and what happens to the Self after reaching death. Some enter the womb in order to have a body as organic beings, others go into inorganic matter according to their work and according to their knowledge;' and in the passage (I, 2, 18), 'The knowing Self is not born nor does it die,' &c.; which latter passage dilates at length on the highest Self. But there is no question relative to the pradhāna, and hence no opportunity for any remarks on it.

Here the Sāṅkhya advances a new objection. Is, he asks, the question relative to the Self which is asked in the passage, 'There is that doubt when a man is dead,' &c., again resumed in the passage, 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that,' &c., or does the latter passage raise a distinct new question? If the former, the two questions about the Self coalesce into one, and there are therefore altogether two questions only, one relative to the fire sacrifice, the other relative to the Self. In that case the Sūtra has no right to speak of questions and explanations relating to three subjects.—If the latter, you do not consider it a mistake to assume a question in excess of the number of boons granted, and can therefore not object to us if we assume an explanation about the pradhāna in excess of the number of questions asked.

To this we make the following reply.—We by no means assume a question in excess of the number of boons granted, being prevented from doing so by the influence of the opening part of that syntactical whole which constitutes the *Kāṭhāvalli-upanishad*. The *Upanishad* starts with the topic of the boons granted by Yama, and all the following part of the *Upanishad*—which is thrown into the form of a colloquy of Yama and *Naṣiketas*—carries on that topic up to the very end. Yama grants to *Naṣiketas*, who had been sent by his father, three boons. For his first boon *Naṣiketas* chooses kindness on the part of his father towards him, for his second boon the knowledge of the fire sacrifice, for his third boon the knowledge of the Self. That the knowledge of the Self is the third boon appears from the indication contained in the passage (I, 1, 20), ‘There is that doubt—; this is the third of my boons.’—If we therefore supposed that the passage, ‘That which thou seest as neither this nor that,’ &c., raises a new question, we should thereby assume a question in excess of the number of boons granted, and thus destroy the connexion of the entire *Upanishad*.—But—the *Sāṅkhya* will perhaps interpose—it must needs be admitted that the passage last quoted does raise a new question, because the subject enquired about is a new one. For the former question refers to the individual soul, as we conclude from the doubt expressed in the words, ‘There is that doubt when a man is dead—some saying, he is; others, he is not.’ Now this individual soul, as having definite attributes, &c., cannot constitute the object of a question expressed in such terms as, ‘This which thou seest as neither this nor that,’ &c.; the highest Self, on the other hand, may be enquired about in such terms, since it is above all attributes. The appearance of the two questions is, moreover, seen to differ; for the former question refers to existence and non-existence, while the latter is concerned with an entity raised above all definite attributes, &c. Hence we conclude that the latter question, in which the former one cannot be recognised, is a separate question, and does not merely resume the subject of the former one.—All this argumentation is not valid, we reply, since we maintain the unity of the highest Self and the

individual Self. If the individual Self were different from the highest Self, we should have to declare that the two questions are separate independent questions, but the two are not really different, as we know from other scriptural passages, such as 'Thou art that.' And in the Upanishad under discussion also the answer to the question, 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that,' viz. the passage, 'The knowing Self is not born, it dies not'—which answer is given in the form of a denial of the birth and death of the Self—clearly shows that the embodied Self and the highest Self are non-different. For there is room for a denial of something only when that something is possible, and the possibility of birth and death exists in the embodied Self only, since it is connected with the body, but not in the highest Self.—There is, moreover, another passage conveying the same meaning, viz. II, 4, 4, 'The wise when he knows that that by which he perceives all objects in sleep or in waking, is the great omnipresent Self, grieves no more.' This passage makes the cessation of all grief dependent on the knowledge of the individual Self, in so far as it possesses the qualities of greatness and omnipresence, and thereby declares that the individual Self is not different from the highest Self. For that the cessation of all sorrow is consequent on the knowledge of the highest Self, is a recognised Vedānta tenet.—There is another passage also warning men not to look on the individual Self and the highest Self as different entities, viz. II, 4, 10, 'What is here the same is there; and what is there the same is here. He who sees any difference here goes from death to death.'—The following circumstance, too, is worthy of consideration. When Nakiketas has asked the question relating to the existence or non-existence of the soul after death, Yama tries to induce him to choose another boon, tempting him with the offer of various objects of desire. But Nakiketas remains firm. Thereupon Death, dwelling on the distinction of the Good and the Pleasant, and the distinction of wisdom and ignorance, praises Nakiketas, 'I believe Nakiketas to be one who desires knowledge, for even many pleasures did not tear thee away' (I, 2, 4); and later on praises the question

asked by Naḥiketas, 'The wise who, by means of meditation on his Self, recognises the Ancient who is difficult to be seen, who has entered into the dark, who is hidden in the cave, who dwells in the abyss, as God, he indeed leaves joy and sorrow far behind' (I, 2, 12). Now all this means to intimate that the individual Self and the highest Self are non-different. For if Naḥiketas set aside the question, by asking which he had earned for himself the praise of Yama, and after having received that praise asked a new question, all that praise would have been bestowed on him unduly. Hence it follows that the question implied in I, 2, 14, 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that,' merely resumes the topic to which the question in I, 1, 20 had referred.—Nor is there any basis to the objection that the two questions differ in form. The second question, in reality, is concerned with the same distinction as the first. The first enquires about the existence of the soul apart from the body, &c.; the second refers to the circumstance of that soul not being subject to *samsāra*. For as long as Nescience remains, so long the soul is affected with definite attributes, &c.; but as soon as Nescience comes to an end, the soul is one with the highest Self, as is taught by such scriptural texts as 'Thou art that.' But whether Nescience be active or inactive, no difference is made thereby in the thing itself (viz. the soul). A man may, in the dark, mistake a piece of rope lying on the ground for a snake, and run away from it, frightened and trembling; thereon another man may tell him, 'Do not be afraid, it is only a rope, not a snake;' and he may then dismiss the fear caused by the imagined snake, and stop running. But all the while the presence and subsequent absence of his erroneous notion, as to the rope being a snake, make no difference whatever in the rope itself. Exactly analogous is the case of the individual soul which is in reality one with the highest soul, although Nescience makes it appear different. Hence the reply contained in the passage, 'It is not born, it dies not,' is also to be considered as furnishing an answer to the question asked in I, 1, 20.—The Sūtra is to be understood with reference to the distinction of the individual Self and the highest Self which

results from Nescience. Although the question relating to the Self is in reality one only, yet its former part (I, 1, 20) is seen specially to refer to the individual Self, since there a doubt is set forth as to the existence of the soul when, at the time of death, it frees itself from the body, and since the specific marks of the *samsāra*-state, such as activity, &c. are not denied; while the latter part of the question (I, 2, 14), where the state of being beyond all attributes is spoken of, clearly refers to the highest Self.—For these reasons the Sūtra is right in assuming three topics of question and explanation, viz. the fire sacrifice, the individual soul, and the highest Self. Those, on the other hand, who assume that the *pradhāna* constitutes a fourth subject discussed in the Upanishad, can point neither to a boon connected with it, nor to a question, nor to an answer. Hence the *pradhāna* hypothesis is clearly inferior to our own.

7. And (the case of the term *avyakta*) is like that of the term *mahat*.

While the Sāṅkhyas employ the term 'the Great one,' to denote the first-born entity, which is mere existence¹ (? viz. the intellect), the term has a different meaning in Vedic use. This we see from its being connected with the Self, &c. in such passages as the following, 'The great Self is beyond the Intellect' (Ka. Up. I, 3, 10); 'The great omnipresent Self' (Ka. Up. I, 2, 22); 'I know that great person' (Sve. Up. III, 8). We thence conclude that the word *avyakta* also, where it occurs in the Veda, cannot denote the *pradhāna*.—The *pradhāna* is therefore a mere thing of inference, and not vouched for by Scripture.

8. (It cannot be maintained that *agā* means the

¹ The commentators give different explanations of the *Sattāmātra* of the text.—*Sattāmātre sattvapradhānaprakṛiteṛ ādya-pariṇāme*. Go. Ān.—*Bhogāpavargapurushārthasya mahāḥḥabditabuddhikāryatvāt purushāpekshitaphalakāraṇam sad ukyate tatra bhāvapratyayo 'pi svarūpārtho na sāmānyavāḥi kāryānumeyam mahan na pratyaksham iti mātrasabdaḥ*. Ānanda Giri.

pradhâna) because no special characteristic is stated ; as in the case of the cup.

Here the advocate of the pradhâna comes again forward and maintains that the absence of scriptural authority for the pradhâna is not yet proved. For, he says, we have the following mantra (Sve. Up. IV, 5), 'There is one agâ¹, red, white, and black, producing manifold offspring of the same nature. There is one aga who loves her and lies by her ; there is another who leaves her after having enjoyed her.'—In this mantra the words 'red,' 'white,' and 'black' denote the three constituent elements of the pradhâna. Passion is called red on account of its colouring, i. e. influencing property ; Goodness is called white, because it is of the nature of Light ; Darkness is called black on account of its covering and obscuring property. The state of equipoise of the three constituent elements, i. e. the pradhâna, is denoted by the attributes of its parts, and is therefore called red—white—black. It is further called agâ, i. e. unborn, because it is acknowledged to be the fundamental matter out of which everything springs, not a mere effect.—But has not the word agâ the settled meaning of she-goat ?—True ; but the ordinary meaning of the word cannot be accepted in this place, because true knowledge forms the general subject-matter.—That pradhâna produces many creatures participating in its three constituent elements. One unborn being loves her and lies by her, i. e. some souls, deluded by ignorance, approach her, and falsely imagining that they experience pleasure or pain, or are in a state of dulness, pass through the course of transmigratory existence. Other souls, again, which have attained to discriminative knowledge, lose their attachment to prakṛiti, and leave her after having enjoyed her, i. e. after she has afforded to them enjoyment and release.—On the ground of this passage, as interpreted above, the

¹ As the meaning of the word agâ is going to be discussed, and as the author of the Sûtras and Saṅkara seem to disagree as to its meaning (see later on), I prefer to leave the word untranslated in this place.—Saṅkara reads—and explains,—in the mantra, sarûpâḥ (not sarûpâm) and bhuktabhogâm, not bhuktabhogyâm.

followers of Kapila claim the authority of Scripture for their pradhāna hypothesis.

To this argumentation we reply, that the quoted mantra by no means proves the Sāṅkhya doctrine to be based on Scripture. That mantra, taken by itself, is not able to give additional strength to any doctrine. For, by means of some supposition or other, the terms *agā*, &c. can be reconciled with any doctrine, and there is no reason for the special assertion that the Sāṅkhya doctrine only is meant. The case is analogous to that of the cup mentioned in the mantra, 'There is a cup having its mouth below and its bottom above' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 2, 3*). Just as it is impossible to decide on the ground of this mantra taken by itself what special cup is meant—it being possible to ascribe, somehow or other, the quality of the mouth being turned downward to any cup—; so here also there is no special quality stated, so that it is not possible to decide from the mantra itself whether the pradhāna is meant by the term *agā*, or something else.—But in connexion with the mantra about the cup we have a supplementary passage from which we learn what kind of cup is meant, 'What is called the cup having its mouth below and its bottom above is this head.'—Whence, however, can we learn what special being is meant by the *agā* of the *Svetāśvatara-upanishad*?—To this question the next *Sūtra* replies.

9. But the (elements) beginning with light (are meant by the term *agā*); for some read so in their text.

By the term *agā* we have to understand the causal matter of the four classes of beings, which matter has sprung from the highest Lord and begins with light, i. e. comprises fire, water, and earth.—The word 'but' (in the *Sūtra*) gives emphasis to the assertion.—This *agā* is to be considered as comprising three elementary substances, not as consisting of three *guṇas* in the Sāṅkhya sense. We draw this conclusion from the fact that one *sākhā*, after having related how fire, water, and earth sprang from the highest Lord, assigns to them red colour, and so on. 'The red colour of burning fire

(agni) is the colour of the elementary fire (tegas), its white colour is the colour of water, its black colour the colour of earth,' &c. Now those three elements—fire, water, and earth—we recognise in the Svetâsvatara passage, as the words red, white, and black are common to both passages, and as these words primarily denote special colours and can be applied to the Sâṅkhya guṇas in a secondary sense only. That passages whose sense is beyond doubt are to be used for the interpretation of doubtful passages, is a generally acknowledged rule. As we therefore find that in the Svetâsvatara—after the general topic has been started in I, 1, 'The Brahman-students say, Is Brahman the cause?'—the text, previous to the passage under discussion, speaks of a power of the highest Lord which arranges the whole world ('the Sages devoted to meditation and concentration have seen the power belonging to God himself, hidden in its own qualities'); and as further that same power is referred to in two subsequent complementary passages ('Know then, Prakṛiti is Mâyâ, and the great Lord he who is affected with Mâyâ;' 'who being one only rules over every germ;' IV, 10, 11); it cannot possibly be asserted that the mantra treating of the agâ refers to some independent causal matter called pradhâna. We rather assert, on the ground of the general subject-matter, that the mantra describes the same divine power referred to in the other passages, in which names and forms lie unevolved, and which we assume as the antecedent condition of that state of the world in which names and forms are evolved. And that divine power is represented as three-coloured, because its products, viz. fire, water, and earth, have three distinct colours.—But how can we maintain, on the ground of fire, water, and earth having three colours, that the causal matter is appropriately called a three-coloured agâ? if we consider, on the one hand, that the exterior form of the genus agâ (i. e. goat) does not inhere in fire, water, and earth; and, on the other hand, that Scripture teaches fire, water, and earth to have been produced, so that the word agâ cannot be taken in the sense 'non-produced'.¹—To this question the next Sûtra replies.

¹ Here there seems to be a certain discrepancy between the

10. And on account of the statement of the assumption (of a metaphor) there is nothing contrary to reason (in *agâ* denoting the causal matter); just as in the case of honey (denoting the sun) and similar cases.

The word *agâ* neither expresses that fire, water, and earth belong to the goat species, nor is it to be explained as meaning 'unborn;' it rather expresses an assumption, i. e. it intimates the assumption of the source of all beings (which source comprises fire, water, and earth), being compared to a she-goat. For as accidentally some she-goat might be partly red, partly white, partly black, and might have many young goats resembling her in colour, and as some he-goat might love her and lie by her, while some other he-goat might leave her after having enjoyed her; so the universal causal matter which is tri-coloured, because comprising fire, water, and earth, produces many inanimate and animate beings similar to itself, and is enjoyed by the souls fettered by Nescience, while it is abandoned by those souls which have attained true knowledge.—Nor must we imagine that the distinction of individual souls, which is implied in the preceding explanation, involves that reality of the multiplicity of souls which forms one of the tenets of other philosophical schools. For the purport of the passage is to intimate, not the multiplicity of souls, but the distinction of

views of the Sūtra writer and Saṅkara. Govindānanda notes that according to the Bhāṣyakṛit *agâ* means simply *mâyâ*—which interpretation is based on *prakaraṇa*—while, according to the Sūtra-kṛit, who explains *agâ* on the ground of the *Khândogya*-passage treating of the three primary elements, *agâ* denotes the aggregate of those three elements constituting an *avāntaraprakṛiti*.—On Saṅkara's explanation the term *agâ* presents no difficulties, for *mâyâ* is *agâ*, i. e. unborn, not produced. On the explanation of the Sūtra writer, however, *agâ* cannot mean unborn, since the three primary elements are products. Hence we are thrown back on the *rûdhi* signification of *agâ*, according to which it means she-goat. But how can the *avāntara-prakṛiti* be called a she-goat? To this question the next Sūtra replies.

the states of bondage and release. This latter distinction is explained with reference to the multiplicity of souls as ordinarily conceived; that multiplicity, however, depends altogether on limiting adjuncts, and is the unreal product of wrong knowledge merely; as we know from scriptural passages such as, 'He is the one God hidden in all beings, all-pervading, the Self in all beings,' &c.—The words 'like the honey' (in the Sûtra) mean that just as the sun, although not being honey, is represented as honey (*Kh. Up. III, 1*), and speech as a cow (*Bri. Up. V, 8*), and the heavenly world, &c. as the fires (*Bri. Up. VI, 2, 9*), so here the causal matter, although not being a she-goat, is metaphorically represented as one. There is therefore nothing contrary to reason in the circumstance of the term *agâ* being used to denote the aggregate of fire, water, and earth.

11. (The assertion that there is scriptural authority for the *pradhâna*, &c. can) also not (be based) on the mention of the number (of the Sâṅkhya categories), on account of the diversity (of the categories) and on account of the excess (over the number of those categories).

The attempt to base the Sâṅkhya doctrine on the mantra speaking of the *agâ* having failed, the Sâṅkhya again comes forward and points to another mantra: 'He in whom the five "five-people" and the ether rest, him alone I believe to be the Self; I who know believe him to be Brahman' (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 17*). In this mantra we have one word which expresses the number five, viz. the five-people, and then another word, viz. five, which qualifies the former; these two words together therefore convey the idea of five pentads, i.e. twenty-five. Now as many beings as the number twenty-five presupposes, just so many categories the Sâṅkhya system counts. Cp. Sâṅkhya Kârikâ, 3: 'The fundamental causal substance (i.e. the *pradhâna*) is not an effect. Seven (substances), viz. the Great one (Intellect), and so on, are causal substances as well as effects. Sixteen are effects. The soul is neither a causal substance nor an effect.'

As therefore the number twenty-five, which occurs in the scriptural passage quoted, clearly refers to the twenty-five categories taught in the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti, it follows that the doctrine of the pradhāna, &c. rests on a scriptural basis.

To this reasoning we make the following reply.—It is impossible to base the assertion that the pradhāna, &c. have Scripture in their favour on the reference to their number which you pretend to find in the text, ‘on account of the diversity of the Sāṅkhya categories.’ The Sāṅkhya categories have each their individual difference, and there are no attributes belonging in common to each pentad on account of which the number twenty-five could be divided into five times five. For a number of individually separate things can, in general, not be combined into smaller groups of two or three, &c. unless there be a special reason for such combination.—Here the Sāṅkhya will perhaps rejoin that the expression five (times) five is used only to denote the number twenty-five which has five pentads for its constituent parts; just as the poem says, ‘five years and seven Indra did not rain,’ meaning only that there was no rain for twelve years.—But this explanation also is not tenable. In the first place, it is liable to the objection that it has recourse to indirect indication¹.—In the second place, the second ‘five’ constitutes a compound with the word ‘people,’ the Brāhmaṇa-accent showing that the two form one word only². To the same conclusion we are led by another passage also (Taitt. Samh. I, 6, 2, 2, *pañkānām tvā pañkaganānām*, &c.) where the two terms constitute one word, have one accent and one case-

¹ Indication (lakṣhaṇā, which consists in this case in five times five being used instead of twenty-five) is considered as an objectionable mode of expression, and therefore to be assumed in interpretation only where a term can in no way be shown to have a direct meaning.

² That *pañkaganāh* is only one word appears from its having only one accent, viz. the udātta on the last syllable, which udātta becomes anudātta according to the rules laid down in the Bhāṣika Sūtra for the accentuation of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa.

termination. The word thus being a compound there is neither a repetition of the word 'five,' involving two pentads, nor does the one five qualify the other, as the mere secondary member of a compound cannot be qualified by another word.—But as the people are already denoted to be five by the compound 'five-people,' the effect of the other 'five' qualifying the compound will be that we understand twenty-five people to be meant; just as the expression 'five five-bundles' (*pañka pañkapûlyak*) conveys the idea of twenty-five bundles.—The instance is not an analogous one, we reply. The word '*pañkapûli*' denotes a unity (i.e. one bundle made up of five bundles), and hence when the question arises, 'How many such bundles are there?' it can be qualified by the word 'five,' indicating that there are five such bundles. The word *pañkaganâh*, on the other hand, conveys at once the idea of distinction (i.e. of five distinct things), so that there is no room at all for a further desire to know how many people there are, and hence no room for a further qualification. And if the word 'five' be taken as a qualifying word it can only qualify the numeral five (in five-people); the objection against which assumption has already been stated.—For all these reasons the expression the five five-people cannot denote the twenty-five categories of the Sāṅkhyas.—This is further not possible 'on account of the excess.' For on the Sāṅkhyā interpretation there would be an excess over the number twenty-five, owing to the circumstance of the ether and the Self being mentioned separately. The Self is spoken of as the abode in which the five five-people rest, the clause 'Him I believe to be the Self' being connected with the 'in whom' of the antecedent clause. Now the Self is the intelligent soul of the Sāṅkhyas which is already included in the twenty-five categories, and which therefore, on their interpretation of the passage, would here be mentioned once as constituting the abode and once as what rests in the abode! If, on the other hand, the soul were supposed not to be comprised in the twenty-five categories, the Sāṅkhyā would thereby abandon his own doctrine of the categories being twenty-five. The same

remarks apply to the separate mention made of the ether. —How, finally, can the mere circumstance of a certain number being referred to in the sacred text justify the assumption that what is meant are the twenty-five Sāṅkhya categories of which Scripture speaks in no other place? especially if we consider that the word *gana* has not the settled meaning of category, and that the number may be satisfactorily accounted for on another interpretation of the passage.

How, then, the Sāṅkhya will ask, do you interpret the phrase ‘the five five-people?’—On the ground, we reply, of the rule Pāṇini II, 1, 50, according to which certain compounds formed with numerals are mere names. The word *pañcakaganâḥ* thus is not meant to convey the idea of the number five, but merely to denote certain classes of beings. Hence the question may present itself, How many such classes are there? and to this question an answer is given by the added numeral ‘five.’ There are certain classes of beings called five-people, and these classes are five. Analogously we may speak of the seven seven-*rishis*, where again the compound denotes a class of beings merely, not their number.—Who then are those five-people?—To this question the next Sūtra replies.

12. (The *pañcakaganâḥ* are) the breath and so on, (as is seen) from the complementary passage.

The mantra in which the *pañcakaganâḥ* are mentioned is followed by another one in which breath and four other things are mentioned for the purpose of describing the nature of Brahman. ‘They who know the breath of breath, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear, the food of food, the mind of mind¹.’ Hence we conclude, on the ground of proximity, that the five-people are the beings mentioned in this latter mantra.—But how, the Sāṅkhya asks, can the word ‘people’ be applied to the breath, the eye, the ear, and so on?—How, we ask in return, can it be

¹ So in the Mādhyandina recension of the Upanishad; the Kāṇva recension has not the clause ‘the food of food.’

applied to your categories? In both cases the common meaning of the word 'people' has to be disregarded; but in favour of our explanation is the fact that the breath, the eye, and so on, are mentioned in a complementary passage. The breath, the eye, &c. may be denoted by the word 'people' because they are connected with people. Moreover, we find the word 'person,' which means as much as 'people,' applied to the *prânas* in the passage, 'These are the five persons of Brahman' (*Kh. Up. III, 13, 6*); and another passage runs, 'Breath is father, breath is mother,' &c. (*Kh. Up. VII, 15, 1*). And, owing to the force of composition, there is no objection to the compound being taken in its settled conventional meaning¹.—But how can the conventional meaning be had recourse to, if there is no previous use of the word in that meaning?—That may be done, we reply, just as in the case of *udbhid* and similar words². We often infer that a word of unknown meaning refers to some known thing because it is used in connexion with the latter. So, for instance, in the case of the following words: 'He is to sacrifice with the *udbhid*; he cuts the *yûpa*; he makes the *vedi*.' Analogously we conclude that the term *pañkaganâh*, which, from the grammatical rule quoted, is known to be a name, and which therefore demands a thing of which it is the name, denotes the breath, the eye, and so on, which are connected with it through their being mentioned in a complementary passage.—Some commentators explain the word *pañka-*

¹ This in answer to the Sâṅkhya who objects to *gana* when applied to the *prâna*, &c. being interpreted with the help of *lakṣhanâ*; while if referred to the *pradhâna*, &c. it may be explained to have a direct meaning, on the ground of *yaugika* interpretation (the *pradhâna* being *gana* because it produces, the *mahat* &c. being *gana* because they are produced). The Vedântin points out that the compound *pañkaganâh* has its own *rûdhi*-meaning, just as *asvakarṇa*, literally horse-ear, which conventionally denotes a certain plant.

² We infer that *udbhid* is the name of a sacrifice because it is mentioned in connexion with the act of sacrificing; we infer that the *yûpa* is a wooden post because it is said to be cut, and so on.

ganâ/ to mean the Gods, the Fathers, the Gandharvas, the Asuras, and the Rakshas. Others, again, think that the four castes together with the Nishâdas are meant. Again, some scriptural passage (*Rig-veda Samh.* VIII, 53, 7) speaks of the tribe of 'the five-people,' meaning thereby the created beings in general; and this latter explanation also might be applied to the passage under discussion. The teacher (the Sûtrakâra), on the other hand, aiming at showing that the passage does not refer to the twenty-five categories of the Sâṅkhyas, declares that on the ground of the complementary passage breath, &c. have to be understood.

Well, let it then be granted that the five-people mentioned in the Mādhyandina-text are breath, &c. since that text mentions food also (and so makes up the number five). But how shall we interpret the Kânva-text which does not mention food (and thus altogether speaks of four things only)?—To this question the next Sûtra replies.

13. In the case of (the text of) some (the Kânvas) where food is not mentioned, (the number five is made full) by the light (mentioned in the preceding mantra).

The Kânva-text, although not mentioning food, makes up the full number five, by the light mentioned in the mantra preceding that in which the five-people are spoken of. That mantra describes the nature of Brahman by saying, 'Him the gods worship as the light of lights.'—If it be asked how it is accounted for that the light mentioned in both texts equally is in one text to be employed for the explanation of the five-people, and not in the other text; we reply that the reason lies in the difference of the requirements. As the Mādhyandinas meet in one and the same mantra with breath and four other entities enabling them to interpret the term, 'the five-people,' they are in no need of the light mentioned in another mantra. The Kânvas, on the other hand, cannot do without the light. The case is analogous to that of the Shodasin-cup, which, according to different

passages, is either to be offered or not to be offered at the atirātra-sacrifice.

We have proved herewith that Scripture offers no basis for the doctrine of the pradhāna. That this doctrine cannot be proved either by *Smṛiti* or by ratiocination will be shown later on.

14. (Although there is a conflict of the Vedānta-passages with regard to the things created, such as ether and so on; (there is no such conflict with regard to the Lord) on account of his being represented (in one passage) as described (in other passages), viz. as the cause (of the world).

In the preceding part of the work the right definition of Brahman has been established; it has been shown that all the Vedānta-texts have Brahman for their common topic; and it has been proved that there is no scriptural authority for the doctrine of the pradhāna.—But now a new objection presents itself.

It is not possible—our opponent says—to prove either that Brahman is the cause of the origin, &c. of the world, or that all Vedānta-texts refer to Brahman; because we observe that the Vedānta-texts contradict one another. All the Vedānta-passages which treat of the creation enumerate its successive steps in different order, and so in reality speak of different creations. In one place it is said that from the Self there sprang the ether (*Taitt. Up. II, 1*); in another place that the creation began with fire (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 3*); in another place, again, that the Person created breath and from breath faith (*Pr. Up. VI, 4*); in another place, again, that the Self created these worlds, the water (above the heaven), light, the mortal (earth), and the water (below the earth) (*Ait. Ār. II, 4, 1, 2; 3*). There no order is stated at all. Somewhere else it is said that the creation originated from the Non-existent. 'In the beginning this was non-existent; from it was born what exists' (*Taitt. Up. II, 7*); and, 'In the beginning this was non-existent; it became existent; it grew' (*Kh. Up. III, 19, 1*). In another place,

again, the doctrine of the Non-existent being the antecedent of the creation is impugned, and the Existent mentioned in its stead. 'Others say, in the beginning there was that only which is not; but how could it be thus, my dear? How could that which is be born of that which is not?' (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 1; 2.*) And in another place, again, the development of the world is spoken of as having taken place spontaneously, 'Now all this was then undeveloped. It became developed by form and name' (*Bri. Up. I, 4, 7*).—As therefore manifold discrepancies are observed, and as no option is possible in the case of an accomplished matter¹, the Vedānta-passages cannot be accepted as authorities for determining the cause of the world, but we must rather accept some other cause of the world resting on the authority of *Smṛiti* and Reasoning.

To this we make the following reply.—Although the Vedānta-passages may be conflicting with regard to the order of the things created, such as ether and so on, they do not conflict with regard to the creator, 'on account of his being represented as described.' That means: such as the creator is described in any one Vedānta-passages, viz. as all-knowing, the Lord of all, the Self of all, without a second, so he is represented in all other Vedānta-passages also. Let us consider, for instance, the description of Brahman (given in *Taitt. Up. II, 1 ff.*). There it is said at first, 'Truth, knowledge, infinite is Brahman.' Here the word 'knowledge,' and so likewise the statement, made later on, that Brahman desired (*II, 6*), intimate that Brahman is of the nature of intelligence. Further, the text declares² that the cause of the world is the general Lord, by representing it as not dependent on anything else. It further applies to the cause of the world the term 'Self' (*II, 1*), and it represents it as abiding within the series of sheaths begin-

¹ Option being possible only in the case of things to be accomplished, i.e. actions.

² According to *Go. Ān.* in the passage, 'That made itself its Self' (*II, 7*); according to *Ān. Giri* in the passage, 'He created all' (*II, 6*).

ning with the gross body ; whereby it affirms it to be the internal Self within all beings. Again—in the passage, ‘ May I be many, may I grow forth ’—it tells how the Self became many, and thereby declares that the creator is non-different from the created effects. And—in the passage, ‘ He created all this whatever there is ’—it represents the creator as the Cause of the entire world, and thereby declares him to have been without a second previously to the creation. The same characteristics which in the above passages are predicated of Brahman, viewed as the Cause of the world, we find to be predicated of it in other passages also, so, for instance, ‘ Being only, my dear, was this in the beginning, one only, without a second. It thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire ’ (*Kh. Up.* VI, 2, 1 ; 3), and ‘ In the beginning all this was Self, one only ; there was nothing else blinking whatsoever. He thought, shall I send forth worlds ? ’ (*Ait. Âr.* II, 4, 1, 1 ; 2.) The Vedânta-passages which are concerned with setting forth the cause of the world are thus in harmony throughout.—On the other hand, there are found conflicting statements concerning the world, the creation being in some places said to begin with ether, in other places with fire, and so on. But, in the first place, it cannot be said that the conflict of statements concerning the world affects the statements concerning the cause, i.e. Brahman, in which all the Vedânta-texts are seen to agree—for that would be an altogether unfounded generalization ;—and, in the second place, the teacher will reconcile later on (*II, 3*) those conflicting passages also which refer to the world. And, to consider the matter more thoroughly, a conflict of statements regarding the world would not even matter greatly, since the creation of the world and similar topics are not at all what Scripture wishes to teach. For we neither observe nor are told by Scripture that the welfare of man depends on those matters in any way ; nor have we the right to assume such a thing ; because we conclude from the introductory and concluding clauses that the passages about the creation and the like form only subordinate members of passages treating of Brahman. That all the passages

setting forth the creation and so on subserve the purpose of teaching Brahman, Scripture itself declares; compare *Kh. Up. VI, 8, 4*, 'As food too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. water. And as water too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. fire. And as fire too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. the True.' We, moreover, understand that by means of comparisons such as that of the clay (*Kh. Up. VI, 1, 4*) the creation is described merely for the purpose of teaching us that the effect is not really different from the cause. Analogously it is said by those who know the sacred tradition, 'If creation is represented by means of (the similes of) clay, iron, sparks, and other things; that is only a means for making it understood that (in reality) there is no difference whatever' (*Gauḍap. Kā. III, 15*).—On the other hand, Scripture expressly states the fruits connected with the knowledge of Brahman, 'He who knows Brahman obtains the highest' (*Taitt. Up. II, 1*); 'He who knows the Self overcomes grief' (*Kh. Up. VII, 1, 3*); 'A man who knows him passes over death' (*Sve. Up. III, 8*). That fruit is, moreover, apprehended by intuition (*pratyaksha*), for as soon as, by means of the doctrine, 'That art thou,' a man has arrived at the knowledge that the Self is non-transmigrating, its transmigrating nature vanishes for him.

It remains to dispose of the assertion that passages such as 'Non-being this was in the beginning' contain conflicting statements about the nature of the cause. This is done in the next *Sūtra*.

15. On account of the connexion (with passages treating of Brahman, the passages speaking of the Non-being do not intimate absolute Non-existence).

The passage 'Non-being indeed was this in the beginning' (*Taitt. Up. II, 7*) does not declare that the cause of the world is the absolutely Non-existent which is devoid of all Selfhood. For in the preceding sections of the *Upanishad* Brahman is distinctly denied to be the Non-existing, and is defined to be that which is ('He who knows the Brahman as non-existing becomes himself non-existing.

He who knows the Brahman as existing him we know himself as existing'); it is further, by means of the series of sheaths, viz. the sheath of food, &c., represented as the inner Self of everything. This same Brahman is again referred to in the clause, 'He wished, may I be many;'; is declared to have originated the entire creation; and is finally referred to in the clause, 'Therefore the wise call it the true.' Thereupon the text goes on to say, with reference to what has all along been the topic of discussion, 'On this there is also this sloka, Non-being indeed was this in the beginning,' &c. If here the term 'Non-being' denoted the absolutely Non-existent, the whole context would be broken; for while ostensibly referring to one matter the passage would in reality treat of a second altogether different matter. We have therefore to conclude that, while the term 'Being' ordinarily denotes that which is differentiated by names and forms, the term 'Non-being' denotes the same substance previous to its differentiation, i. e. that Brahman is, in a secondary sense of the word, called Non-being, previously to the origination of the world. The same interpretation has to be applied to the passage 'Non-being this was in the beginning' (*Kh. Up. III, 19, 1*); for that passage also is connected with another passage which runs, 'It became being;'; whence it is evident that the 'Non-being' of the former passage cannot mean absolute Non-existence. And in the passage, 'Others say, Non-being this was in the beginning' (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 1*), the reference to the opinion of 'others' does not mean that the doctrine referred to (according to which the world was originally absolutely non-existent) is propounded somewhere in the Veda; for option is possible in the case of actions but not in the case of substances. The passage has therefore to be looked upon as a refutation of the tenet of primitive absolute non-existence as fancifully propounded by some teachers of inferior intelligence; a refutation undertaken for the purpose of strengthening the doctrine that this world has sprung from that which is.—The following passage again, 'Now this was then undeveloped,' &c. (*Bri. Up. I, 4, 7*), does not by any means assert that the evolution of

the world took place without a ruler ; as we conclude from the circumstance of its being connected with another passage in which the ruler is represented as entering into the evolved world of effects, 'He entered thither to the very tips of the finger-nails,' &c. If it were supposed that the evolution of the world takes place without a ruler, to whom could the subsequent pronoun 'he' refer (in the passage last quoted) which manifestly is to be connected with something previously intimated? And as Scripture declares that the Self, after having entered into the body, is of the nature of intelligence ('when seeing, eye by name ; when hearing, ear by name ; when thinking, mind by name'), it follows that it is intelligent at the time of its entering also.—We, moreover, must assume that the world was evolved at the beginning of the creation in the same way as it is at present seen to develop itself by names and forms, viz. under the rulership of an intelligent creator ; for we have no right to make assumptions contrary to what is at present actually observed. Another scriptural passage also declares that the evolution of the world took place under the superintendence of a ruler, 'Let me now enter these beings with this living Self, and let me then evolve names and forms' (*Kh. Up. VI, 3, 2*). The intransitive expression 'It developed itself' (*vyākriyata* ; it became developed) is to be viewed as having reference to the ease with which the real agent, viz. the Lord, brought about that evolution. Analogously it is said, for instance, that 'the cornfield reaps itself' (i.e. is reaped with the greatest ease), although there is the reaper sufficient (to account for the work being done).—Or else we may look on the form *vyākriyata* as having reference to a necessarily implied agent ; as is the case in such phrases as 'the village is being approached' (where we necessarily have to supply 'by Devadatta or somebody else').

16. (He whose work is this is Brahman), because (the 'work') denotes the world.

In the *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana*, in the dialogue of Bâlâki and Agâtasatru, we read, 'O Bâlâki, he who is the maker of

those persons, he of whom this is the work, he alone is to be known' (Kau. Up. IV, 19). The question here arises whether what is here inculcated as the object of knowledge is the individual soul or the chief vital air or the highest Self.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that the vital air is meant. For, in the first place, he says, the clause 'of whom this is the work' points to the activity of motion, and that activity rests on the vital air. In the second place, we meet with the word 'prâna' in a complementary passage ('Then he becomes one with that prâna alone'), and that word is well known to denote the vital air. In the third place, prâna is the maker of all the persons, the person in the sun, the person in the moon, &c., who in the preceding part of the dialogue had been enumerated by Bâlâki; for that the sun and the other divinities are mere differentiations of prâna we know from another scriptural passage, viz. 'Who is that one god (in whom all the other gods are contained)? Prâna and he is Brahman, and they call him That' (Bri. Up. III, 9, 9).—Or else, the pûrvapakshin continues, the passage under discussion represents the individual soul as the object of knowledge. For of the soul also it can be said that 'this is the work,' if we understand by 'this' all meritorious and non-meritorious actions; and the soul also, in so far as it is the enjoyer, can be viewed as the maker of the persons enumerated in so far as they are instrumental to the soul's fruition. The complementary passage, moreover, contains an inferential mark of the individual soul. For Agâtasatru, in order to instruct Bâlâki about the 'maker of the persons' who had been proposed as the object of knowledge, calls a sleeping man by various names and convinces Bâlâki, by the circumstance that the sleeper does not hear his shouts, that the prâna and so on are not the enjoyers; he thereupon wakes the sleeping man by pushing him with his stick, and so makes Bâlâki comprehend that the being capable of fruition is the individual soul which is distinct from the prâna. A subsequent passage also contains an inferential mark of the individual soul, viz. 'And as the master feeds with his people, nay, as his people feed on the master, thus does this conscious Self feed with

the other Selfs, thus those Selfs feed on the conscious Self' (Kau. Up. IV, 20). And as the individual soul is the support of the *prāṇa*, it may itself be called *prāṇa*.—We thus conclude that the passage under discussion refers either to the individual soul or to the chief vital air; but not to the Lord, of whom it contains no inferential marks whatever.

To this we make the following reply.—The Lord only can be the maker of the persons enumerated, on account of the force of the introductory part of the section. Bālāki begins his colloquy with Agātasatru with the offer, 'Shall I tell you Brahman?' Thereupon he enumerates some individual souls residing in the sun, the moon, and so on, which participate in the sight of the secondary Brahman, and in the end becomes silent. Agātasatru then sets aside Bālāki's doctrine as not referring to the chief Brahman—with the words, 'Vainly did you challenge me, saying, Shall I tell you Brahman,' &c.—and proposes the maker of all those individual souls as a new object of knowledge. If now that maker also were merely a soul participating in the sight of the secondary Brahman, the introductory statement which speaks of Brahman would be futile. Hence it follows that the highest Lord himself is meant.—None, moreover, but the highest Lord is capable of being the maker of all those persons as he only is absolutely independent.—Further, the clause 'of whom this is the work' does not refer either to the activity of motion nor to meritorious and non-meritorious actions; for neither of those two is the topic of discussion or has been mentioned previously. Nor can the term 'work' denote the enumerated persons, since the latter are mentioned separately—in the clause, 'He who is the maker of those persons'—and as inferential marks (*viz.* the neuter gender and the singular number of the word *karman*, work) contradict that assumption. Nor, again, can the term 'work' denote either the activity whose object the persons are, or the result of that activity, since those two are already implied in the mention of the agent (in the clause, 'He who is the maker'). Thus there remains no other alternative than to

take the pronoun 'this' (in 'He of whom this is the work') as denoting the perceptible world and to understand the same world—as that which is made—by the term 'work.'—We may indeed admit that the world also is not the previous topic of discussion and has not been mentioned before; still, as no specification is mentioned, we conclude that the term 'work' has to be understood in a general sense, and thus denotes what first presents itself to the mind, viz. everything which exists in general. It is, moreover, not true that the world is not the previous topic of discussion; we are rather entitled to conclude from the circumstance that the various persons (in the sun, the moon, &c.) which constitute a part of the world had been specially mentioned before, that the passage in question is concerned with the whole world in general. The conjunction 'or' (in 'or he of whom,' &c.) is meant to exclude the idea of limited makership; so that the whole passage has to be interpreted as follows, 'He who is the maker of those persons forming a part of the world, or rather—to do away with this limitation—he of whom this entire world without any exception is the work.' The special mention made of the persons having been created has for its purpose to show that those persons whom Bālāki had proclaimed to be Brahman are not Brahman. The passage therefore sets forth the maker of the world in a double aspect, at first as the creator of a special part of the world and thereupon as the creator of the whole remaining part of the world; a way of speaking analogous to such every-day forms of expression as, 'The wandering mendicants are to be fed, and then the Brāhmaṇas¹.' And that the maker of the world is the highest Lord is affirmed in all Vedānta-texts.

17. If it be said that this is not so, on account of the inferential marks of the individual soul and the chief vital air; we reply that that has already been explained.

¹ By the Brāhmaṇas being meant all those Brāhmaṇas who are not at the same time wandering mendicants.

It remains for us to refute the objection that on account of the inferential marks of the individual soul and the chief vital air, which are met with in the complementary passage, either the one or the other must be meant in the passage under discussion, and not the highest Lord.—We therefore remark that that objection has already been disposed of under I, 1, 31. There it was shown that from an interpretation similar to the one here proposed by the pûrvapakshin there would result a threefold meditation, one having Brahman for its object, a second one directed on the individual soul, and a third one connected with the chief vital air. Now the same result would present itself in our case, and that would be unacceptable as we must infer from the introductory as well as the concluding clauses, that the passage under discussion refers to Brahman. With reference to the introductory clause this has been already proved; that the concluding passage also refers to Brahman, we infer from the fact of there being stated in it a pre-eminently high reward, ‘Warding off all evil he who knows this obtains pre-eminence among all beings, sovereignty, supremacy.’—But if this is so, the sense of the passage under discussion is already settled by the discussion of the passage about Pratardana (I, 1, 31); why, then, the present Sûtra?—No, we reply; the sense of our passage is not yet settled, since under I, 1, 31 it has not been proved that the clause, ‘Or he whose work is this,’ refers to Brahman. Hence there arises again, in connexion with the present passage, a doubt whether the individual soul and the chief vital air may not be meant, and that doubt has again to be refuted.—The word *prāna* occurs, moreover, in the sense of Brahman, so in the passage, ‘The mind settles down on *prāna*’ (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 2).—The inferential marks of the individual soul also have, on account of the introductory and concluding clauses referring to Brahman, to be explained so as not to give rise to any discrepancy.

18. But Gaimini thinks that (the reference to the individual soul) has another purport, on account of

the question and answer ; and thus some also (read in their text).

Whether the passage under discussion is concerned with the individual soul or with Brahman, is, in the opinion of the teacher Gaimini, no matter for dispute, since the reference to the individual soul has a different purport, i.e. aims at intimating Brahman. He founds this his opinion on a question and a reply met with in the text. After Agātasatru has taught Bālāki, by waking the sleeping man, that the soul is different from the vital air, he asks the following question, 'Bālāki, where did this person here sleep? Where was he? Whence came he thus back?' This question clearly refers to something different from the individual soul. And so likewise does the reply, 'When sleeping he sees no dream, then he becomes one with that *prāṇa* alone ;' and, 'From that Self all *prāṇas* proceed, each towards its place, from the *prāṇas* the gods, from the gods the worlds.'—Now it is the general Vedānta doctrine that at the time of deep sleep the soul becomes one with the highest Brahman, and that from the highest Brahman the whole world proceeds, inclusive of *prāṇa*, and so on. When Scripture therefore represents as the object of knowledge that in which there takes place the deep sleep of the soul, characterised by absence of consciousness and utter tranquillity, i.e. a state devoid of all those specific cognitions which are produced by the limiting adjuncts of the soul, and from which the soul returns when the sleep is broken ; we understand that the highest Self is meant.—Moreover, the Vāgasaneyisākhā, which likewise contains the colloquy of Bālāki and Agātasatru, clearly refers to the individual soul by means of the term, 'the person consisting of cognition' (*viḡñānamaya*), and distinguishes from it the highest Self ('Where was then the person consisting of cognition? and from whence did he thus come back?' *Bṛi. Up. II, 1, 16*) ; and later on, in the reply to the above question, declares that 'the person consisting of cognition lies in the ether within the heart.' Now we know that the word 'ether' may be used to denote the highest Self, as, for instance, in

the passage about the small ether within the lotus of the heart (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 1, 1). Further on the *Bṛi. Up.* says, 'All the Selves came forth from that Self;' by which statement of the coming forth of all the conditioned Selves it intimates that the highest Self is the one general cause. —The doctrine conveyed by the rousing of the sleeping person, viz. that the individual soul is different from the vital air, furnishes at the same time a further argument against the opinion that the passage under discussion refers to the vital air.

19. (The Self to be seen, to be heard, &c. is the highest Self) on account of the connected meaning of the sentences.

We read in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, in the *Maitreyî-brâhmaṇa* the following passage, 'Verily, a husband is not dear that you may love the husband, &c. &c.; verily, everything is not dear that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self therefore everything is dear. Verily, the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, to be marked, O Maitreyî! When the Self has been seen, heard, perceived, and known, then all this is known' (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 5, 6).—Here the doubt arises whether that which is represented as the object to be seen, to be heard, and so on, is the cognitional Self (the individual soul) or the highest Self.—But whence the doubt?—Because, we reply, the Self is, on the one hand, by the mention of dear things such as husband and so on, indicated as the enjoyer whence it appears that the passage refers to the individual soul; and because, on the other hand, the declaration that through the knowledge of the Self everything becomes known points to the highest Self.

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that the passage refers to the individual soul, on account of the strength of the initial statement. The text declares at the outset that all the objects of enjoyment found in this world, such as husband, wife, riches, and so on, are dear on account of the Self, and thereby gives us to understand that the enjoying (i.e. the

individual) Self is meant; if thereupon it refers to the Self as the object of sight and so on, what other Self should it mean than the same individual Self?—A subsequent passage also (viz. 'Thus does this great Being, endless, unlimited, consisting of nothing but knowledge, rise from out of these elements, and vanish again after them. When he has departed there is no more knowledge'), which describes how the great Being under discussion rises, as the Self of knowledge, from the elements, shows that the object of sight is no other than the cognitional Self, i.e. the individual soul. The concluding clause finally, 'How, O beloved, should he know the knower?' shows, by means of the term 'knower,' which denotes an agent, that the individual soul is meant. The declaration that through the cognition of the Self everything becomes known must therefore not be interpreted in the literal sense, but must be taken to mean that the world of objects of enjoyment is known through its relation to the enjoying soul.

To this we make the following reply.—The passage makes a statement about the highest Self, on account of the connected meaning of the entire section. If we consider the different passages in their mutual connexion, we find that they all refer to the highest Self. After Maitreyī has heard from Yāgñavalkya that there is no hope of immortality by wealth, she expresses her desire of immortality in the words, 'What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth tell that to me;' and thereupon Yāgñavalkya expounds to her the knowledge of the Self. Now Scripture as well as Smṛiti declares that immortality is not to be reached but through the knowledge of the highest Self.—The statement further that through the knowledge of the Self everything becomes known can be taken in its direct literal sense only if by the Self we understand the highest cause. And to take it in a non-literal sense (as the pūrvapakshin proposes) is inadmissible, on account of the explanation given of that statement in a subsequent passage, viz. 'Whosoever looks for the Brahman class elsewhere than in the Self, is abandoned by the Brahman class.' Here it is said that who-

ever erroneously views this world with its Brahman and so on, as having an independent existence apart from the Self, is abandoned by that very world of which he has taken an erroneous view; whereby the view that there exists any difference is refuted. And the immediately subsequent clause, 'This everything is the Self,' gives us to understand that the entire aggregate of existing things is non-different from the Self; a doctrine further confirmed by the similes of the drum and so on.—By explaining further that the Self about which he had been speaking is the cause of the universe of names, forms, and works ('There has been breathed forth from this great Being what we have as *Rig-veda*,' &c.) Yāgyavalkya again shows that it is the highest Self.—To the same conclusion he leads us by declaring, in the paragraph which treats of the natural centres of things, that the Self is the centre of the whole world with the objects, the senses and the mind, that it has neither inside nor outside, that it is altogether a mass of knowledge.—From all this it follows that what the text represents as the object of sight and so on is the highest Self.

We now turn to the remark made by the pûrvapakshin that the passage teaches the individual soul to be the object of sight, because it is, in the early part of the chapter, denoted as something dear.

20. (The circumstance of the soul being represented as the object of sight) indicates the fulfilment of the promissory statement; so Āsmarathya thinks.

The fact that the text proclaims as the object of sight that Self which is denoted as something dear indicates the fulfilment of the promise made in the passages, 'When the Self is known all this is known,' 'All this is that Self.' For if the individual soul were different from the highest Self, the knowledge of the latter would not imply the knowledge of the former, and thus the promise that through the knowledge of one thing everything is to be known would not be fulfilled. Hence the initial

statement aims at representing the individual Self and the highest Self as non-different for the purpose of fulfilling the promise made.—This is the opinion of the teacher Âsmarathya¹.

21. (The initial statement identifies the individual soul and the highest Self) because the soul when it will depart (from the body) is such (i.e. one with the highest Self); thus Auḍulomi thinks.

The individual soul which is inquinated by the contact with its different limiting adjuncts, viz. body, senses, and mind (mano-buddhi), attains through the instrumentality of knowledge, meditation, and so on, a state of complete serenity, and thus enables itself, when passing at some future time out of the body, to become one with the highest Self; hence the initial statement in which it is represented as non-different from the highest Self. This is the opinion of the teacher Auḍulomi.—Thus Scripture says, 'That serene being arising from this body appears in its own form as soon as it has approached the highest light' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 12, 3*).—In another place Scripture intimates, by means of the simile of the rivers, that name and form abide in the individual soul, 'As

¹ The comment of the Bhāmāṭi on the Sūtra runs as follows: As the sparks issuing from a fire are not absolutely different from the fire, because they participate in the nature of the fire; and, on the other hand, are not absolutely non-different from the fire, because in that case they could be distinguished neither from the fire nor from each other; so the individual souls also—which are effects of Brahman—are neither absolutely different from Brahman, for that would mean that they are not of the nature of intelligence; nor absolutely non-different from Brahman, because in that case they could not be distinguished from each other, and because, if they were identical with Brahman and therefore omniscient, it would be useless to give them any instruction. Hence the individual souls are somehow different from Brahman and somehow non-different.—The technical name of the doctrine here represented by Âsmarathya is *bhedābhedavāda*.

the flowing rivers disappear in the sea, having lost their name and their form, thus a wise man freed from name and form goes to the divine Person who is greater than the great' (Mu. Up. III, 2, 8). I.e. as the rivers losing the names and forms abiding in them disappear in the sea, so the individual soul also losing the name and form abiding in it becomes united with the highest person. That the latter half of the passage has the meaning here assigned to it, follows from the parallelism which we must assume to exist between the two members of the comparison ¹.

22. (The initial statement is made) because (the highest Self) exists in the condition (of the individual soul); so Kâsakṛtsna thinks.

Because the highest Self exists also in the condition of the individual soul, therefore, the teacher Kâsakṛtsna thinks, the initial statement which aims at intimating the non-difference of the two is possible. That the highest Self only is that which appears as the individual soul, is evident from the Brâhmaṇa-passage, 'Let me enter into them with this living Self and evolve names and forms,' and similar passages. We have also mantras to the same effect, for instance, 'The wise one who, having produced all forms and made all names, sits calling the things by their names' (Taît. Âr. III, 12, 7) ².

¹ Bhâmatî: The individual soul is absolutely different from the highest Self; it is inquinated by the contact with its different limiting adjuncts. But it is spoken of, in the Upanishad, as non-different from the highest Self because after having purified itself by means of knowledge and meditation it may pass out of the body and become one with the highest Self. The text of the Upanishad thus transfers a future state of non-difference to that time when difference actually exists. Compare the saying of the Pânkarâtrikas: 'Up to the moment of emancipation being reached the soul and the highest Self are different. But the emancipated soul is no longer different from the highest Self, since there is no further cause of difference.'—The technical name of the doctrine advocated by Auḍulomi is satyabhedavâda.

² Compare the note to the same mantra as quoted above under I, 1, 11.

And where Scripture relates the creation of fire and the other elements, it does not at the same time relate a separate creation of the individual soul; we have therefore no right to look on the soul as a product of the highest Self, different from the latter.—In the opinion of the teacher Kāśakṛtsna the non-modified highest Lord himself is the individual soul, not anything else. Āsmarathya, although meaning to say that the soul is not (absolutely) different from the highest Self, yet intimates by the expression, ‘On account of the fulfilment of the promise’—which declares a certain mutual dependence—that there does exist a certain relation of cause and effect between the highest Self and the individual soul¹. The opinion of Audulomi again clearly implies that the difference and non-difference of the two depend on difference of condition². Of these three opinions we conclude that the one held by Kāśakṛtsna accords with Scripture, because it agrees with what all the Vedānta-texts (so, for instance, the passage, ‘That art thou’) aim at inculcating. Only on the opinion of Kāśakṛtsna immortality can be viewed as the result of the knowledge of the soul; while it would be impossible to hold the same view if the soul were a modification (product) of the Self and as such liable to lose its existence by being merged in its causal substance. For the same reason, name and form cannot abide in the soul (as was above attempted to prove by means of the simile of the rivers), but abide in the limiting adjunct and are ascribed to the soul itself in a figurative sense only. For the same reason the origin of the souls from the highest Self, of which Scripture speaks in some places as analogous to the issuing of sparks from the fire, must be viewed as based only on the limiting adjuncts of the soul.

The last three Sūtras have further to be interpreted so as to furnish replies to the second of the pūrvapakshin’s arguments, viz. that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* passage represents as

¹ And not the relation of absolute identity.

² I.e. upon the state of emancipation and its absence.

the object of sight the individual soul, because it declares that the great Being which is to be seen arises from out of these elements. 'There is an indication of the fulfilment of the promise; so Āsmarathya thinks.' The promise is made in the two passages, 'When the Self is known, all this is known,' and 'All this is that Self.' That the Self is everything, is proved by the declaration that the whole world of names, forms, and works springs from one being, and is merged in one being¹; and by its being demonstrated, with the help of the similes of the drum, and so on, that effect and cause are non-different. The fulfilment of the promise is, then, finally indicated by the text declaring that that great Being rises, in the form of the individual soul, from out of these elements; thus the teacher Āsmarathya thinks. For if the soul and the highest Self are non-different, the promise that through the knowledge of one everything becomes known is capable of fulfilment.—'Because the soul when it will depart is such; thus Audulomi thinks.' The statement as to the non-difference of the soul and the Self (implied in the declaration that the great Being rises, &c.) is possible, because the soul when—after having purified itself by knowledge, and so on—it will depart from the body, is capable of becoming one with the highest Self. This is Audulomi's opinion.—'Because it exists in the condition of the soul; thus Kāsakṛtsna opines.' Because the highest Self itself is that which appears as the individual soul, the statement as to the non-difference of the two is well-founded. This is the view of the teacher Kāsakṛtsna.

But, an objection may be raised, the passage, 'Rising from out of these elements he vanishes again after them. When he has departed there is no more knowledge,' intimates the final destruction of the soul, not its identity with the highest Self!—By no means, we reply. The passage means to say

¹ Upapāditam keṭi, sarvasyātmamātratvam iti reshaḥ. Upapādanaprakāram sūṭrayati eketi. Sa yathārdrendhanāgner ityādinai-kaprasavatvam, yathā sarvāsām apām ityādinā ṭaikapralayatvam sarvasyoktam. Ān. Gi.

only that on the soul departing from the body all specific cognition vanishes, not that the Self is destroyed. For an objection being raised—in the passage, ‘Here thou hast bewildered me, Sir, when thou sayest that having departed there is no more knowledge’—Scripture itself explains that what is meant is not the annihilation of the Self, ‘I say nothing that is bewildering. Verily, beloved, that Self is imperishable, and of an indestructible nature. But there takes place non-connexion with the *mâtrâs*.’ That means: The eternally unchanging Self, which is one mass of knowledge, cannot possibly perish; but by means of true knowledge there is effected its dissociation from the *mâtrâs*, i. e. the elements and the sense organs, which are the product of Nescience. When the connexion has been solved, specific cognition, which depended on it, no longer takes place, and thus it can be said, that ‘When he has departed there is no more knowledge.’

The third argument also of the *pûrvapakshin*, viz. that the word ‘knower’—which occurs in the concluding passage, ‘How should he know the knower?’—denotes an agent, and therefore refers to the individual soul as the object of sight, is to be refuted according to the view of *Kâsakṛtsna*.—Moreover, the text after having enumerated—in the passage, ‘For where there is duality as it were, there one sees the other,’ &c.—all the kinds of specific cognition which belong to the sphere of Nescience declares—in the subsequent passage, ‘But when the Self only is all this, how should he see another?’—that in the sphere of true knowledge all specific cognition such as seeing, and so on, is absent. And, again, in order to obviate the doubt whether in the absence of objects the knower might not know himself, *Yāgñavalkya* goes on, ‘How, O beloved, should he know himself, the knower?’ As thus the latter passage evidently aims at proving the absence of specific cognition, we have to conclude that the word ‘knower’ is here used to denote that being which is knowledge, i. e. the Self.—That the view of *Kâsakṛtsna* is scriptural, we have already shown above. And as it is so, all the adherents of the Vedânta must admit that the difference of the soul and the highest Self is not

real, but due to the limiting adjuncts, viz. the body, and so on, which are the product of name and form as presented by Nescience. That view receives ample confirmation from Scripture; compare, for instance, 'Being only, my dear, this was in the beginning, one, without a second' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 2, 1); 'The Self is all this' (*Kh. Up.* VII, 25, 2); 'Brahman alone is all this' (*Mu. Up.* II, 2, 11); 'This everything is that Self' (*Bri. Up.* II, 4, 6); 'There is no other seer but he' (*Bri. Up.* III, 7, 23); 'There is nothing that sees but it' (*Bri. Up.* III, 8, 11).—It is likewise confirmed by *Smṛiti*; compare, for instance, 'Vāsudeva is all this' (*Bha. Gî.* VII, 19); 'Know me, O Bhârata, to be the soul in all bodies' (*Bha. Gî.* XIII, 2); 'He who sees the highest Lord abiding alike within all creatures' (*Bha. Gî.* XIII, 27).—The same conclusion is supported by those passages which deny all difference; compare, for instance, 'If he thinks, that is one and I another; he does not know' (*Bri. Up.* I, 4, 10); 'From death to death he goes who sees here any diversity' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 19). And, again, by those passages which negative all change on the part of the Self; compare, for instance, 'This great unborn Self, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless is indeed Brahman' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 24).—Moreover, if the doctrine of general identity were not true, those who are desirous of release could not be in the possession of irrefutable knowledge, and there would be no possibility of any matter being well settled; while yet the knowledge of which the Self is the object is declared to be irrefutable and to satisfy all desire, and Scripture speaks of those, 'Who have well ascertained the object of the knowledge of the Vedānta' (*Mu. Up.* III, 2, 6). Compare also the passage, 'What trouble, what sorrow can there be to him who has once beheld that unity?' (*Is. Up.* 7).—And *Smṛiti* also represents the mind of him who contemplates the Self as steady (*Bha. Gî.* II, 54).

As therefore the individual soul and the highest Self differ in name only, it being a settled matter that perfect knowledge has for its object the absolute oneness of the two; it is senseless to insist (as some do) on a plurality of Selves, and to maintain that the individual soul is different from the

highest Self, and the highest Self from the individual soul. For the Self is indeed called by many different names, but it is one only. Nor does the passage, 'He who knows Brahman which is real, knowledge, infinite, as hidden in the cave' (Taitt. Up. II, 1), refer to some one cave (different from the abode of the individual soul)¹. And that nobody else but Brahman is hidden in the cave we know from a subsequent passage, viz. 'Having sent forth he entered into it' (Taitt. Up. II, 6), according to which the creator only entered into the created beings.—Those who insist on the distinction of the individual and the highest Self oppose themselves to the true sense of the Vedânta-texts, stand thereby in the way of perfect knowledge, which is the door to perfect beatitude, and groundlessly assume release to be something effected, and therefore non-eternal². (And if they attempt to show that moksha, although effected, is eternal) they involve themselves in a conflict with sound logic.

23. (Brahman is) the material cause also, on account of (this view) not being in conflict with the promissory statements and the illustrative instances.

It has been said that, as practical religious duty has to be enquired into because it is the cause of an increase of happiness, so Brahman has to be enquired into because it is the cause of absolute beatitude. And Brahman has been defined as that from which there proceed the origination, sustentation, and retraction of this world. Now as this definition comprises alike the relation of substantial causality in which clay and gold, for instance, stand to golden ornaments and earthen pots, and the relation of operative

¹ So according to Go. Ân. and Ân. Gi.; although their interpretations seem not to account sufficiently for the *ekâm* of the text.—*Kâmîd evaikâm iti gîvasthanâd anyâm ity arthaḥ*. Go. Ân.—*Gîvabhâvena pratibimbâdhârâtiriktâm ity arthaḥ*. Ân. Gi.

² While release, as often remarked, is eternal, it being in fact not different from the eternally unchanging Brahman.

causality in which the potter and the goldsmith stand to the things mentioned ; a doubt arises to which of these two kinds the causality of Brahman belongs.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that Brahman evidently is the operative cause of the world only, because Scripture declares his creative energy to be preceded by reflection. Compare, for instance, Pra. Up. VI, 3 ; 4 : ' He reflected, he created *prâṇa*.' For observation shows that the action of operative causes only, such as potters and the like, is preceded by reflection, and moreover that the result of some activity is brought about by the concurrence of several factors¹. It is therefore appropriate that we should view the prime creator in the same light. The circumstance of his being known as 'the Lord' furnishes another argument. For lords such as kings and the son of Vivasvat are known only as operative causes, and the highest Lord also must on that account be viewed as an operative cause only.—Further, the effect of the creator's activity, viz. this world, is seen to consist of parts, to be non-intelligent and impure ; we therefore must assume that its cause also is of the same nature ; for it is a matter of general observation that cause and effect are alike in kind. But that Brahman does not resemble the world in nature, we know from many scriptural passages, such as ' It is without parts, without actions, tranquil, without fault, without taint' Sve. Up. VI, 19). Hence there remains no other alternative but to admit that in addition to Brahman there exists a material cause of the world of impure nature, such as is known from *Smṛiti*², and to limit the causality of Brahman, as declared by Scripture, to operative causality.

To this we make the following reply.—Brahman is to be acknowledged as the material cause as well as the operative cause ; because this latter view does not conflict with the promissory statements and the illustrative instances. The promissory statement chiefly meant is the following one,

¹ I. e. that the operative cause and the substantial cause are separate things.

² Viz. the *Sāṅkhya-smṛiti*.

‘Have you ever asked for that instruction by which that which is not heard becomes heard ; that which is not perceived, perceived ; that which is not known, known ?’ (*Kh. Up.* VI, 1, 3.) This passage intimates that through the cognition of one thing everything else, even if (previously) unknown, becomes known. Now the knowledge of everything is possible through the cognition of the material cause, since the effect is non-different from the material cause. On the other hand, effects are not non-different from their operative causes ; for we know from ordinary experience that the carpenter, for instance, is different from the house he has built.—The illustrative example referred to is the one mentioned (*Kh. Up.* VI, 1, 4), ‘My dear, as by one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, the modification (i.e. the effect) being a name merely which has its origin in speech, while the truth is that it is clay merely ;’ which passage again has reference to the material cause. The text adds a few more illustrative instances of similar nature, ‘As by one nugget of gold all that is made of gold is known ; as by one pair of nail-scissors all that is made of iron is known.’—Similar promissory statements are made in other places also, for instance, ‘What is that through which if it is known everything else becomes known ?’ (*Mu. Up.* I, 1, 3.) An illustrative instance also is given in the same place, ‘As plants grow on the earth’ (I, 1, 7).—Compare also the promissory statement in *Bṛi. Up.* IV, 5, 6, ‘When the Self has been seen, heard, perceived, and known, then all this is known ;’ and the illustrative instance quoted (IV, 5, 8), ‘Now as the sounds of a drum if beaten cannot be seized externally, but the sound is seized when the drum is seized or the beater of the drum.’—Similar promissory statements and illustrative instances which are to be found in all Vedānta-texts are to be viewed as proving, more or less, that Brahman is also the material cause of the world. The ablative case also in the passage, ‘That from whence (*yataḥ*) these beings are born,’ has to be considered as indicating the material cause of the beings, according to the grammatical rule, *Pāṇ.* I, 4, 30.—That Brahman is at the same time the operative cause of the

world, we have to conclude from the circumstance that there is no other guiding being. Ordinarily material causes, indeed, such as lumps of clay and pieces of gold, are dependent, in order to shape themselves into vessels and ornaments, on extraneous operative causes such as potters and goldsmiths; but outside Brahman as material cause there is no other operative cause to which the material cause could look; for Scripture says that previously to creation Brahman was one without a second.—The absence of a guiding principle other than the material cause can moreover be established by means of the argument made use of in the Sūtra, viz. accordance with the promissory statements and the illustrative examples. If there were admitted a guiding principle different from the material cause, it would follow that everything cannot be known through one thing, and thereby the promissory statements as well as the illustrative instances would be stultified.—The Self is thus the operative cause, because there is no other ruling principle, and the material cause because there is no other substance from which the world could originate.

24. And on account of the statement of reflection (on the part of the Self).

The fact of the sacred texts declaring that the Self reflected likewise shows that it is the operative as well as the material cause. Passages like 'He wished, may I be many, may I grow forth,' and 'He thought, may I be many, may I grow forth,' show, in the first place, that the Self is the agent in the independent activity which is preceded by the Self's reflection; and, in the second place, that it is the material cause also, since the words 'May I be many' intimate that the reflective desire of multiplying itself has the inward Self for its object.

25. And on account of both (i. e. the origin and the dissolution of the world) being directly declared (to have Brahman for their material cause).

This Sūtra supplies a further argument for Brahman's

being the general material cause.—Brahman is the material cause of the world for that reason also that the origination as well as the dissolution of the world is directly spoken of in the sacred texts as having Brahman for their material cause, 'All these beings take their rise from the ether and return into the ether' (*Kh. Up.* I, 9, 1). That that from which some other thing springs and into which it returns is the material cause of that other thing is well known. Thus the earth, for instance, is the material cause of rice, barley, and the like.—The word 'directly' (in the *Sûtra*) notifies that there is no other material cause, but that all this sprang from the ether only.—Observation further teaches that effects are not re-absorbed into anything else but their material causes.

26. (Brahman is the material cause) on account of (the Self) making itself; (which is possible) owing to modification.

Brahman is the material cause for that reason also that Scripture—in the passage, 'That made itself its Self' (*Taitt. Up.* II, 7)—represents the Self as the object of action as well as the agent.—But how can the Self which as agent was in full existence previously to the action be made out to be at the same time that which is effected by the action?—Owing to modification, we reply. The Self, although in full existence previously to the action, modifies itself into something special, viz. the Self of the effect. Thus we see that causal substances, such as clay and the like, are, by undergoing the process of modification, changed into their products.—The word 'itself' in the passage quoted intimates the absence of any other operative cause but the Self.

The word '*parinâmât*' (in the *Sûtra*) may also be taken as constituting a separate *Sûtra* by itself, the sense of which would be: Brahman is the material cause of the world for that reason also, that the sacred text speaks of Brahman and its modification into the Self of its effect as co-ordinated, viz. in the passage, 'It became sat and tyat, defined and undefined' (*Taitt. Up.* II, 6).

27. And because Brahman is called the source.

Brahman is the material cause for that reason also that it is spoken of in the sacred texts as the source (*yoni*); compare, for instance, 'The maker, the Lord, the person who has his source in Brahman' (Mu. Up. III, 1, 3); and 'That which the wise regard as the source of all beings' (Mu. Up. I, 1, 6). For that the word 'source' denotes the material cause is well known from the use of ordinary language; the earth, for instance, is called the *yoni* of trees and herbs. In some places indeed the word *yoni* means not source, but merely place; so, for instance, in the mantra, 'A *yoni*, O Indra, was made for you to sit down upon' (*R̥ik. Samh.* I, 104, 1). But that in the passage quoted it means 'source' follows from a complementary passage, 'As the spider sends forth and draws in its threads,' &c.—It is thus proved that Brahman is the material cause of the world.—Of the objection, finally, that in ordinary life the activity of operative causal agents only, such as potters and the like, is preceded by reflection, we dispose by the remark that, as the matter in hand is not one which can be known through inferential reasoning, ordinary experience cannot be used to settle it. For the knowledge of that matter we rather depend on Scripture altogether, and hence Scripture only has to be appealed to. And that Scripture teaches that the Lord who reflects before creation is at the same time the material cause, we have already explained. The subject will, moreover, be discussed more fully later on.

28. Hereby all (the doctrines concerning the origin of the world which are opposed to the Vedānta) are explained, are explained.

The doctrine according to which the *pradhāna* is the cause of the world has, in the Sūtras beginning with I, 1, 5, been again and again brought forward and refuted. The chief reason for the special attention given to that doctrine is that the Vedānta-texts contain some passages which, to people deficient in mental penetration, may appear to contain inferential marks pointing to it. The

doctrine, moreover, stands somewhat near to the Vedânta doctrine since, like the latter, it admits the non-difference of cause and effect, and it, moreover, has been accepted by some of the authors of the Dharma-sûtras, such as Devala, and so on. For all these reasons we have taken special trouble to refute the pradhâna doctrine, without paying much attention to the atomic and other theories. These latter theories, however, must likewise be refuted, as they also are opposed to the doctrine of Brahman being the general cause, and as slow-minded people might think that they also are referred to in some Vedic passages. Hence the Sûtrakâra formally extends, in the above Sûtra, the refutation already accomplished of the pradhâna doctrine to all similar doctrines which need not be demolished in detail after their great protagonist, the pradhâna doctrine, has been so completely disposed of. They also are, firstly, not founded on any scriptural authority; and are, secondly, directly contradicted by various Vedic passages. — The repetition of the phrase 'are explained' is meant to intimate that the end of the adhyâya has been reached.

SECOND ADHYÂYA.

FIRST PĀDA.

REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. If it be objected that (from the doctrine expounded hitherto) there would result the fault of there being no room for (certain) *Smṛitis*; we do not admit that objection, because (from the rejection of our doctrine) there would result the fault of want of room for other *Smṛitis*.

It has been shown in the first adhyâya that the omniscient Lord of all is the cause of the origin of this world in the same way as clay is the material cause of jars and gold of golden ornaments; that by his rulership he is the cause of the subsistence of this world once originated, just as the magician is the cause of the subsistence of the magical illusion; and that he, lastly, is the cause of this emitted world being finally reabsorbed into his essence, just as the four classes of creatures are reabsorbed into the earth. It has further been proved, by a demonstration of the connected meaning of all the Vedânta-texts, that the Lord is the Self of all of us. Moreover, the doctrines of the *pradhâna*, and so on, being the cause of this world have been refuted as not being scriptural.—The purport of the second adhyâya, which we now begin, is to refute the objections (to the doctrine established hitherto) which might be founded on *Smṛiti* and Reasoning, and to show that the doctrines of the *pradhâna*, &c. have only fallacious arguments to lean upon, and that the different Vedânta-texts do not contradict one another with regard to the mode of creation and similar topics.—The first point is to refute the objections based on *Smṛiti*.

Your doctrine (the *pûrvapakshin* says) that the omniscient

Brahman only is the cause of this world cannot be maintained, 'because there results from it the fault of there being no room for (certain) *Smṛitis*.' Such *Smṛitis* are the one called Tantra which was composed by a *rishi* and is accepted by authoritative persons, and other *Smṛitis* based on it¹; for all of which there would be no room if your interpretation of the Veda were the true one. For they all teach that the non-intelligent *pradhâna* is the independent cause of the world. There is indeed room (a *raison d'être*) for *Smṛitis* like the *Manu-smṛiti*, which give information about matters connected with the whole body of religious duty, characterised by injunction² and comprising the *agnihotra* and similar performances. They tell us at what time and with what rites the members of the different castes are to be initiated; how the Veda has to be studied; in what way the cessation of study has to take place; how marriage has to be performed, and so on. They further lay down the manifold religious duties, beneficial to man, of the four castes and *âsramas*³. The *Kâpila Smṛiti*, on the other hand, and similar books are not concerned with things to be done, but were composed with exclusive reference to perfect knowledge as the means of final release. If then no room were left for them in that connexion also, they would be altogether purposeless; and hence we must explain the *Vedânta*-texts in such a manner as not to bring them into conflict with the *Smṛitis* mentioned⁴.—But how, somebody may ask the *pûrvapakshin*, can the eventual fault of there being left no room for certain *Smṛitis* be used as an objection against that sense of *Śruti* which—from various

¹ The *Smṛiti* called Tantra is the *Sâṅkhyasâstra* as taught by Kapila; the *Smṛiti*-writers depending on him are *Âsuri*, *Pañḍasikha*, and others.

² *Mīmāṃsâ Sû. I, 1, 2*: *kodanâlakṣaṇo-rtho dharmaḥ*. Commentary: *kodanâ iti kriyâyâḥ pravartakam vañanam âhuḥ*.

³ *Purushârtha*; in opposition to the rules referred to in the preceding sentence which are *kratvartha*, i. e. the acting according to which secures the proper performance of certain rites.

⁴ It having been decided by the *Pûrvâ Mīmāṃsâ* already that *Smṛitis* contradicted by *Śruti* are to be disregarded.

reasons as detailed under I, 1 and ff.—has been ascertained by us to be the true one, viz. that the omniscient Brahman alone is the cause of the world?—Our objection, the *pûrvapakshin* replies, will perhaps not appear valid to persons of independent thought; but as most men depend in their reasonings on others, and are unable to ascertain by themselves the sense of *Sruti*, they naturally rely on *Smṛitis*, composed by celebrated authorities, and try to arrive at the sense of *Sruti* with their assistance; while, owing to their esteem for the authors of the *Smṛitis*, they have no trust in our explanations. The knowledge of men like Kapila *Smṛiti* declares to have been *rishi*-like and unobstructed, and moreover there is the following *Sruti*-passage, 'It is he who, in the beginning, bears in his thoughts the son, the *rishi*, kapila¹, whom he wishes to look on while he is born' (*Sve. Up. V, 2*). Hence their opinion cannot be assumed to be erroneous, and as they moreover strengthen their position by argumentation, the objection remains valid, and we must therefore attempt to explain the *Vedānta*-texts in conformity with the *Smṛitis*.

This objection we dispose of by the remark, 'It is not so because therefrom would result the fault of want of room for other *Smṛitis*.'—If you object to the doctrine of the Lord being the cause of the world on the ground that it would render certain *Smṛitis* purposeless, you thereby render purposeless other *Smṛitis* which declare themselves in favour of the said doctrine. These latter *Smṛiti*-texts we will quote in what follows. In one passage the highest Brahman is introduced as the subject of discussion, 'That which is subtle and not to be known;' the text then goes on, 'That is the internal Self of the creatures, their soul,' and after that remarks 'From that sprang the Unevolved, consisting of the three *guṇas*, O best of *Brāhmaṇas*.' And in another place it is said that 'the Unevolved is

¹ On the meaning of 'kapila' in the above passage, compare the Introduction to the Upanishads, translated by Max Müller, vol. ii, p. xxxviii ff.—As will be seen later on, Sāṅkara, in this *bhāṣya*, takes the Kapila referred to to be some *rishi*.

dissolved in the Person devoid of qualities, O Brâhmana.'—Thus we read also in the Purâṇa, 'Hear thence this short statement: The ancient Nârâyana is all this; he produces the creation at the due time, and at the time of reabsorption he consumes it again.' And so in the Bhagavadgîtâ also (VII, 6), 'I am the origin and the place of reabsorption of the whole world.' And Âpastamba too says with reference to the highest Self, 'From him spring all bodies; he is the primary cause, he is eternal, he is unchangeable' (Dharma Sûtra I, 8, 23, 2). In this way Smṛiti, in many places, declares the Lord to be the efficient as well as the material cause of the world. As the pûrvapakshin opposes us on the ground of Smṛiti, we reply to him on the ground of Smṛiti only; hence the line of defence taken up in the Sûtra. Now it has been shown already that the Sruti-texts aim at conveying the doctrine that the Lord is the universal cause, and as wherever different Smṛitis conflict those maintaining one view must be accepted, while those which maintain the opposite view must be set aside, those Smṛitis which follow Sruti are to be considered as authoritative, while all others are to be disregarded; according to the Sûtra met with in the chapter treating of the means of proof (Mim. Sûtra I, 3, 3), 'Where there is contradiction (between Sruti and Smṛiti) (Smṛiti) is to be disregarded; in case of there being no (contradiction) (Smṛiti is to be recognised) as there is inference (of Smṛiti being founded on Sruti).'—Nor can we assume that some persons are able to perceive supersensuous matters without Sruti, as there exists no efficient cause for such perception. Nor, again, can it be said that such perception may be assumed in the case of Kapila and others who possessed supernatural powers, and consequently unobstructed power of cognition. For the possession of supernatural powers itself depends on the performance of religious duty, and religious duty is that which is characterised by injunction¹; hence the sense of injunctions (i. e. of the Veda)

¹ I. e. religious duty is known only from the injunctive passages of the Veda.

which is established first must not be fancifully interpreted in reference to the dicta of men 'established' (i. e. made perfect, and therefore possessing supernatural powers) afterwards only. Moreover, even if those 'perfect' men were accepted as authorities to be appealed to, still, as there are many such perfect men, we should have, in all those cases where the *Smṛitis* contradict each other in the manner described, no other means of final decision than an appeal to *Sruti*.—As to men destitute of the power of independent judgment, we are not justified in assuming that they will without any reason attach themselves to some particular *Smṛiti*; for if men's inclinations were so altogether unregulated, truth itself would, owing to the multiformity of human opinion, become unstable. We must therefore try to lead their judgment in the right way by pointing out to them the conflict of the *Smṛitis*, and the distinction founded on some of them following *Sruti* and others not.—The scriptural passage which the *pūrvapakshin* has quoted as proving the eminence of Kapila's knowledge would not justify us in believing in such doctrines of Kapila (i. e. of some Kapila) as are contrary to Scripture; for that passage mentions the bare name of Kapila (without specifying which Kapila is meant), and we meet in tradition with another Kapila, viz. the one who burned the sons of Sagara and had the surname *Vāsudeva*. That passage, moreover, serves another purpose, (viz. the establishment of the doctrine of the highest Self,) and has on that account no force to prove what is not proved by any other means, (viz. the supereminence of Kapila's knowledge.) On the other hand, we have a *Sruti*-passage which proclaims the excellence of Manu¹, viz. 'Whatever Manu said is medicine' (*Taitt. Samh.* II, 2, 10, 2). Manu himself, where he glorifies the seeing of the one Self in everything ('he who equally sees the Self in all beings and all beings in the Self, he as a sacrificer to the Self attains self-

¹ After it has been shown that Kapila the *dvaitavādin* is not mentioned in *Sruti*, it is now shown that Manu the *sarvātmavādin* is mentioned there.

luminousness,' i. e. becomes Brahman, Manu Smṛiti XII, 91), implicitly blames the doctrine of Kapila. For Kapila, by acknowledging a plurality of Selfs, does not admit the doctrine of there being one universal Self. In the Mahābhārata also the question is raised whether there are many persons (souls) or one; thereupon the opinion of others is mentioned, 'There are many persons, O King, according to the Sāṅkhya and Yoga philosophers;' that opinion is controverted 'just as there is one place of origin, (viz. the earth,) for many persons, so I will proclaim to you that universal person raised by his qualities;' and, finally, it is declared that there is one universal Self, 'He is the internal Self of me, of thee, and of all other embodied beings, the internal witness of all, not to be apprehended by any one. He the all-headed, all-armed, all-footed, all-eyed, all-nosed one moves through all beings according to his will and liking.' And Scripture also declares that there is one universal Self, 'When to a man who understands the Self has become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who once beheld that unity?' (Īs. Up. 7); and other similar passages. All which proves that the system of Kapila contradicts the Veda, and the doctrine of Manu who follows the Veda, by its hypothesis of a plurality of Selfs also, not only by the assumption of an independent pradhāna. The authoritativeness of the Veda with regard to the matters stated by it is independent and direct, just as the light of the sun is the direct means of our knowledge of form and colour; the authoritativeness of human dicta, on the other hand, is of an altogether different kind, as it depends on an extraneous basis (viz. the Veda), and is (not immediate but) mediated by a chain of teachers and tradition.

Hence the circumstance that the result (of our doctrine) is want of room for certain Smṛitis, with regard to matters contradicted by the Veda, furnishes no valid objection.—An additional reason for this our opinion is supplied by the following Sūtra.

2. And on account of the non-perception of the

others (i. e. the effects of the pradhāna, according to the Sāṅkhya system).

The principles different from the pradhāna, but to be viewed as its modifications which the (Sāṅkhya) *Smṛiti* assumes, as, for instance, the great principle, are perceived neither in the Veda nor in ordinary experience. Now things of the nature of the elements and the sense organs, which are well known from the Veda, as well as from experience, may be referred to in *Smṛiti*; but with regard to things which, like Kapila's great principle, are known neither from the Veda nor from experience—no more than, for instance, the objects of a sixth sense—*Smṛiti* is altogether impossible. That some scriptural passages which apparently refer to such things as the great principle have in reality quite a different meaning has already been shown under I, 4, 1. But if that part of *Smṛiti* which is concerned with the effects (i. e. the great principle, and so on) is without authority, the part which refers to the cause (the pradhāna) will be so likewise. This is what the Sūtra means to say.—We have thus established a second reason, proving that the circumstance of there being no room left for certain *Smṛitis* does not constitute a valid objection to our doctrine.—The weakness of the trust in reasoning (apparently favouring the Sāṅkhya doctrine) will be shown later on under II, 1, 4 ff.

3. Thereby the Yoga (*Smṛiti*) is refuted.

This Sūtra extends the application of the preceding argumentation, and remarks that by the refutation of the Sāṅkhya-*smṛiti* the Yoga-*smṛiti* also is to be considered as refuted; for the latter also assumes, in opposition to Scripture, a pradhāna as the independent cause of the world, and the 'great principle,' &c. as its effects, although neither the Veda nor common experience favour these views.—But, if the same reasoning applies to the Yoga also, the latter system is already disposed of by the previous arguments; of what use then is it formally to extend them to the Yoga? (as the Sūtra does.)—We reply that here an ad-

ditional cause of doubt presents itself, the practice of Yoga being enjoined in the Veda as a means of obtaining perfect knowledge; so, for instance, *Bṛi. Up.* II, 4, 5, '(The Self) is to be heard, to be thought, to be meditated upon¹.' In the *Svetâsvatara Upanishad*, moreover, we find various injunctions of Yoga-practice connected with the assumption of different positions of the body, &c.; so, for instance, 'Holding his body with its three erect parts even,' &c. (II, 8).

Further, we find very many passages in the Veda which (without expressly enjoining it) point to the Yoga, as, for instance, *Ka. Up.* II, 6, 11, 'This, the firm holding back of the senses, is what is called Yoga;' 'Having received this knowledge and the whole rule of Yoga' (*Ka. Up.* II, 6, 18); and so on. And in the *Yoga-sâstra* itself the passage, 'Now then Yoga, the means of the knowledge of truth,' &c. defines the Yoga as a means of reaching perfect knowledge. As thus one topic of the *sâstra* at least (*viz.* the practice of Yoga) is shown to be authoritative, the entire *Yoga-smṛiti* will have to be accepted as unobjectionable, just as the *Smṛiti* referring to the *ash/akâs*².—To this we reply that the formal extension (to the Yoga, of the arguments primarily directed against the *Sâṅkhya*) has the purpose of removing the additional doubt stated in the above lines; for in spite of a part of the *Yoga-smṛiti* being authoritative, the disagreement (between *Smṛiti* and *Śruti*) on other topics remains as shown above.—Although³ there are many *Smṛitis* treating of the soul, we have singled out for refutation the *Sâṅkhya* and *Yoga* because they are widely known as offering the means for accomplishing the highest

¹ In which passage the phrase 'to be meditated upon' (*nidhyâsâ*) indicates the act of mental concentration characteristic of the Yoga.

² The *ash/akâs* (certain oblations to be made on the eighth days after the full moons of the seasons *hemanta* and *śiśira*) furnish the stock illustration for the doctrine of the *Pûrvâ Mim.* that *Smṛiti* is authoritative in so far as it is based on *Śruti*.

³ But why—it will be asked—do you apply yourself to the refutation of the *Sâṅkhya* and *Yoga* only, and not also to that of other *Smṛitis* conflicting with the *Vedânta* views?

end of man and have found favour with many competent persons. Moreover, their position is strengthened by a Vedic passage referring to them, 'He who has known that cause which is to be apprehended by Sāṅkhya and Yoga he is freed from all fetters' (Sve. Up. VI, 13). (The claims which on the ground of this last passage might be set up for the Sāṅkhya and Yoga-smṛitis in their entirety) we refute by the remark that the highest beatitude (the highest aim of man) is not to be attained by the knowledge of the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti irrespective of the Veda, nor by the road of Yoga-practice. For Scripture itself declares that there is no other means of obtaining the highest beatitude but the knowledge of the unity of the Self which is conveyed by the Veda, 'Over death passes only the man who knows him ; there is no other path to go' (Sve. Up. III, 8). And the Sāṅkhya and Yoga-systems maintain duality, do not discern the unity of the Self. In the passage quoted ('That cause which is to be apprehended by Sāṅkhya and Yoga') the terms 'Sāṅkhya' and 'Yoga' denote Vedic knowledge and meditation, as we infer from proximity¹. We willingly allow room for those portions of the two systems which do not contradict the Veda. In their description of the soul, for instance, as free from all qualities the Sāṅkhyas are in harmony with the Veda which teaches that the person (purusha) is essentially pure ; cp. *Bṛi.* Up. IV, 3, 16, 'For that person is not attached to anything.' The Yoga again in giving rules for the condition of the wandering religious mendicant admits that state of retirement from the concerns of life which is known from scriptural passages such as the following one, 'Then the parivrāṅaka with discoloured (yellow) dress, shaven, without any possessions,' &c. (Gābāla Upan. IV).

The above remarks will serve as a reply to the claims of all argumentative Smṛitis. If it be said that those Smṛitis also assist, by argumentation and proof, the cognition of truth, we do not object to so much, but we maintain

¹ I. e. from the fact of these terms being employed in a passage standing close to other passages which refer to Vedic knowledge.

all the same that the truth can be known from the Vedānta-texts only ; as is stated by scriptural passages such as 'None who does not know the Veda perceives that great one' (Taitt. Br. III, 12, 9, 7) ; 'I now ask thee that person taught in the Upanishads' (*Bṛi. Up.* III, 9, 26) ; and others.

4. (Brahman can)not (be the cause of the world) on account of the difference of character of that, (viz. the world) ; and its being such, (i. e. different from Brahman) (we learn) from Scripture.

The objections, founded on *Smṛiti*, against the doctrine of Brahman being the efficient and the material cause of this world have been refuted ; we now proceed to refute those founded on Reasoning.—But (to raise an objection at the outset) how is there room for objections founded on Reasoning after the sense of the sacred texts has once been settled ? The sacred texts are certainly to be considered absolutely authoritative with regard to Brahman as well as with regard to religious duty (*dharma*).—(To this the *pûrvapakshin* replies), The analogy between Brahman and *dharma* would hold good if the matter in hand were to be known through the holy texts only, and could not be approached by the other means of right knowledge also. In the case of religious duties, i. e. things to be done, we indeed entirely depend on Scripture. But now we are concerned with Brahman which is an accomplished existing thing, and in the case of accomplished things there is room for other means of right knowledge also, as, for instance, the case of earth and the other elements shows. And just as in the case of several conflicting scriptural passages we explain all of them in such a manner as to make them accord with one, so *Sruti*, if in conflict with other means of right knowledge, has to be bent so as to accord with the latter. Moreover, Reasoning, which enables us to infer something not actually perceived in consequence of its having a certain equality of attributes with what is actually perceived, stands nearer to perception than *Sruti* which conveys its sense by tradition merely. And the knowledge

of Brahman which discards Nescience and effects final release terminates in a perception (viz. the intuition—*sākshātkāra*—of Brahman), and as such must be assumed to have a seen result (not an unseen one like *dharma*)¹. Moreover, the scriptural passage, 'He is to be heard, to be thought,' enjoins thought in addition to hearing, and thereby shows that Reasoning also is to be resorted to with regard to Brahman. Hence an objection founded on Reasoning is set forth, 'Not so, on account of the difference of nature of this (effect).'—The Vedāntic opinion that the intelligent Brahman is the material cause of this world is untenable because the effect would in that case be of an altogether different character from the cause. For this world, which the Vedāntin considers as the effect of Brahman, is perceived to be non-intelligent and impure, consequently different in character from Brahman; and Brahman again is declared by the sacred texts to be of a character different from the world, viz. intelligent and pure. But things of an altogether different character cannot stand to each other in the relation of material cause and effect. Such effects, for instance, as golden ornaments do not have earth for their material cause, nor is

¹ The cognition of Brahman terminates in an act of *anubhava*; hence as it has been shown that reasoning is more closely connected with *anubhava* than *Sruti* is, we have the right to apply reasoning to *Sruti*.—Ānanda Giri comments on the passage from *anubhavāvasānam* as follows: *brahmasākshātkārasya mokshopāyatayā prādhānyāt tatra sabdād api parokshagoṅarād aparokshārthasādharmyagoṅaras tarko-ntaraṅgam iti tasyaiva balavatvam ity arthaḥ. Aitihiyamātreṇa pravādapāramparyamātreṇa parokshatayeti yāvat. Anubhavasya prādhānye tarkasyoktanyāyena tasminn antaraṅgatvād āgamasya ka bahiraṅgatvād antaraṅgabahiraṅgayor antaraṅgam balavad ity nyāyād uktam tarkasya balavattvam. Anubhavaprādhānyam tu nādyāpi siddham ity āsaṅkyāhānubhaveti. Nanu Brahmagñānam vaidikatvād dharmavad adṛishṭaphalam eshavyam tat kuto-syānubhavāvasānāvidyānivartakatvam tatrāha moksheti. Adhishṭhānasākshātkārasya suktyādigñāne tadavidyātatkāryanivartakatvadṛishṭeḥ, brahmagñānasyāpi tarkavasād asambhāvanādinirāsadvārā sākshātkāraśāyinas tadavidyādinivartakatvenaiva muktihetuteti nāḍṛishṭaphalatety arthaḥ.*

gold the material cause of earthen vessels ; but effects of an earthy nature originate from earth and effects of the nature of gold from gold. In the same manner this world, which is non-intelligent and comprises pleasure, pain, and dulness, can only be the effect of a cause itself non-intelligent and made up of pleasure, pain, and dulness ; but not of Brahman which is of an altogether different character. The difference in character of this world from Brahman must be understood to be due to its impurity and its want of intelligence. It is impure because being itself made up of pleasure, pain, and dulness, it is the cause of delight, grief, despondency, &c., and because it comprises in itself abodes of various character such as heaven, hell, and so on. It is devoid of intelligence because it is observed to stand to the intelligent principle in the relation of subserviency, being the instrument of its activity. For the relation of subserviency of one thing to another is not possible on the basis of equality ; two lamps, for instance, cannot be said to be subservient to each other (both being equally luminous).—But, it will be said, an intelligent instrument also might be subservient to the enjoying soul ; just as an intelligent servant is subservient to his master.—This analogy, we reply, does not hold good, because in the case of servant and master also only the non-intelligent element in the former is subservient to the intelligent master. For a being endowed with intelligence subserves another intelligent being only with the non-intelligent part belonging to it, viz. its internal organ, sense organs, &c. ; while in so far as it is intelligent itself it acts neither for nor against any other being. For the Sâṅkhyas are of opinion that the intelligent beings (i.e. the souls) are incapable of either taking in or giving out anything¹, and are non-active. Hence that only which is devoid of intelligence can be an instrument. Nor² is there anything

¹ Niratisayâḥ, upaganâpâyadharmasūnyatvam niratisayatvam. Ân. Gi.

² A sentence replying to the possible objection that the world, as being the effect of the intelligent Brahman, might itself be intelligent.

to show that things like pieces of wood and clods of earth are of an intelligent nature ; on the contrary, the dichotomy of all things which exist into such as are intelligent and such as are non-intelligent is well established. This world therefore cannot have its material cause in Brahman from which it is altogether different in character.—Here somebody might argue as follows. Scripture tells us that this world has originated from an intelligent cause ; therefore, starting from the observation that the attributes of the cause survive in the effect, I assume this whole world to be intelligent. The absence of manifestation of intelligence (in this world) is to be ascribed to the particular nature of the modification¹. Just as undoubtedly intelligent beings do not manifest their intelligence in certain states such as sleep, swoon, &c., so the intelligence of wood and earth also is not manifest (although it exists). In consequence of this difference produced by the manifestation and non-manifestation of intelligence (in the case of men, animals, &c., on the one side, and wood, stones, &c. on the other side), and in consequence of form, colour, and the like being present in the one case and absent in the other, nothing prevents the instruments of action (earth, wood, &c.) from standing to the souls in the relation of a subordinate to a superior thing, although in reality both are equally of an intelligent nature. And just as such substances as flesh, broth, pap, and the like may, owing to their individual differences, stand in the relation of mutual subserviency, although fundamentally they are all of the same nature, viz. mere modifications of earth, so it will be in the case under discussion also, without there being done any violence to the well-known distinction (of beings intelligent and non-intelligent).—This reasoning—the *pûrvapakshin* replies—if valid might remove to a certain extent that difference of character between

¹ In the case of things commonly considered non-intelligent, intelligence is not influenced by an internal organ, and on that account remains unperceived; *samaste gagati sato'pi kaitanyasya tatra tatrântaḥkaraṇaparivâmanuparâgâd anupalabdhir aviruddhâ. Ân. Gi.*

Brahman and the world, which is due to the circumstance of the one being intelligent and the other non-intelligent ; there would, however, still remain that other difference which results from the fact that the one is pure and the other impure. But in reality the argumentation of the objector does not even remove the first-named difference ; as is declared in the latter part of the Sûtra, ' And its being such we learn from Scripture.' For the assumption of the intellectuality of the entire world—which is supported neither by perception nor by inference, &c.—must be considered as resting on Scripture only in so far as the latter speaks of the world as having originated from an intelligent cause ; but that scriptural statement itself is contradicted by other texts which declare the world to be 'of such a nature,' i.e. of a nature different from that of its material cause. For the scriptural passage, ' It became that which is knowledge and that which is devoid of knowledge ' (Taît. Up. II, 6), which teaches that a certain class of beings is of a non-intelligent nature intimates thereby that the non-intelligent world is different from the intelligent Brahman.—But—somebody might again object—the sacred texts themselves sometimes speak of the elements and the bodily organs, which are generally considered to be devoid of intelligence, as intelligent beings. The following passages, for instance, attribute intelligence to the elements. ' The earth spoke ; ' ' The waters spoke ' (Sat. Br. VI, 1, 3, 2 ; 4) ; and, again, ' Fire thought ; ' ' Water thought ' (*Kh.* Up. VI, 2, 3 ; 4). Other texts attribute intelligence to the bodily organs, ' These *prāṇas* when quarrelling together as to who was the best went to Brahman ' (*Bṛi.* Up. VI, 1, 7) ; and, again, ' They said to Speech : Do thou sing out for us ' (*Bṛi.* Up. I, 3, 2).—To this objection the *pūrvapakshin* replies in the following Sûtra.

5. But (there takes place) denotation of the superintending (deities), on account of the difference and the connexion.

The word ' but ' discards the doubt raised. We are

not entitled to base the assumption of the elements and the sense organs being of an intellectual nature on such passages as 'the earth spoke,' &c. because 'there takes place denotation of that which presides.' In the case of actions like speaking, disputing, and so on, which require intelligence, the scriptural passages denote not the mere material elements and organs, but rather the intelligent divinities which preside over earth, &c., on the one hand, and Speech, &c., on the other hand. And why so? 'On account of the difference and the connexion.' The difference is the one previously referred to between the enjoying souls, on the one hand, and the material elements and organs, on the other hand, which is founded on the distinction between intelligent and non-intelligent beings; that difference would not be possible if all beings were intelligent. Moreover, the Kaushitakins in their account of the dispute of the *prāṇas* make express use of the word 'divinities' in order to preclude the idea of the mere material organs being meant, and in order to include the superintending intelligent beings. They say, 'The deities contending with each for who was the best;' and, again, 'All these deities having recognised the pre-eminence in *prāṇa*' (Kau. Up. II, 14).—And, secondly, Mantras, Arthavādas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, &c. all declare that intelligent presiding divinities are connected with everything. Moreover, such scriptural passages as 'Agni having become Speech entered into the mouth' (Ait. Ār. II, 4, 2, 4) show that each bodily organ is connected with its own favouring divinity. And in the passages supplementary to the quarrel of the *prāṇas* we read in one place how, for the purpose of settling their relative excellence, they went to Pragâpati, and how they settled their quarrel on the ground of presence and absence, each of them, as Pragâpati had advised, departing from the body for some time ('They went to their father Pragâpati and said,' &c.; *Kh. Up. V, 1, 7*); and in another place it is said that they made an offering to *prāṇa* (*Bri. Up. VI, 1, 13*), &c.; all of them proceedings which are analogous to those of men, &c., and therefore strengthen the hypothesis that the text refers to the superintending

deities. In the case of such passages as, 'Fire thought,' we must assume that the thought spoken of is that of the highest deity which is connected with its effects as a superintending principle.—From all this it follows that this world is different in nature from Brahman, and hence cannot have it for its material cause.

To this objection raised by the pûrvapakshin the next Sûtra replies.

6. But it is seen.

The word 'but' discards the pûrvapaksha.

Your assertion that this world cannot have originated from Brahman on account of the difference of its character is not founded on an absolutely true tenet. For we see that from man, who is acknowledged to be intelligent, non-intelligent things such as hair and nails originate, and that, on the other hand, from avowedly non-intelligent matter, such as cow-dung, scorpions and similar animals are produced.—But—to state an objection—the real cause of the non-intelligent hair and nails is the human body which is itself non-intelligent, and the non-intelligent bodies only of scorpions are the effects of non-intelligent dung.—Even thus, we reply, there remains a difference in character (between the cause, for instance, the dung, and the effect, for instance, the body of the scorpion), in so far as some non-intelligent matter (the body) is the abode of an intelligent principle (the scorpion's soul), while other non-intelligent matter (the dung) is not. Moreover, the difference of nature—due to the cause passing over into the effect—between the bodies of men on the one side and hair and nails on the other side, is, on account of the divergence of colour, form, &c., very considerable after all. The same remark holds good with regard to cow-dung and the bodies of scorpions, &c. If absolute equality were insisted on (in the case of one thing being the effect of another), the relation of material cause and effect (which after all requires a distinction of the two) would be annihilated. If, again, it be remarked that in the case of men and hair as well as in that of scorpions and

cow-dung there is one characteristic feature, at least, which is found in the effect as well as in the cause, viz. the quality of being of an earthy nature ; we reply that in the case of Brahman and the world also one characteristic feature, viz. that of existence (*sattā*), is found in ether, &c. (which are the effects) as well as in Brahman (which is the cause).—He, moreover, who on the ground of the difference of the attributes tries to invalidate the doctrine of Brahman being the cause of the world, must assert that he understands by difference of attributes either the non-occurrence (in the world) of the entire complex of the characteristics of Brahman, or the non-occurrence of any (some or other) characteristic, or the non-occurrence of the characteristic of intelligence. The first assertion would lead to the negation of the relation of cause and effect in general, which relation is based on the fact of there being in the effect something over and above the cause (for if the two were absolutely identical they could not be distinguished). The second assertion is open to the charge of running counter to what is well known ; for, as we have already remarked, the characteristic quality of existence which belongs to Brahman is found likewise in ether and so on. For the third assertion the requisite proving instances are wanting ; for what instances could be brought forward against the upholder of Brahman, in order to prove the general assertion that whatever is devoid of intelligence is seen not to be an effect of Brahman ? (The upholder of Brahman would simply not admit any such instances) because he maintains that this entire complex of things has Brahman for its material cause. And that all such assertions are contrary to Scripture, is clear, as we have already shown it to be the purport of Scripture that Brahman is the cause and substance of the world. It has indeed been maintained by the *pūrvapakshin* that the other means of proof also (and not merely sacred tradition) apply to Brahman, on account of its being an accomplished entity (not something to be accomplished as religious duties are) ; but such an assertion is entirely gratuitous. For Brahman, as being devoid of form and so on, cannot become an object of

perception; and as there are in its case no characteristic marks (on which conclusions, &c. might be based), inference also and the other means of proof do not apply to it; but, like religious duty, it is to be known solely on the ground of holy tradition. Thus Scripture also declares, 'That doctrine is not to be obtained by argument, but when it is declared by another then, O dearest! it is easy to understand' (Ka. Up. I, 2, 9). And again, 'Who in truth knows it? Who could here proclaim it, whence this creation sprang?' (*Rig-v. Samh.* X, 129, 6). These two mantras show that the cause of this world is not to be known even by divine beings (*īśvara*)¹ of extraordinary power and wisdom.

There are also the following *Smṛiti* passages to the same effect: 'Do not apply reasoning to those things which are uncognisable²;' 'Unevolved he is called, uncognisable, unchangeable;' 'Not the legions of the gods know my origin, not the great *ṛishis*. For I myself am in every way the origin of the gods and great *ṛishis*' (Bha. Gī. X, 2).—And if it has been maintained above that the scriptural passage enjoining thought (on Brahman) in addition to mere hearing (of the sacred texts treating of Brahman) shows that reasoning also is to be allowed its place, we reply that the passage must not deceitfully be taken as enjoining bare independent ratiocination, but must be understood to represent reasoning as a subordinate auxiliary of intuitional knowledge. By reasoning of the latter type we may, for instance, arrive at the following conclusions; that because the state of dream and the waking state exclude each other the Self is not connected with those states; that, as the soul in the state of deep sleep leaves the phenomenal world behind and becomes one with that whose Self is pure Being, it has for its Self pure Being apart from the phenomenal world; that as the world springs from Brahman it cannot be separate from Brahman,

¹ On *īśvara* in the above meaning, compare Deussen, p. 69, note 41.

² The line '*prakṛtibhyaḥ param*,' &c. is wanting in all MSS. I have consulted.

according to the principle of the non-difference of cause and effect, &c.¹ The fallaciousness of mere reasoning will moreover be demonstrated later on (II, 1, 11).—He², moreover, who merely on the ground of the sacred tradition about an intelligent cause of the world would assume this entire world to be of an intellectual nature would find room for the other scriptural passage quoted above ('He became knowledge and what is devoid of knowledge') which teaches a distinction of intellect and non-intellect; for he could avail himself of the doctrine of intellect being sometimes manifested and sometimes non-manifested. His antagonist, on the other hand (i. e. the Sāṅkhya), would not be able to make anything of the passage, for it distinctly teaches that the highest cause constitutes the Self of the entire world.

If, then, on account of difference of character that which is intelligent cannot pass over into what is non-intelligent, that also which is non-intelligent (i. e. in our case, the non-intelligent *pradhāna* of the Sāṅkhyas) cannot pass over into what is intelligent.—(So much for argument's sake,) but apart from that, as the argument resting on difference of character has already been refuted, we must assume an intelligent cause of the world in agreement with Scripture.

¹ Ānanda Giri on the above passage : *śrutyākāṅkshitam tarkam eva mananavidhivishayam udāharati svapnānteti. Svapnagāgaritayor mithovyabhikārad ātmanaḥ svabhāvatas tadvattvābhāvād avasthādvayena tasya svato=samprkṛtatvam ato gīvasyāvasthāvatvena nābrahmatvam ity arthaḥ. Tathāpi dehādītādātmyenātmano bhāvān na niḥprapañkabrahmatety āśaṅkyāha samprasāde kṛti. Satā somya tadā sampanno bhavattīti śruteḥ sushupte niḥprapañkasadātmavāgamād ātmanas tathāvidhabrahmatvasiddhir ity arthaḥ. Dvaitagrāhipratyakshādavirodhāt katham ātmano=dvītyābrahmatvam ity āśaṅkya taggatvādihetunā brahmātīrīktavastvabhāvasiddher adhyakshādīnām atatvāvedakaprāmāṇyād avirodhād yuktam ātmano=dvītyābrahmatvam ity āha prapañkasyeti.*

² Let us finally assume, merely for argument's sake, that a *vaiśaṅkṣya* of cause and effect is not admissible, and enquire whether that assumption can be reconciled more easily with an intelligent or a non-intelligent cause of the world.

7. If (it is said that the effect is) non-existent (before its origination); we do not allow that because it is a mere negation (without an object).

If Brahman, which is intelligent, pure, and devoid of qualities such as sound, and so on, is supposed to be the cause of an effect which is of an opposite nature, i. e. non-intelligent, impure, possessing the qualities of sound, &c., it follows that the effect has to be considered as non-existing before its actual origination. But this consequence cannot be acceptable to you—the Vedântin—who maintain the doctrine of the effect existing in the cause already.

This objection of yours, we reply, is without any force, on account of its being a mere negation. If you negative the existence of the effect previous to its actual origination, your negation is a mere negation without an object to be negated. The negation (implied in 'non-existent') can certainly not have for its object the existence of the effect previous to its origination, since the effect must be viewed as 'existent,' through and in the Self of the cause, before its origination as well as after it; for at the present moment also this effect does not exist independently, apart from the cause; according to such scriptural passages as, 'Whosoever looks for anything elsewhere than in the Self is abandoned by everything' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 6*). In so far, on the other hand, as the effect exists through the Self of the cause, its existence is the same before the actual beginning of the effect (as after it).—But Brahman, which is devoid of qualities such as sound, &c., is the cause of this world (possessing all those qualities)!—True, but the effect with all its qualities does not exist without the Self of the cause either now or before the actual beginning (of the effect); hence it cannot be said that (according to our doctrine) the effect is non-existing before its actual beginning.—This point will be elucidated in detail in the section treating of the non-difference of cause and effect.

8. On account of such consequences at the time

of reabsorption (the doctrine maintained hitherto) is objectionable.

The pûrvapakshin raises further objections.—If an effect which is distinguished by the qualities of grossness, consisting of parts, absence of intelligence, limitation, impurity, &c., is admitted to have Brahman for its cause, it follows that at the time of reabsorption (of the world into Brahman), the effect, by entering into the state of non-division from its cause, inquires the latter with its properties. As therefore—on your doctrine—the cause (i.e. Brahman) as well as the effect is, at the time of reabsorption, characterised by impurity and similar qualities, the doctrine of the Upanishads, according to which an omniscient Brahman is the cause of the world, cannot be upheld.—Another objection to that doctrine is that in consequence of all distinctions passing at the time of reabsorption into the state of non-distinction there would be no special causes left at the time of a new beginning of the world, and consequently the new world could not arise with all the distinctions of enjoying souls, objects to be enjoyed and so on (which are actually observed to exist).—A third objection is that, if we assume the origin of a new world even after the annihilation of all works, &c. (which are the causes of a new world arising) of the enjoying souls which enter into the state of non-difference from the highest Brahman, we are led to the conclusion that also those (souls) which have obtained final release again appear in the new world.—If you finally say, 'Well, let this world remain distinct from the highest Brahman even at the time of reabsorption,' we reply that in that case a reabsorption will not take place at all, and that, moreover, the effect's existing separate from the cause is not possible.—For all these reasons the Vedānta doctrine is objectionable.

To this the next Sūtra replies.

9. Not so ; as there are parallel instances.

There is nothing objectionable in our system.—The objection that the effect when being reabsorbed into its

cause would inquninate the latter with its qualities does not damage our position 'because there are parallel instances,' i. e. because there are instances of effects not inquninating with their qualities the causes into which they are re-absorbed. Things, for instance, made of clay, such as pots, &c., which in their state of separate existence are of various descriptions, do not, when they are reabsorbed into their original matter (i. e. clay), impart to the latter their individual qualities; nor do golden ornaments impart their individual qualities to their elementary material, i. e. gold, into which they may finally be reabsorbed. Nor does the fourfold complex of organic beings which springs from earth impart its qualities to the latter at the time of re-absorption. You (i. e. the pûrvapakshin), on the other hand, have not any instances to quote in your favour. For re-absorption could not take place at all if the effect when passing back into its causal substance continued to subsist there with all its individual properties. And¹ that in spite of the non-difference of cause and effect the effect has its Self in the cause, but not the cause in the effect, is a point which we shall render clear later on, under II, 1, 14.

Moreover, the objection that the effect would impart its qualities to the cause at the time of reabsorption is formulated too narrowly because, the identity of cause and effect being admitted, the same would take place during the time of the subsistence (of the effect, previous to its reabsorption). That the identity of cause and effect (of Brahman and the world) holds good indiscriminately with regard to all time (not only the time of reabsorption), is declared in many scriptural passages, as, for instance, 'This everything is that Self' (*Bri. Up.* II, 4, 6); 'The Self is all this' (*Kh. Up.* VII, 25, 2); 'The immortal Brahman is this before' (*Mu. Up.* II, 2, 11); 'All this is Brahman' (*Kh. Up.* III, 14, 1).

With regard to the case referred to in the *Sruti*-passages we refute the assertion of the cause being affected by the

¹ Nanu pralayakâle kâryadharmâs ken nâvatish/heran na tarhi kâranadharmâ api tish/heyus taylor abhedât tatrâhânanyatye. pîti. Ân. Gi.

effect and its qualities by showing that the latter are the mere fallacious superimpositions of nescience, and the very same argument holds good with reference to reabsorption also.—We can quote other examples in favour of our doctrine. As the magician is not at any time affected by the magical illusion produced by himself, because it is unreal, so the highest Self is not affected by the world-illusion. And as one dreaming person is not affected by the illusory visions of his dream because they do not accompany the waking state and the state of dreamless sleep; so the one permanent witness of the three states (viz. the highest Self which is the one unchanging witness of the creation, subsistence, and reabsorption of the world) is not touched by the mutually exclusive three states. For that the highest Self appears in those three states, is a mere illusion, not more substantial than the snake for which the rope is mistaken in the twilight. With reference to this point teachers knowing the true tradition of the Vedānta have made the following declaration, ‘When the individual soul which is held in the bonds of slumber by the beginningless Mâyâ awakes, then it knows the eternal, sleepless, dreamless non-duality’ (Gauḍap. Kār. I, 16).

So far we have shown that—on our doctrine—there is no danger of the cause being affected at the time of reabsorption by the qualities of the effect, such as grossness and the like.—With regard to the second objection, viz. that if we assume all distinctions to pass (at the time of reabsorption) into the state of non-distinction there would be no special reason for the origin of a new world affected with distinctions, we likewise refer to the ‘existence of parallel instances.’ For the case is parallel to that of deep sleep and trance. In those states also the soul enters into an essential condition of non-distinction; nevertheless, wrong knowledge being not yet finally overcome, the old state of distinction re-establishes itself as soon as the soul awakes from its sleep or trance. Compare the scriptural passage, ‘All these creatures when they have become merged in the True, know not that they are merged in the True. Whatever these creatures are here, whether a lion, or a

wolf, or a boar, or a worm, or a midge, or a gnat, or a musquito, that they become again' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 9, 2 ; 3). For just as during the subsistence of the world the phenomenon of multifarious distinct existence, based on wrong knowledge, proceeds unimpeded like the vision of a dream, although there is only one highest Self devoid of all distinction ; so, we conclude, there remains, even after reabsorption, the power of distinction (potential distinction) founded on wrong knowledge.—Herewith the objection that—according to our doctrine—even the finally released souls would be born again is already disposed of. They will not be born again because in their case wrong knowledge has been entirely discarded by perfect knowledge.—The last alternative finally (which the *pûrvapakshin* had represented as open to the *Vedântin*), viz. that even at the time of reabsorption the world should remain distinct from Brahman, precludes itself because it is not admitted by the *Vedântins* themselves.—Hence the system founded on the *Upanishads* is in every way unobjectionable.

10. And because the objections (raised by the *Sāṅkhya* against the *Vedānta* doctrine) apply to his view also.

The doctrine of our opponent is liable to the very same objections which he urges against us, viz. in the following manner.—The objection that this world cannot have sprung from Brahman on account of its difference of character applies no less to the doctrine of the *pradhāna* being the cause of the world ; for that doctrine also assumes that from a *pradhāna* devoid of sound and other qualities a world is produced which possesses those very qualities. The beginning of an effect different in character being thus admitted, the *Sāṅkhya* is equally driven to the doctrine that before the actual beginning the effect was non-existent. And, moreover, it being admitted (by the *Sāṅkhya* also) that at the time of reabsorption the effect passes back into the state of non-distinction from the cause, the case of the *Sāṅkhya* here also is the same as ours.—And, further, if

(as the Sāṅkhya also must admit) at the time of reabsorption the differences of all the special effects are obliterated and pass into a state of general non-distinction, the special fixed conditions, which previous to reabsorption were the causes of the different worldly existence of each soul, can, at the time of a new creation, no longer be determined, there being no cause for them ; and if you assume them to be determined without a cause, you are driven to the admission that even the released souls have to re-enter a state of bondage, there being equal absence of a cause (in the case of the released and the non-released souls). And if you try to avoid this conclusion by assuming that at the time of reabsorption some individual differences pass into the state of non-distinction, others not, we reply that in that case the latter could not be considered as effects of the *pradhāna* ¹.—It thus appears that all those difficulties (raised by the Sāṅkhya) apply to both views, and cannot therefore be urged against either only. But as either of the two doctrines must necessarily be accepted, we are strengthened —by the outcome of the above discussion—in the opinion that the alleged difficulties are no-real difficulties ².

11. If it be said that, in consequence of the ill-foundedness of reasoning, we must frame our conclusions otherwise ; (we reply that) thus also there would result non-release.

In matters to be known from Scripture mere reasoning is not to be relied on for the following reason also. As the thoughts of man are altogether unfettered, reasoning which disregards the holy texts and rests on individual opinion only has no proper foundation. We see how arguments, which some clever men had excogitated with great pains, are shown, by people still more ingenious, to be fallacious, and how the arguments of the latter again are refuted in their turn

¹ For if they are effects of the *pradhāna* they must as such be reabsorbed into it at the time of general reabsorption.

² And that the Vedānta view is preferable because the nullity of the objections has already been demonstrated in its case.

by other men ; so that, on account of the diversity of men's opinions, it is impossible to accept mere reasoning as having a sure foundation. Nor can we get over this difficulty by accepting as well-founded the reasoning of some person of recognised mental eminence, may he now be Kapila or anybody else ; since we observe that even men of the most undoubted mental eminence, such as Kapila, Kaṇāda, and other founders of philosophical schools, have contradicted one another.

But (our adversary may here be supposed to say), we will fashion our reasoning otherwise, i.e. in such a manner as not to lay it open to the charge of having no proper foundation. You cannot, after all, maintain that no reasoning whatever is well-founded ; for you yourself can found your assertion that reasoning has no foundation on reasoning only ; your assumption being that because some arguments are seen to be devoid of foundation other arguments as belonging to the same class are likewise devoid of foundation. Moreover, if all reasoning were unfounded, the whole course of practical human life would have to come to an end. For we see that men act, with a view to obtaining pleasure and avoiding pain in the future time, on the assumption that the past, the present, and the future are uniform.—Further, in the case of passages of Scripture (apparently) contradicting each other, the ascertainment of the real sense, which depends on a preliminary refutation of the apparent sense, can be effected only by an accurate definition of the meaning of sentences, and that involves a process of reasoning. Thus Manu also expresses himself: 'Perception, inference, and the śāstra according to the various traditions, this triad is to be known well by one desiring clearness in regard to right.—He who applies reasoning not contradicted by the Veda to the Veda and the (*Smṛiti*) doctrine of law, he, and no other, knows the law' (Manu *Smṛiti* XII, 105, 106). And that 'want of foundation', to which you object, really constitutes the beauty of reasoning, because it enables us to arrive at unobjectionable arguments by means of the previous refutation of objectionable arguments¹. (No fear that because the

¹ The whole style of argumentation of the *Mīmāṃsā* would be

pûrvapaksha is ill-founded the siddhânta should be ill-founded too ;) for there is no valid reason to maintain that a man must be stupid because his elder brother was stupid. —For all these reasons the want of foundation cannot be used as an argument against reasoning.

Against this argumentation we remark that thus also there results 'want of release.' For although with regard to some things reasoning is observed to be well founded, with regard to the matter in hand there will result 'want of release,' viz. of the reasoning from this very fault of ill-foundedness. The true nature of the cause of the world on which final emancipation depends cannot, on account of its excessive abstruseness, even be thought of without the help of the holy texts ; for, as already remarked, it cannot become the object of perception, because it does not possess qualities such as form and the like, and as it is devoid of characteristic signs, it does not lend itself to inference and the other means of right knowledge.—Or else (if we adopt another explanation of the word 'avimoksha') all those who teach the final release of the soul are agreed that it results from perfect knowledge. Perfect knowledge has the characteristic mark of uniformity, because it depends on accomplished actually existing things ; for whatever thing is permanently of one and the same nature is acknowledged to be a true or real thing, and knowledge conversant about such is called perfect knowledge ; as, for instance, the knowledge embodied in the proposition, 'fire is hot.' Now, it is clear that in the case of perfect knowledge a mutual conflict of men's opinions is impossible. But that cognitions founded on reasoning do conflict is generally known ; for we continually observe that what one logician endeavours to establish as perfect knowledge is demolished by another, who, in his turn, is treated alike by a third. How therefore can knowledge, which is founded on reasoning, and whose object is not something permanently uniform, be perfect knowledge ?—Nor can it be said that he who maintains the

impossible, if all reasoning were sound ; for then no pûrvapaksha view could be maintained.

pradhāna to be the cause of the world (i.e. the Sāṅkhya) is the best of all reasoners, and accepted as such by all philosophers; which would enable us to accept his opinion as perfect knowledge.—Nor can we collect at a given moment and on a given spot all the logicians of the past, present, and future time, so as to settle (by their agreement) that their opinion regarding some uniform object is to be considered perfect knowledge. The Veda, on the other hand, which is eternal and the source of knowledge, may be allowed to have for its object firmly established things, and hence the perfection of that knowledge which is founded on the Veda cannot be denied by any of the logicians of the past, present, or future. We have thus established the perfection of this our knowledge which reposes on the Upanishads, and as apart from it perfect knowledge is impossible, its disregard would lead to 'absence of final release' of the transmigrating souls. Our final position therefore is, that on the ground of Scripture and of reasoning subordinate to Scripture, the intelligent Brahman is to be considered the cause and substance of the world.

12. Thereby those (theories) also which are not accepted by competent persons are explained.

Hitherto we have refuted those objections against the Vedānta-texts which, based on reasoning, take their stand on the doctrine of the pradhāna being the cause of the world; (which doctrine deserves to be refuted first), because it stands near to our Vedic system, is supported by somewhat weighty arguments, and has, to a certain extent, been adopted by some authorities who follow the Veda.—But now some dull-witted persons might think that another objection founded on reasoning might be raised against the Vedānta, viz. on the ground of the atomic doctrine. The Sūtrakāra, therefore, extends to the latter objection the refutation of the former, considering that by the conquest of the most dangerous adversary the conquest of the minor enemies is already virtually accomplished. Other doctrines, as, for instance, the atomic doctrine of which no part has been accepted by

either Manu or Vyāsa or other authorities, are to be considered as 'explained,' i. e. refuted by the same reasons which enabled us to dispose of the pradhāna doctrine. As the reasons on which the refutation hinges are the same, there is no room for further doubt. Such common arguments are the impotence of reasoning to fathom the depth of the transcendental cause of the world, the ill-foundedness of mere Reasoning, the impossibility of final release, even in case of the conclusions being shaped 'otherwise' (see the preceding Sūtra), the conflict of Scripture and Reasoning, and so on.

13. If it be said that from the circumstance of (the objects of enjoyment) passing over into the enjoyer (and vice versâ) there would result non-distinction (of the two); we reply that (such distinction) may exist (nevertheless), as ordinary experience shows.

Another objection, based on reasoning, is raised against the doctrine of Brahman being the cause of the world.—Although Scripture is authoritative with regard to its own special subject-matter (as, for instance, the causality of Brahman), still it may have to be taken in a secondary sense in those cases where the subject-matter is taken out of its grasp by other means of right knowledge; just as mantras and arthavādas have occasionally to be explained in a secondary sense (when the primary, literal sense is rendered impossible by other means of right knowledge¹). Analogously reasoning is to be considered invalid outside its legitimate sphere; so, for instance, in the case of religious duty and its opposite².—Hence Scripture cannot be acknowledged to refute what is settled by other means of right knowledge. And if you ask, 'Where does Scripture oppose itself to what is thus established?' we give you the fol-

¹ The following arthavāda-passage, for instance, 'the sacrificial post is the sun,' is to be taken in a metaphorical sense; because perception renders it impossible for us to take it in its literal meaning.

² Which are to be known from the Veda only.

lowing instance. The distinction of enjoyers and objects of enjoyment is well known from ordinary experience, the enjoyers being intelligent, embodied souls, while sound and the like are the objects of enjoyment. Devadatta, for instance, is an enjoyer, the dish (which he eats) an object of enjoyment. The distinction of the two would be reduced to non-existence if the enjoyer passed over into the object of enjoyment, and vice versâ. Now this passing over of one thing into another would actually result from the doctrine of the world being non-different from Brahman. But the sublation of a well-established distinction is objectionable, not only with regard to the present time when that distinction is observed to exist, but also with regard to the past and the future, for which it is inferred. The doctrine of Brahman's causality must therefore be abandoned, as it would lead to the sublation of the well-established distinction of enjoyers and objects of enjoyment.

To the preceding objection we reply, 'It may exist as in ordinary experience.' Even on our philosophic view the distinction may exist, as ordinary experience furnishes us with analogous instances. We see, for instance, that waves, foam, bubbles, and other modifications of the sea, although they really are not different from the sea-water, exist, sometimes in the state of mutual separation, sometimes in the state of conjunction, &c. From the fact of their being non-different from the sea-water, it does not follow that they pass over into each other; and, again, although they do not pass over into each other, still they are not different from the sea. So it is in the case under discussion also. The enjoyers and the objects of enjoyment do not pass over into each other, and yet they are not different from the highest Brahman. And although the enjoyer is not really an effect of Brahman, since the unmodified creator himself, in so far as he enters into the effect, is called the enjoyer (according to the passage, 'Having created he entered into it,' *Taitt. Up.* II, 6), still after Brahman has entered into its effects it passes into a state of distinction, in consequence of the effect acting as a limiting adjunct; just as the universal ether is divided by its contact with jars and other limiting

adjuncts. The conclusion is, that the distinction of enjoyers and objects of enjoyment is possible, although both are non-different from Brahman, their highest cause, as the analogous instance of the sea and its waves demonstrates.

14. The non-difference of them (i. e. of cause and effect) results from such terms as 'origin' and the like.

The¹ refutation contained in the preceding Sūtra was set forth on the condition of the practical distinction of enjoyers and objects of enjoyment being acknowledged. In reality, however, that distinction does not exist because there is understood to be non-difference (identity) of cause and effect. The effect is this manifold world consisting of ether and so on; the cause is the highest Brahman. Of the effect it is understood that in reality it is non-different from the cause, i. e. has no existence apart from the cause.—How so?—'On account of the scriptural word "origin" and others.' The word 'origin' is used in connexion with a simile, in a passage undertaking to show how through the knowledge of one thing everything is known; viz. *Kh. Up. VI, 1, 4*, 'As, my dear, by one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, the modification (i. e. the effect; the thing made of clay) being a name merely which has its origin in speech, while the truth is that it is clay merely; thus,' &c.—The meaning of this passage is that, if there is known a lump of clay which really and truly is nothing but clay², there are known thereby likewise all things made of clay, such as jars, dishes, pails, and so on, all of which agree in having clay for their true nature. For these modifications or effects are names only, exist through or originate from speech only, while in reality there exists no such thing as a modification. In so far as they are names (individual effects distinguished by names) they are untrue; in so far

¹ *Parizālavādam avalambyāpātato virodham samādhāya vivartavādam āsritya paramasamādhānam āha. Ān. Gi.*

² *Ānanda Giri construes differently: etad uktam iti, paramārthato vigñātam iti sambandhaḥ.*

as they are clay they are true.—This parallel instance is given with reference to Brahman ; applying the phrase ‘having its origin in speech’ to the case illustrated by the instance quoted we understand that the entire body of effects has no existence apart from Brahman.—Later on again the text, after having declared that fire, water, and earth are the effects of Brahman, maintains that the effects of these three elements have no existence apart from them, ‘Thus has vanished the specific nature of burning fire, the modification being a mere name which has its origin in speech, while only the three colours are what is true’ (*Kh. Up.* VI, 4, 1).—Other sacred texts also whose purport it is to intimate the unity of the Self are to be quoted here, in accordance with the ‘and others’ of the Sûtra. Such texts are, ‘In that all this has its Self; it is the True, it is the Self, thou art that’ (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 7); ‘This everything, all is that Self’ (*Bri. Up.* II, 4, 6); ‘Brahman alone is all this’ (*Mu. Up.* II, 2, 11); ‘The Self is all this’ (*Kh. Up.* VII, 25, 2); ‘There is in it no diversity’ (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 25).—On any other assumption it would not be possible to maintain that by the knowledge of one thing everything becomes known (as the text quoted above declares). We therefore must adopt the following view. In the same way as those parts of ethereal space which are limited by jars and waterpots are not really different from the universal ethereal space, and as the water of a mirage is not really different from the surface of the salty steppe—for the nature of that water is that it is seen in one moment and has vanished in the next, and moreover, it is not to be perceived by its own nature (i. e. apart from the surface of the desert¹)—; so this manifold world with its objects of enjoyment, enjoyers and so on has no existence apart from Brahman.—But—it might be objected—Brahman has in itself elements of manifoldness. As the tree has many branches, so Brahman possesses many powers

¹ *Drish/eti kadâkîd drish/am punar nash/am anityam iti yâvat.—Drish/agrahanasôkîtam pratîkâlê=pi sattârâhityam tatraiva hetvan-taram âha svarûpeneti. Ân. Gi.*

and energies dependent on those powers. Unity and manifoldness are therefore both true. Thus, a tree considered in itself is one, but it is manifold if viewed as having branches ; so the sea in itself is one, but manifold as having waves and foam ; so the clay in itself is one, but manifold if viewed with regard to the jars and dishes made of it. On this assumption the process of final release resulting from right knowledge may be established in connexion with the element of unity (in Brahman), while the two processes of common worldly activity and of activity according to the Veda—which depend on the *karmakānda*—may be established in connexion with the element of manifoldness. And with this view the parallel instances of clay &c. agree very well.

This theory, we reply, is untenable because in the instance (quoted in the Upanishad) the phrase ‘as clay they are true’ asserts the cause only to be true while the phrase ‘having its origin in speech’ declares the unreality of all effects. And with reference to the matter illustrated by the instance given (viz. the highest cause, Brahman) we read, ‘In that all this has its Self;’ and, again, ‘That is true;’ whereby it is asserted that only the one highest cause is true. The following passage again, ‘That is the Self; thou art that, O Svetaketu!’ teaches that the embodied soul (the individual soul) also is Brahman. (And we must note that) the passage distinctly teaches that the fact of the embodied soul having its Self in Brahman is self-established, not to be accomplished by endeavour. This doctrine of the individual soul having its Self in Brahman, if once accepted as the doctrine of the Veda, does away with the independent existence of the individual soul, just as the idea of the rope does away with the idea of the snake (for which the rope had been mistaken). And if the doctrine of the independent existence of the individual soul has to be set aside, then the opinion of the entire phenomenal world—which is based on the individual soul—having an independent existence is likewise to be set aside. But only for the establishment of the latter an element of manifoldness would have to be assumed in Brahman, in

addition to the element of unity.—Scriptural passages also (such as, 'When the Self only is all this, how should he see another?' *Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 13*) declare that for him who sees that everything has its Self in Brahman the whole phenomenal world with its actions, agents, and results of actions is non-existent. Nor can it be said that this non-existence of the phenomenal world is declared (by Scripture) to be limited to certain states; for the passage 'Thou art that' shows that the general fact of Brahman being the Self of all is not limited by any particular state. Moreover, Scripture, showing by the instance of the thief (*Kh. VI, 16*) that the false-minded is bound while the true-minded is released, declares thereby that unity is the one true existence while manifoldness is evolved out of wrong knowledge. For if both were true how could the man who acquiesces in the reality of this phenomenal world be called false-minded¹? Another scriptural passage ('from death to death goes he who perceives therein any diversity,' *Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 19*) declares the same, by blaming those who perceive any distinction.—Moreover, on the doctrine, which we are at present impugning, release cannot result from knowledge, because the doctrine does not acknowledge that some kind of wrong knowledge, to be removed by perfect knowledge, is the cause of the phenomenal world. For how can the cognition of unity remove the cognition of manifoldness if both are true?

Other objections are started.—If we acquiesce in the doctrine of absolute unity, the ordinary means of right knowledge, perception, &c., become invalid because the absence of manifoldness deprives them of their objects; just as the idea of a man becomes invalid after the right idea of the post (which at first had been mistaken for a man) has presented itself. Moreover, all the texts embodying injunctions and prohibitions will lose their purport if the distinction on which their validity depends

¹ In the passage alluded to he is called so by implication, being compared to the 'false-minded' thief who, knowing himself to be guilty, undergoes the ordeal of the heated hatchet.

does not really exist. And further, the entire body of doctrine which refers to final release will collapse, if the distinction of teacher and pupil on which it depends is not real. And if the doctrine of release is untrue, how can we maintain the truth of the absolute unity of the Self, which forms an item of that doctrine?

These objections, we reply, do not damage our position because the entire complex of phenomenal existence is considered as true as long as the knowledge of Brahman being the Self of all has not arisen; just as the phantoms of a dream are considered to be true until the sleeper wakes. For as long as a person has not reached the true knowledge of the unity of the Self, so long it does not enter his mind that the world of effects with its means and objects of right knowledge and its results of actions is untrue; he rather, in consequence of his ignorance, looks on mere effects (such as body, offspring, wealth, &c.) as forming part of and belonging to his Self, forgetful of Brahman being in reality the Self of all. Hence, as long as true knowledge does not present itself, there is no reason why the ordinary course of secular and religious activity should not hold on undisturbed. The case is analogous to that of a dreaming man who in his dream sees manifold things, and, up to the moment of waking, is convinced that his ideas are produced by real perception without suspecting the perception to be a merely apparent one.—But how (to restate an objection raised above) can the Vedānta-texts if untrue convey information about the true being of Brahman? We certainly do not observe that a man bitten by a rope-snake (i.e. a snake falsely imagined in a rope) dies, nor is the water appearing in a mirage used for drinking or bathing¹.—This objection, we reply, is without force (because as a matter of fact we do see real effects to result from unreal causes), for we observe that death sometimes takes place from imaginary venom, (when a man imagines himself to have been bitten by a venomous snake,)

¹ I.e. ordinary experience does not teach us that real effects spring from unreal causes.

and effects (of what is perceived in a dream) such as the bite of a snake or bathing in a river take place with regard to a dreaming person.—But, it will be said, these effects themselves are unreal!—These effects themselves, we reply, are unreal indeed; but not so the consciousness which the dreaming person has of them. This consciousness is a real result; for it is not sublated by the waking consciousness. The man who has risen from sleep does indeed consider the effects perceived by him in his dream such as being bitten by a snake, bathing in a river, &c. to be unreal, but he does not on that account consider the consciousness he had of them to be unreal likewise.—(We remark in passing that) by this fact of the consciousness of the dreaming person not being sublated (by the waking consciousness) the doctrine of the body being our true Self is to be considered as refuted¹.—Scripture also (in the passage, ‘If a man who is engaged in some sacrifice undertaken for some special wish sees in his dream a woman, he is to infer therefrom success in his work’) declares that by the unreal phantom of a dream a real result such as prosperity may be obtained. And, again, another scriptural passage, after having declared that from the observation of certain unfavourable omens a man is to conclude that he will not live long, continues ‘if somebody sees in his dream a black man with black teeth and that man kills him,’ intimating thereby that by the unreal dream-phantom a real fact, viz. death, is notified.—It is, moreover, known from the experience of persons who carefully observe positive and negative instances that such and such dreams are auspicious omens, others the reverse. And (to quote another example that something true can result from or be known through something untrue) we see that the knowledge of the real sounds A. &c. is reached by means of the unreal written letters. Moreover, the reasons which establish the unity of the

¹ Svapnagâgraddehayor vyabhikāre-pi pratyabhigñânât tadanu-gatâtmaikyasiddhes kaitanyasya ka dehadharmatve rūpâdivat tadanu-palabdhiprasaṅgād avagates kâbâdhât tadrūpasyâtmano dehadvayâti-rekasiddher dehamâtrâtmaivâdo na yukta ity arthaḥ. Ân. Gi.

Self are altogether final, so that subsequently to them nothing more is required for full satisfaction¹. An injunction as, for instance, 'He is to sacrifice' at once renders us desirous of knowing what is to be effected, and by what means and in what manner it is to be effected; but passages such as, 'Thou art that,' 'I am Brahman,' leave nothing to be desired because the state of consciousness produced by them has for its object the unity of the universal Self. For as long as something else remains a desire is possible; but there is nothing else which could be desired in addition to the absolute unity of Brahman. Nor can it be maintained that such states of consciousness do not actually arise; for scriptural passages such as, 'He understood what he said' (*Kh. Up. VII, 18, 2*), declare them to occur, and certain means are enjoined to bring them about, such as the hearing (of the Veda from a teacher) and the recital of the sacred texts. Nor, again, can such consciousness be objected to on the ground either of uselessness or of erroneousness, because, firstly, it is seen to have for its result the cessation of ignorance, and because, secondly, there is no other kind of knowledge by which it could be sublated. And that before the knowledge of the unity of the Self has been reached the whole real-unreal course of ordinary life, worldly as well as religious, goes on unimpeded, we have already explained. When, however, final authority having intimated the unity of the Self, the entire course of the world which was founded on the previous distinction is sublated, then there is no longer any opportunity for assuming a Brahman comprising in itself various elements.

But—it may be said—(that would not be a mere assumption, but) Scripture itself, by quoting the parallel instances of clay and so on, declares itself in favour of a Brahman

¹ As long as the 'vyavahāra' presents itself to our mind, we might feel inclined to assume in Brahman an element of manifoldness whereby to account for the vyavahāra; but as soon as we arrive at true knowledge, the vyavahāra vanishes, and there remains no longer any reason for qualifying in any way the absolute unity of Brahman.

capable of modification ; for we know from experience that clay and similar things do undergo modifications.—This objection—we reply—is without force, because a number of scriptural passages, by denying all modification of Brahman, teach it to be absolutely changeless (*kû†astha*). Such passages are, ‘This great unborn Self, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless, is indeed Brahman’ (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 25*) ; ‘That Self is to be described by No, no’ (*Bri. Up. III, 9, 26*) ; ‘It is neither coarse nor fine’ (*Bri. Up. III, 8, 8*). For to the one Brahman the two qualities of being subject to modification and of being free from it cannot both be ascribed. And if you say, ‘Why should they not be both predicated of Brahman (the former during the time of the subsistence of the world, the latter during the period of reabsorption) just as rest and motion may be predicated (of one body at different times)?’ we remark that the qualification, ‘absolutely changeless’ (*kû†astha*), precludes this. For the changeless Brahman cannot be the substratum of varying attributes. And that, on account of the negation of all attributes, Brahman really is eternal and changeless has already been demonstrated.—Moreover, while the cognition of the unity of Brahman is the instrument of final release, there is nothing to show that any independent result is connected with the view of Brahman, by undergoing a modification, passing over into the form of this world. Scripture expressly declares that the knowledge of the changeless Brahman being the universal Self leads to a result ; for in the passage which begins, ‘That Self is to be described by No, no,’ we read later on, ‘O *Ganaka*, you have indeed reached fearlessness’ (*Bri. Up. IV, 2, 4*). We have then¹ to accept the following conclusion that, in the sections treating of Brahman, an independent result belongs only to the knowledge of Brahman as devoid of all attributes and distinctions, and that hence whatever is stated as having no special fruit of its own—as, for instance, the passages about Brahman modifying itself into the form of this

¹ *Tatreti, srish†yâdisrutinâm svârthe phalavaikalye sat†ti yâvat. Ân. Gi.*

world—is merely to be applied as a means for the cognition of the absolute Brahman, but does not bring about an independent result; according to the principle that whatever has no result of its own, but is mentioned in connexion with something else which has such a result, is subordinate to the latter¹. For to maintain that the result of the knowledge of Brahman undergoing modifications would be that the Self (of him who knows that) would undergo corresponding modifications² would be inappropriate, as the state of final release (which the soul obtains through the knowledge of Brahman) is eternally unchanging.

But, it is objected, he who maintains the nature of Brahman to be changeless thereby contradicts the fundamental tenet according to which the Lord is the cause of the world, since the doctrine of absolute unity leaves no room for the distinction of a Ruler and something ruled.—This objection we ward off by remarking that omniscience, &c. (i. e. those qualities which belong to Brahman only in so far as it is related to a world) depend on the evolution of the germinal principles called name and form, whose essence is Nescience. The fundamental tenet which we maintain (in accordance with such scriptural passages as, 'From that Self sprang ether,' &c.; *Taitt. Up.* II, 1) is that the creation, sustentation, and reabsorption of the world proceed from an omniscient, omnipotent Lord, not from a non-intelligent *pradhāna* or any other principle. That tenet we have stated in I, 1, 4, and here we do not teach anything contrary to it.—But how, the question may be asked, can you make this last assertion while all the while you maintain the absolute unity and non-duality of the Self?—Listen how. Belonging to the Self, as it were, of the omniscient Lord, there are name and form, the figments of Nescience, not to be defined either

¹ A *Mīmāṃsā* principle. A sacrificial act, for instance, is independent when a special result is assigned to it by the sacred texts; an act which is enjoined without such a specification is merely auxiliary to another act.

² According to the *Śruti* 'in whatever mode he worships him into that mode he passes himself.'

as being (i. e. Brahman), nor as different from it¹, the germs of the entire expanse of the phenomenal world, called in *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* the illusion (*mâyâ*), power (*śakti*), or nature (*prakṛiti*) of the omniscient Lord. Different from them is the omniscient Lord himself, as we learn from scriptural passages such as the following, 'He who is called ether is the revealer of all forms and names; that within which these forms and names are contained is Brahman' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 14, 1*); 'Let me evolve names and forms' (*Kh. Up. VI, 3, 2*); 'He, the wise one, who having divided all forms and given all names, sits speaking (with those names)' (*Taitt. Âr. III, 12, 7*); 'He who makes the one seed manifold' (*Sve. Up. VI, 12*).—Thus the Lord depends (as Lord) upon the limiting adjuncts of name and form, the products of Nescience; just as the universal ether depends (as limited ether, such as the ether of a jar, &c.) upon the limiting adjuncts in the shape of jars, pots, &c. He (the Lord) stands in the realm of the phenomenal in the relation of a ruler to the so-called *gīvas* (individual souls) or cognitional Selves (*viġñânâtman*), which indeed are one with his own Self—just as the portions of ether enclosed in jars and the like are one with the universal ether—but are limited by aggregates of instruments of action (i. e. bodies) produced from name and form, the presentations of Nescience. Hence the Lord's being a Lord, his omniscience, his omnipotence, &c. all depend on the limitation due to the adjuncts whose Self is Nescience; while in reality none of these qualities belong to the Self whose true nature is cleared, by right knowledge, from all adjuncts whatever. Thus Scripture also says, 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the Infinite' (*Kh. Up. VII, 24, 1*); 'But when the Self only has become all this, how should he see another?' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 13*.) In this manner the Vedânta-texts declare that for him who has reached the

¹ *Tattvânayatvâbhyâm iti, na hīsvaratvena te nirukyete gadāgadāyor abhedāyogāt nāpi tato nyatvena niruktim arhataḥ svātantryena sattāsphūrtyasambhavāt na hi gadām agadānapekshyam sattāsphūr-timad upalakshyate gadātvabhaṅgaprasaṅgāt tasmād avidyātmake nāmarūpe ity arthaḥ. Ān. Gi.*

state of truth and reality the whole apparent world does not exist. The Bhagavadgītā also ('The Lord is not the cause of actions, or of the capacity of performing actions, or of the connexion of action and fruit; all that proceeds according to its own nature. The Lord receives no one's sin or merit. Knowledge is enveloped by Ignorance; hence all creatures are deluded;' Bha. Gī. V, 14; 15) declares that in reality the relation of Ruler and ruled does not exist. That, on the other hand, all those distinctions are valid, as far as the phenomenal world is concerned, Scripture as well as the Bhagavadgītā states; compare *Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 22, 'He is the Lord of all, the king of all things, the protector of all things; he is a bank and boundary, so that these worlds may not be confounded;' and Bha. Gī. XVIII, 61, 'The Lord, O Arguna, is seated in the region of the heart of all beings, turning round all beings, (as though) mounted on a machine, by his delusion.' The Sūtrakāra also asserts the non-difference of cause and effect only with regard to the state of Reality; while he had, in the preceding Sūtra, where he looked to the phenomenal world, compared Brahman to the ocean, &c., that comparison resting on the assumption of the world of effects not yet having been refuted (i.e. seen to be unreal).—The view of Brahman as undergoing modifications will, moreover, be of use in the devout meditations on the qualified (*saguna*) Brahman.

15. And because only on the existence (of the cause) (the effect) is observed.

For the following reason also the effect is non-different from the cause, because only when the cause exists the effect is observed to exist, not when it does not exist. For instance, only when the clay exists the jar is observed to exist, and the cloth only when the threads exist. That it is not a general rule that when one thing exists another is also observed to exist, appears, for instance, from the fact, that a horse which is other (different) from a cow is not observed to exist only when a cow exists. Nor is the jar observed to exist only when the potter exists; for in that case non-difference

does not exist, although the relation between the two is that of an operative cause and its effect ¹.—But—it may be objected—even in the case of things other (i. e. non-identical) we find that the observation of one thing regularly depends on the existence of another; smoke, for instance, is observed only when fire exists.—We reply that this is untrue, because sometimes smoke is observed even after the fire has been extinguished; as, for instance, in the case of smoke being kept by herdsmen in jars.—Well, then—the objector will say—let us add to smoke a certain qualification enabling us to say that smoke of such and such a kind ² does not exist unless fire exists.—Even thus, we reply, your objection is not valid, because we declare that the reason for assuming the non-difference of cause and effect is the fact of the internal organ (buddhi) being affected (impressed) by cause and effect jointly ³. And that does not take place in the case of fire and smoke.—Or else we have to read (in the Sûtra) ‘bhâvât,’ and to translate, ‘and on account of the existence or observation.’ The non-difference of cause and effect results not only from Scripture but also from the existence of perception. For the non-difference of the two is perceived, for instance, in an aggregate of threads, where we do not perceive a thing called ‘cloth,’ in addition to the threads, but merely threads running lengthways and crossways. So again, in the threads we perceive finer threads (the aggre-

¹ So that from the instance of the potter and the jar we cannot conclude that the relation of clay and the jar is only that of nimitta and naimittika, not that of non-difference.

² For instance, smoke extending in a long line whose base is connected with some object on the surface of the earth.

³ I. e. (as Ân. Gi. explains) because we assume the relation of cause and effect not merely on the ground of the actual existence of one thing depending on that upon another, but on the additional ground of the mental existence, the consciousness of the one not being possible without the consciousness of the other.—Tad-bhâvânūvidhâyibhâvatvam tadbhânânūvidhâyibhânatvam ka kâr-yasya kârazânanyatve hetur dhûmavîshasya kâgnibhâvânūvidhâyibhâvatve pi na tadbhânânūvidhâyibhânatvam agnibhânasya dhûmabhânâdhînatvât.

gate of which is identical with the grosser threads), in them again finer threads, and so on. On the ground of this our perception we conclude that the finest parts which we can perceive are ultimately identical with their causes, viz. red, white, and black (the colours of fire, water, and earth, according to *Kh. Up. VI, 4*); those, again, with air, the latter with ether, and ether with Brahman, which is one and without a second. That all means of proof lead back to Brahman (as the ultimate cause of the world; not to *pradhāna*, &c.), we have already explained.

16. And on account of that which is posterior (i. e. the effect) being that which is.

For the following reason also the effect is to be considered as non-different (from the cause). That which is posterior in time, i. e. the effect, is declared by Scripture to have, previous to its actual beginning, its Being in the cause, by the Self of the cause merely. For in passages like, 'In the beginning, my dear, this was that only which is' (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 1*); and, 'Verily, in the beginning this was Self, one only' (*Ait. Ār. II, 4, 1, 1*), the effect which is denoted by the word 'this' appears in grammatical co-ordination with (the word denoting) the cause (from which it appears that both inhere in the same substratum). A thing, on the other hand, which does not exist in another thing by the Self of the latter is not produced from that other thing; for instance, oil is not produced from sand. Hence as there is non-difference before the production (of the effect), we understand that the effect even after having been produced continues to be non-different from the cause. As the cause, i. e. Brahman, is in all time neither more nor less than that which is, so the effect also, viz. the world, is in all time only that which is. But that which is is one only; therefore the effect is non-different from the cause.

17. If it be said that on account of being denoted as that which is not (the effect does) not (exist before it is actually produced); (we reply) not so, (because

the term 'that which is not' denotes) another quality (merely); (as appears) from the complementary sentence.

But, an objection will be raised, in some places Scripture speaks of the effect before its production as that which is not; so, for instance, 'In the beginning this was that only which is not' (*Kṛ. Up. III, 19, 1*); and 'Non-existent'¹ indeed this was in the beginning' (*Taitt. Up. II, 7*). Hence Being (*sattvam*) cannot be ascribed to the effect before its production.

This we deny. For by the Non-existence of the effect previous to its production is not meant absolute Non-existence, but only a different quality or state, viz. the state of name and form being unevolved, which state is different from the state of name and form being evolved. With reference to the latter state the effect is called, previous to its production, non-existent although then also it existed identical with its cause. We conclude this from the complementary passage, according to the rule that the sense of a passage whose earlier part is of doubtful meaning is determined by its complementary part. With reference to the passage, 'In the beginning this was non-existent only,' we remark that what is there denoted by the word 'Non-existing' is—in the complementary passage, 'That became existent'—referred to by the word 'that,' and qualified as 'Existent.'

The word 'was' would, moreover, not apply to the (absolutely) Non-existing, which cannot be conceived as connected with prior or posterior time.—Hence with reference to the other passage also, 'Non-existing indeed,' &c., the complementary part, 'That made itself its Self,' shows, by the qualification which it contains, that absolute Non-existence is not meant.—It follows from all this that the designation of 'Non-existence' applied to the effect before its production has reference to a different state of being merely. And as those things which are distinguished

¹ For simplicity's sake, *asat* will be translated henceforth by non-existing.

by name and form are in ordinary language called 'existent,' the term 'non-existent' is figuratively applied to them to denote the state in which they were previously to their differentiation.

18. From reasoning and from another Vedic passage.

That the effect exists before its origination and is non-different from the cause, follows from reasoning as well as from a further scriptural passage.

We at first set forth the argumentation.—Ordinary experience teaches us that those who wish to produce certain effects, such as curds, or earthen jars, or golden ornaments, employ for their purpose certain determined causal substances such as milk, clay, and gold; those who wish to produce sour milk do not employ clay, nor do those who intend to make jars employ milk and so on. But, according to that doctrine which teaches that the effect is non-existent (before its actual production), all this should be possible. For if before their actual origination all effects are equally non-existent in any causal substance, why then should curds be produced from milk only and not from clay also, and jars from clay only and not from milk as well?—Let us then maintain, the *asatkāryavādin* rejoins, that there is indeed an equal non-existence of any effect in any cause, but that at the same time each causal substance has a certain capacity reaching beyond itself (*atisaya*) for some particular effect only and not for other effects; that, for instance, milk only, and not clay, has a certain capacity for curds; and clay only, and not milk, an analogous capacity for jars.—What, we ask in return, do you understand by that '*atisaya*?' If you understand by it the antecedent condition of the effect (before its actual origination), you abandon your doctrine that the effect does not exist in the cause, and prove our doctrine according to which it does so exist. If, on the other hand, you understand by the *atisaya* a certain power of the cause assumed to the end of accounting for the fact that only one determined effect springs from the cause, you must admit that the power can

determine the particular effect only if it neither is other (than cause and effect) nor non-existent ; for if it were either, it would not be different from anything else which is either non-existent or other than cause and effect, (and how then should it alone be able to produce the particular effect ?) Hence it follows that that power is identical with the Self of the cause, and that the effect is identical with the Self of that power.—Moreover, as the ideas of cause and effect on the one hand and of substance and qualities on the other hand are not separate ones, as, for instance, the ideas of a horse and a buffalo, it follows that the identity of the cause and the effect as well as of the substance and its qualities has to be admitted. (Let it then be assumed, the opponent rejoins, that the cause and the effect, although really different, are not apprehended as such, because they are connected by the so-called *samavâya* connexion ¹.)—If, we reply, you assume the *samavâya* connexion between cause and effect, you have either to admit that the *samavâya* itself is joined by a certain connexion to the two terms which are connected by *samavâya*, and then that connexion will again require a new connexion (joining it to the two terms which it binds together), and you will thus be compelled to postulate an infinite series of connexions ; or else you will have to maintain that the *samavâya* is not joined by any connexion to the terms which it binds together, and from that will result the dissolution of the bond which connects the two terms of the *samavâya* relation ².—Well then, the opponent rejoins, let us assume that the *samavâya* connexion as itself being a connexion may be connected with the terms which it joins without the help of any further connexion.—Then, we reply, conjunction (*saṃyoga*) also must be connected with the two terms which it joins without the help of the *samavâya*

¹ *Samavâya*, commonly translated by inherence or intimate relation, is, according to the *Nyâya*, the relation connecting a whole and its parts, substances, and qualities, &c.

² *Samavâyasya svâtantryapakṣaḥ dūṣhayati anabhyupagamyamâne'keti. Samavâyasya samavâyibhiḥ sambandho neshyate kim tu svâtantryam evety atrâvayavâvayavinor dravyagunâdinâm ka viprakarṣaḥ syât saṃnidhâyakâbhâvâd ity arthaḥ. Ān. Gi.*

connexion ; for conjunction also is a kind of connexion¹.—Moreover, as substances, qualities, and so on are apprehended as standing in the relation of identity, the assumption of the samavāya relation has really no purport.

In what manner again do you—who maintain that the cause and the effect are joined by the samavāya relation—assume a substance consisting of parts which is an effect to abide in its causes, i.e. in the material parts of which it consists? Does it abide in all the parts taken together or in each particular part?—If you say that it abides in all parts together, it follows that the whole as such cannot be perceived, as it is impossible that all the parts should be in contact with the organs of perception. (And let it not be objected that the whole may be apprehended through some of the parts only), for manyness which abides in all its substrates together (i.e. in all the many things), is not apprehended so long as only some of those substrates are apprehended.—Let it then be assumed that the whole abides in all the parts by the mediation of intervening aggregates of parts².—In that case, we reply, we should have to assume other parts in addition to the primary originative parts of the whole, in order that by means of those other parts the whole could abide in the primary parts in the manner indicated by you. For we see (that one thing which abides in another abides there by means of parts different from those of that other thing), that the sword, for instance, pervades the sheath by means of parts different from the parts of the sheath. But an assumption of that kind would lead us into a regressus in infinitum, because in order to explain how the whole abides in certain

¹ A conclusion which is in conflict with the Nyāya tenet that *saṃyoga*, conjunction, as, for instance, of the jar and the ground on which it stands, is a quality (*guṇa*) inherent in the two conjoined substances by means of the samavāya relation.

² So that the whole can be apprehended by us as such if we apprehend a certain part only; analogously to our apprehending the whole thread on which a garland of flowers is strung as soon as we apprehend some few of the flowers.

given parts we should always have to assume further parts¹.—Well, then, let us maintain the second alternative, viz. that the whole abides in each particular part.—That also cannot be admitted; for if the whole is present in one part it cannot be present in other parts also; not any more than Devadatta can be present in Srughna and in Pātaliputra on one and the same day. If the whole were present in more than one part, several wholes would result, comparable to Devadatta and Yagñadatta, who, as being two different persons, may live one of them at Srughna and the other at Pātaliputra.—If the opponent should rejoin that the whole may be fully present in each part, just as the generic character of the cow is fully present in each individual cow; we point out that the generic attributes of the cow are visibly perceived in each individual cow, but that the whole is not thus perceived in each particular part. If the whole were fully present in each part, the consequence would be that the whole would produce its effects indifferently with any of its parts; a cow, for instance, would give milk from her horns or her tail. But such things are not seen to take place.

We proceed to consider some further arguments opposed to the doctrine that the effect does not exist in the cause.—That doctrine involves the conclusion that the actual origination of an effect is without an agent and thus devoid of substantial being. For origination is an action, and as such requires an agent², just as the action of walking does. To speak of an action without an agent would be a contradic-

¹ Kalpāntaram uthāpayati atheti, tathā ka yathāvayavaiḥ sūtram kusumāni vyāpnuvat katipayakusumagrahaṇe-pi gr̥hyate tathā katipayāvayavagrahaṇe-pi bhavaty avayavino grahaṇam ity arthaḥ. Tatra kim ārambhakāvayavair eva teshv avayavī vartteta kim vā tadatirikṭāvayavair iti vikalpyādyam pratyāha tadāpti. Yatra yad varttate tat tadatirikṭāvayavair eva tatra vartamānam dr̥śh/am iti dr̥śh/āntagarbham hetum ākash/e koseti. Dvitiyam dūshayati anavastheti. Kalpitānantāvayavavyavahitatayā prakṛitāvayavino dūraviprakarshāt tantunish/katvam pa/asya na syād iti bhāvaḥ. Ān. Gi.

² I.e. a something in which the action inheres; not a causal agent.

tion. But if you deny the pre-existence of the effect in the cause, it would have to be assumed that whenever the origination of a jar, for instance, is spoken of the agent is not the jar (which before its origination did not exist) but something else, and again that when the origination of the two halves of the jar is spoken of the agent is not the two halves but something else. From this it would follow that the sentence, 'the jar is originated,' means as much as 'the potter and the other (operative) causes are originated¹.' But as a matter of fact the former sentence is never understood to mean the latter; and it is, moreover, known that at the time when the jar originates, the potter, &c. are already in existence.—Let us then say, the opponent resumes, that origination is the connexion of the effect with the existence of its cause and its obtaining existence as a Self.—How, we ask in reply, can something which has not yet obtained existence enter into connexion with something else? A connexion is possible of two existing things only, not of one existing and one non-existing thing or of two non-existing things. To something non-existing which on that account is indefinable, it is moreover not possible to assign a limit as the opponent does when maintaining that the effect is non-existing before its origination; for experience teaches us that existing things only such as fields and houses have limits, but not non-existing things. If somebody should use, for instance, a phrase such as the following one, 'The son of a barren woman was king previously to the coronation of Pūrṇavarman,' the declaration of a limit in time implied in that phrase does not in reality determine that the son of the barren woman, i.e. a mere non-entity, either was or is or will be king. If the son of a barren woman could become an existing thing subsequently to the activity of some causal

¹ Every action, Saṅkāra says, requires an agent, i.e. a substrate in which the action takes place. If we deny that the jar exists in the clay even before it is actually originated, we lose the substrate for the action of origination, i.e. entering into existence (for the non-existing jar cannot be the substratum of any action), and have to assume, for that action, other substrates, such as the operative causes of the jar.

agent, in that case it would be possible also that the non-existing effect should be something existing, subsequently to the activity of some causal agent. But we know that the one thing can take place no more than the other thing; the non-existing effect and the son of the barren woman are both equally non-entities and can never be.—But, the *asatkâryavâdin* here objects, from your doctrine there follows the result that the activity of causal agents is altogether purposeless. For if the effect were lying already fully accomplished in the cause and were non-different from it, nobody would endeavour to bring it about, no more than anybody endeavours to bring about the cause which is already fully accomplished previously to all endeavour. But as a matter of fact causal agents do endeavour to bring about effects, and it is in order not to have to condemn their efforts as altogether useless that we assume the non-existence of the effect previously to its origination.—Your objection is refuted, we reply, by the consideration that the endeavour of the causal agent may be looked upon as having a purpose in so far as it arranges the causal substance in the form of the effect. That, however, even the form of the effect (is not something previously non-existing, but) belongs to the Self of the cause already because what is devoid of Selfhood cannot be begun at all, we have already shown above.—Nor does a substance become another substance merely by appearing under a different aspect. Devadatta may at one time be seen with his arms and legs closely drawn up to his body, and another time with his arms and legs stretched out, and yet he remains the same substantial being, for he is recognised as such. Thus the persons also by whom we are surrounded, such as fathers, mothers, brothers, &c., remain the same, although we see them in continually changing states and attitudes; for they are always recognised as fathers, mothers, brothers, and so on. If our opponent objects to this last illustrative example on the ground that fathers, mothers, and so on remain the same substantial beings, because the different states in which they appear are not separated from each other by birth or death, while the effect, for instance a jar, appears only after

the cause, for instance the clay, has undergone destruction as it were (so that the effect may be looked upon as something altogether different from the cause); we rebut this objection by remarking that causal substances also such as milk, for instance, are perceived to exist even after they have entered into the condition of effects such as curds and the like (so that we have no right to say that the cause undergoes destruction). And even in those cases where the continued existence of the cause is not perceived, as, for instance, in the case of seeds of the fig-tree from which there spring sprouts and trees, the term 'birth' (when applied to the sprout) only means that the causal substance, viz. the seed, becomes visible by becoming a sprout through the continual accretion of similar particles of matter; and the term 'death' only means that, through the secession of those particles, the cause again passes beyond the sphere of visibility. Nor can it be said that from such separation by birth and death as described just now it follows that the non-existing becomes existing, and the existing non-existing; for if that were so, it would also follow that the unborn child in the mother's womb and the new-born babe stretched out on the bed are altogether different beings.

It would further follow that a man is not the same person in childhood, manhood, and old age, and that terms such as father and the like are illegitimately used.—The preceding arguments may also be used to refute the (Bauddha doctrine) of all existence being momentary only¹.

The doctrine that the effect is non-existent previously to its actual origination, moreover, leads to the conclusion that the activity of the causal agent has no object; for what does not exist cannot possibly be an object; not any more than the ether can be cleft by swords and other weapons for striking or cutting. The object can certainly not be the inherent cause; for that would lead to the erroneous conclusion that from the activity of the causal agent, which has for its object the inherent cause, there results something else

¹ Which doctrine will be fully discussed in the second pāda of this adhyāya.

(viz. the effect). And if (in order to preclude this erroneous conclusion) the opponent should say that the effect is (not something different from the cause, but) a certain relative power (*atiraya*) of the inherent cause; he thereby would simply concede our doctrine, according to which the effect exists in the cause already.

We maintain, therefore, as our final conclusion, that milk and other substances are called effects when they are in the state of curds and so on, and that it is impossible, even within hundreds of years, ever to bring about an effect which is different from its cause. The fundamental cause of all appears in the form of this and that effect, up to the last effect of all, just as an actor appears in various robes and costumes, and thereby becomes the basis for all the current notions and terms concerning the phenomenal world.

The conclusion here established, on the ground of reasoning, viz. that the effect exists already before its origination, and is non-different from its cause, results also from a different scriptural passage. As under the preceding Sûtra a Vedic passage was instanced which speaks of the non-existing, the different passage referred to in the present Sûtra is the one (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 1*) which refers to that which is. That passage begins, 'Being only was this in the beginning, one without a second,' refers, thereupon, to the doctrine of the Non-existent being the cause of the world ('Others say, Non-being was this in the beginning'), raises an objection against that doctrine ('How could that which is be born of that which is not?'), and, finally, reaffirms the view first set forth, 'Only Being was this in the beginning.' The circumstance that in this passage the effect, which is denoted by the word 'this,' is by Scripture, with reference to the time previous to its origination, co-ordinated with the cause denoted by the term 'Being,' proves that the effect exists in—and is non-different from—the cause. If it were before its origination non-existing and after it inhered in its cause by *samavâya*, it would be something different from the cause, and that would virtually imply an abandonment of the promise made in the passage, 'That instruction by which we hear what is not heard,' &c.

(VI, 1, 3). The latter assertion is ratified, on the other hand, through the comprehension that the effect exists in—and is not different from—the cause.

19. And like a piece of cloth.

As of a folded piece of cloth we do not know clearly whether it is a piece of cloth or some other thing, while on its being unfolded it becomes manifest that the folded thing was a piece of cloth ; and as, so long as it is folded, we perhaps know that it is a piece of cloth but not of what definite length and width it is, while on its being unfolded we know these particulars, and at the same time that the cloth is not different from the folded object ; in the same way an effect, such as a piece of cloth, is non-manifest as long as it exists in its causes, i. e. the threads, &c. merely, while it becomes manifest and is clearly apprehended in consequence of the operations of shuttle, loom, weaver, and so on.—Applying this instance of the piece of cloth, first folded and then unfolded, to the general case of cause and effect, we conclude that the latter is non-different from the former.

20. And as in the case of the different vital airs.

It is a matter of observation that when the operations of the different kinds of vital air—such as *prāṇa* the ascending vital air, *apāna* the descending vital air, &c.—are suspended, in consequence of the breath being held so that they exist in their causes merely, the only effect which continues to be accomplished is life, while all other effects, such as the bending and stretching of the limbs and so on, are stopped. When, thereupon, the vital airs again begin to act, those other effects also are brought about, in addition to mere life.—Nor must the vital airs, on account of their being divided into classes, be considered as something else than vital air ; for wind (air) constitutes their common character. Thus (i. e. in the manner illustrated by the instance of the vital airs) the non-difference of the effect from the cause is to be conceived.—As, therefore, the whole world is an effect of Brahman and

non-different from it, the promise held out in the scriptural passage that 'What is not heard is heard, what is not perceived is perceived, what is not known is known' (*Kh. Up. VI, 1, 3*) is fulfilled¹.

21. On account of the other (i.e. the individual soul) being designated (as non-different from Brahman) there would attach (to Brahman) various faults, as, for instance, not doing what is beneficial.

Another objection is raised against the doctrine of an intelligent cause of the world.—If that doctrine is accepted, certain faults, as, for instance, doing what is not beneficial, will attach (to the intelligent cause, i.e. Brahman), 'on account of the other being designated.' For Scripture declares the other, i.e. the embodied soul, to be one with Brahman, as is shown by the passage, 'That is the Self; that art thou, O Svetaketu!' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 7*).—Or else (if we interpret 'the other' of the Sûtra in a different way) Scripture declares the other, i.e. Brahman, to be the Self of the embodied soul. For the passage, 'Having created that he entered into it,' declares the creator, i.e. the unmodified Brahman, to constitute the Self of the embodied soul, in consequence of his entering into his products. The following passage also, 'Entering (into them) with this living Self I will evolve names and forms' (*Kh. Up. VI, 3, 2*), in which the highest divinity designates the living (soul) by the word 'Self,' shows that the embodied Self is not different from Brahman. Therefore the creative power of Brahman belongs to the embodied Self also, and the latter, being thus an independent agent, might be expected to produce only what is beneficial to itself, and not things of a contrary nature, such as birth, death, old age, disease, and whatever may be the other meshes of the net of suffering. For we know that no free person will build a prison for himself, and take up his abode in it. Nor would a being, itself absolutely stainless,

¹ Because it has been shown that cause and effect are identical; hence if the cause is known, the effect is known also.

look on this altogether unclean body as forming part of its Self. It would, moreover, free itself, according to its liking, of the consequences of those of its former actions which result in pain, and would enjoy the consequences of those actions only which are rewarded by pleasure. Further, it would remember that it had created this manifold world; for every person who has produced some clearly appearing effect remembers that he has been the cause of it. And as the magician easily retracts, whenever he likes, the magical illusion which he had emitted, so the embodied soul also would be able to reabsorb this world into itself. The fact is, however, that the embodied soul cannot reabsorb its own body even. As we therefore see that 'what would be beneficial is not done,' the hypothesis of the world having proceeded from an intelligent cause is unacceptable.

22. But the separate (Brahman, i.e. the Brahman separate from the individual souls) (is the creator); (the existence of which separate Brahman we learn) from the declaration of difference.

The word 'but' discards the *pûrvapaksha*.—We rather declare that that omniscient, omnipotent Brahman, whose essence is eternal pure cognition and freedom, and which is additional to, i.e. different from the embodied Self, is the creative principle of the world. The faults specified above, such as doing what is not beneficial, and the like, do not attach to that Brahman; for as eternal freedom is its characteristic nature, there is nothing either beneficial to be done by it or non-beneficial to be avoided by it. Nor is there any impediment to its knowledge and power; for it is omniscient and omnipotent. The embodied Self, on the other hand, is of a different nature, and to it the mentioned faults adhere. But then we do not declare it to be the creator of the world, on account of 'the declaration of difference.' For scriptural passages (such as, 'Verily, the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, to be marked,' *Bṛi.* Up. II, 4, 5; 'The Self we must search out, we must try to understand,' *Kh.* Up. VIII, 7, 1; 'Then he becomes

united with the True,' *Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 1; 'This embodied Self mounted by the intelligent Self,' *Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 35) declare differences founded on the relations of agent, object, and so on, and thereby show Brahman to be different from the individual soul.—And if it be objected that there are other passages declaratory of non-difference (for instance, 'That art thou'), and that difference and non-difference cannot co-exist because contradictory, we reply that the possibility of the co-existence of the two is shown by the parallel instance of the universal ether and the ether limited by a jar.—Moreover, as soon as, in consequence of the declaration of non-difference contained in such passages as 'that art thou,' the consciousness of non-difference arises in us, the transmigratory state of the individual soul and the creative quality of Brahman vanish at once, the whole phenomenon of plurality, which springs from wrong knowledge, being sublated by perfect knowledge, and what becomes then of the creation and the faults of not doing what is beneficial, and the like? For that this entire apparent world, in which good and evil actions are done, &c., is a mere illusion, owing to the non-discrimination of (the Self's) limiting adjuncts, viz. a body, and so on, which spring from name and form the presentations of Nescience, and does in reality not exist at all, we have explained more than once. The illusion is analogous to the mistaken notion we entertain as to the dying, being born, being hurt, &c. of ourselves (our Selves; while in reality the body only dies, is born, &c.). And with regard to the state in which the appearance of plurality is not yet sublated, it follows from passages declaratory of such difference (as, for instance, 'That we must search for,' &c.) that Brahman is superior to the individual soul; whereby the possibility of faults adhering to it is excluded.

23. And because the case is analogous to that of stones, &c. (the objections raised) cannot be established.

As among minerals, which are all mere modifications of earth, nevertheless great variety is observed, some being

precious gems, such as diamonds, lapis lazuli, &c., others, such as crystals and the like, being of medium value, and others again stones only fit to be flung at dogs or crows; and as from seeds which are placed in one and the same ground various plants are seen to spring, such as sandal-wood and cucumbers, which show the greatest difference in their leaves, blossoms, fruits, fragranciness, juice, &c.; and as one and the same food produces various effects, such as blood and hair; so the one Brahman also may contain in itself the distinction of the individual Selfs and the highest Self, and may produce various effects. Hence the objections imagined by others (against the doctrine of Brahman being the cause of the world) cannot be maintained.—Further¹ arguments are furnished by the fact of all effects having, as Scripture declares, their origin in speech only, and by the analogous instance of the variety of dream phantoms (while the dreaming person remains one).

24. If you object on the ground of the observation of the employment (of instruments); (we say), No; because as milk (transforms itself, so Brahman does).

Your assertion that the intelligent Brahman alone, without a second, is the cause of the world cannot be maintained, on account of the observation of employment (of instruments). For in ordinary life we see that potters, weavers, and other handicraftsmen produce jars, cloth, and the like, after having put themselves in possession of the means thereto by providing themselves with various implements, such as clay, staffs, wheels, string, &c.; Brahman, on the other hand, you conceive to be without any help; how then can it act as a creator without providing itself with instruments to work with?—We therefore maintain that Brahman is not the cause of the world.

This objection is not valid, because causation is possible

¹ Which arguments, the commentators say, are hinted at by the 'and' of the Sūtra.

in consequence of a peculiar constitution of the causal substance, as in the case of milk. Just as milk and water turn into curds and ice respectively, without any extraneous means, so it is in the case of Brahman also. And if you object to this analogy for the reason that milk, in order to turn into curds, does require an extraneous agent, viz. heat, we reply that milk by itself also undergoes a certain amount of definite change, and that its turning is merely accelerated by heat. If milk did not possess that capability of itself, heat could not compel it to turn ; for we see that air or ether, for instance, is not compelled by the action of heat to turn into sour milk. By the co-operation of auxiliary means the milk's capability of turning into sour milk is merely completed. The absolutely complete power of Brahman, on the other hand, does not require to be supplemented by any extraneous help. Thus Scripture also declares, ' There is no effect and no instrument known of him, no one is seen like unto him or better ; his high power is revealed as manifold, as inherent, acting as force and knowledge ' (Sve. Up. VI, 8). Therefore Brahman, although one only, is, owing to its manifold powers, able to transform itself into manifold effects ; just as milk is.

25. And (the case of Brahman is) like that of gods and other beings in ordinary experience.

Well, let it be admitted that milk and other non-intelligent things have the power of turning themselves into sour milk, &c. without any extraneous means, since it is thus observed. But we observe, on the other hand, that intelligent agents, as, for instance, potters, proceed to their several work only after having provided themselves with a complete set of instruments. How then can it be supposed that Brahman, which is likewise of an intelligent nature, should proceed without any auxiliary ?

We reply, ' Like gods and others.' As gods, fathers, *ṛishis*, and other beings of great power, who are all of intelligent nature, are seen to create many and various objects, such as palaces, chariots, &c., without availing themselves of any

extraneous means, by their mere intention, which is effective in consequence of those beings' peculiar power—a fact vouchsafed by mantras, arthavādas, itihāsas, and purāṇas;—and as the spider emits out of itself the threads of its web; and as the female crane conceives without a male; and as the lotus wanders from one pond to another without any means of conveyance; so the intelligent Brahman also may be assumed to create the world by itself without extraneous means.

Perhaps our opponent will argue against all this in the following style.—The gods and other beings, whom you have quoted as parallel instances, are really of a nature different from that of Brahman. For the material causes operative in the production of palaces and other material things are the bodies of the gods, and not their intelligent Selves. And the web of the spider is produced from its saliva which, owing to the spider's devouring small insects, acquires a certain degree of consistency. And the female crane conceives from hearing the sound of thunder. And the lotus flower indeed derives from its indwelling intelligent principle the impulse of movement, but is not able actually to move in so far as it is a merely intelligent being¹; it rather wanders from pond to pond by means of its non-intelligent body, just as the creeper climbs up the tree.—Hence all these illustrative examples cannot be applied to the case of Brahman.

To this we reply, that we meant to show merely that the case of Brahman is different from that of potters and similar agents. For while potters, &c., on the one side, and gods, &c., on the other side, possess the common attribute of intelligence, potters require for their work extraneous means (i. e. means lying outside their bodies) and gods do not. Hence Brahman also, although intelligent, is assumed to require no extraneous means. So much only we wanted to show by the parallel instance of the gods, &c. Our intention is to point out that a peculiarly conditioned capability which

¹ The right reading appears to be 'svayam eva *ketanā*' as found in some MSS. Other MSS. read *ketanaḥ*.

is observed in some one case (as in that of the potter) is not necessarily to be assumed in all other cases also.

26. Either the consequence of the entire (Brahman undergoing change) has to be accepted, or else a violation of the texts declaring Brahman to be without parts.

Hitherto we have established so much that Brahman, intelligent, one, without a second, modifying itself without the employment of any extraneous means, is the cause of the world.—Now, another objection is raised for the purpose of throwing additional light on the point under discussion.—The consequence of the Vedānta doctrine, it is said, will be that we must assume the entire Brahman to undergo the change into its effects, because it is not composed of parts. If Brahman, like earth and other matter, consisted of parts, we might assume that a part of it undergoes the change, while the other part remains as it is. But Scripture distinctly declares Brahman to be devoid of parts. Compare, ‘He who is without parts, without actions, tranquil, without fault, without taint’ (Sve. Up. VI, 19); ‘That heavenly person is without body, he is both without and within, not produced’ (Mu. Up. II, 1, 2); ‘That great Being is endless, unlimited, consisting of nothing but knowledge’ (Bri. Up. II, 4, 12); ‘He is to be described by No, no’ (Bri. Up. III, 9, 26); ‘It is neither coarse nor fine’ (Bri. Up. III, 8, 8); all which passages deny the existence of any distinctions in Brahman.—As, therefore, a partial modification is impossible, a modification of the entire Brahman has to be assumed. But that involves a cutting off of Brahman from its very basis.—Another consequence of the Vedāntic view is that the texts exhorting us to strive ‘to see’ Brahman become purposeless; for the effects of Brahman may be seen without any endeavour, and apart from them no Brahman exists.—And, finally, the texts declaring Brahman to be unborn are contradicted thereby.—If, on the other hand—in order to escape from these difficulties—we assume Brahman to consist of parts, we thereby do violence to those texts which declare Brahman not to be made up of parts.

Moreover, if Brahman is made up of parts, it follows that it is non-eternal.—Hence the Vedāntic point of view cannot be maintained in any way.

27. But (this is not so), on account of scriptural passages, and on account of (Brahman) resting on Scripture (only).

The word 'but' discards the objection.—We deny this and maintain that our view is not open to any objections.—That the entire Brahman undergoes change, by no means follows from our doctrine, 'on account of sacred texts.' For in the same way as Scripture speaks of the origin of the world from Brahman, it also speaks of Brahman subsisting apart from its effects. This appears from the passages indicating the difference of cause and effect ('That divinity thought) let me enter into these three divinities with this living Self and evolve names and forms;' and, 'Such is the greatness of it, greater than it is the Person; one foot of him are all things, three feet are what is immortal in heaven' (*Kh. Up.* III, 12, 6); further, from the passages declaring the unmodified Brahman to have its abode in the heart, and from those teaching that (in dreamless sleep) the individual soul is united with the True. For if the entire Brahman had passed into its effects, the limitation (of the soul's union with Brahman) to the state of dreamless sleep which is declared in the passage, 'then it is united with the True, my dear,' would be out of place; since the individual soul is always united with the effects of Brahman, and since an unmodified Brahman does not exist (on that hypothesis). Moreover, the possibility of Brahman becoming the object of perception by means of the senses is denied while its effects may thus be perceived. For these reasons the existence of an unmodified Brahman has to be admitted.—Nor do we violate those texts which declare Brahman to be without parts; we rather admit Brahman to be without parts just because Scripture reveals it. For Brahman which rests exclusively on the holy texts, and regarding which the holy texts alone are authori-

tative—not the senses, and so on—must be accepted such as the texts proclaim it to be. Now those texts declare, on the one hand, that not the entire Brahman passes over into its effects, and, on the other hand, that Brahman is without parts. Even certain ordinary things such as gems, spells, herbs, and the like possess powers which, owing to difference of time, place, occasion, and so on, produce various opposite effects, and nobody unaided by instruction is able to find out by mere reflection the number of these powers, their favouring conditions, their objects, their purposes, &c.; how much more impossible is it to conceive without the aid of Scripture the true nature of Brahman with its powers unfathomable by thought! As the *Purāṇa* says: ‘Do not apply reasoning to what is unthinkable! The mark of the unthinkable is that it is above all material causes¹.’ Therefore the cognition of what is supersensuous is based on the holy texts only.

But—our opponent will say—even the holy texts cannot make us understand what is contradictory. Brahman, you say, which is without parts undergoes a change, but not the entire Brahman. If Brahman is without parts, it does either not change at all or it changes in its entirety. If, on the other hand, it be said that it changes partly and persists partly, a break is effected in its nature, and from that it follows that it consists of parts. It is true that in matters connected with action (as, for instance, in the case of the two Vedic injunctions ‘at the atirātra he is to take the shodāsin-cup,’ and ‘at the atirātra he is not to take the shodāsin-cup’) any contradiction which may present itself to the understanding is removed by the optional adoption of one of the two alternatives presented as action is dependent on man; but in the case under discussion the adoption of one of the alternatives does not remove the contradiction because an existent thing (like Brahman) does not (like an action which is to be accomplished) depend on man. We are therefore met here by a real difficulty.

¹ *Prakṛtibhya iti, pratyakshadr̥śh/apadārthasvabhāvebhyo yat param vilakṣaṇam ākāryādyupadesagamyaṁ tad aśintyaṁ ity arthaḥ. Ān. Gī.*

No, we reply, the difficulty is merely an apparent one; as we maintain that the (alleged) break in Brahman's nature is a mere figment of Nescience. By a break of that nature a thing is not really broken up into parts, not any more than the moon is really multiplied by appearing double to a person of defective vision. By that element of plurality which is the fiction of Nescience, which is characterised by name and form, which is evolved as well as non-evolved, which is not to be defined either as the Existing or the Non-existing, Brahman becomes the basis of this entire apparent world with its changes, and so on, while in its true and real nature it at the same time remains unchanged, lifted above the phenomenal universe. And as the distinction of names and forms, the fiction of Nescience, originates entirely from speech only, it does not militate against the fact of Brahman being without parts.—Nor have the scriptural passages which speak of Brahman as undergoing change the purpose of teaching the fact of change; for such instruction would have no fruit. They rather aim at imparting instruction about Brahman's Self as raised above this apparent world; that being an instruction which we know to have a result of its own. For in the scriptural passage beginning 'He can only be described by No, no' (which passage conveys instruction about the absolute Brahman) a result is stated at the end, in the words 'O Ganaka, you have indeed reached fearlessness' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 2, 4*).—Hence our view does not involve any real difficulties.

28. For thus it is in the (individual) Self also, and various (creations exist in gods¹, &c.).

Nor is there any reason to find fault with the doctrine that there can be a manifold creation in the one Self, without destroying its character. For Scripture teaches us that there exists a multiform creation in the one Self

¹ This is the way in which Śaṅkara divides the Sūtra; Âṇ. Gi. remarks to 'loke=po, &c.: ātmani kēti vyākhyāya vikīrās ka hīti vyākash/e.'

of a dreaming person, 'There are no chariots in that state, no horses, no roads, but he himself creates chariots, horses, and roads' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 10). In ordinary life too multiform creations, elephants, horses, and the like are seen to exist in gods, &c., and magicians without interfering with the unity of their being. Thus a multiform creation may exist in Brahman also, one as it is, without divesting it of its character of unity.

29. And because the objection (raised against our view) lies against his (the opponent's) view likewise.

Those also who maintain that the world has sprung from the *pradhāna* implicitly teach that something not made up of parts, unlimited, devoid of sound and other qualities—viz. the *pradhāna*—is the cause of an effect—viz. the world—which is made up of parts, is limited and is characterised by the named qualities. Hence it follows from that doctrine also either that the *pradhāna* as not consisting of parts has to undergo a change in its entirety, or else that the view of its not consisting of parts has to be abandoned.—But—it might be pleaded in favour of the *Sāṅkhyas*—they do not maintain their *pradhāna* to be without parts; for they define it as the state of equilibrium of the three *guṇas*, Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, so that the *pradhāna* forms a whole containing the three *guṇas* as its parts.—We reply that such a partiteness as is here proposed does not remove the objection in hand because still each of the three qualities is declared to be in itself without parts¹. And each *guṇa* by itself assisted merely by the two other *guṇas* constitutes the material cause of that part of the world which resembles it in its nature².—So that the objection lies against the *Sāṅkhya*

¹ So that if it undergoes modifications it must either change in its entirety, or else—against the assumption—consist of parts.

² The last clause precludes the justificatory remark that the stated difficulties can be avoided if we assume the three *guṇas* in combination only to undergo modification; if this were so the inequality of the different effects could not be accounted for.

view likewise.—Well, then, as the reasoning (on which the doctrine of the impartiteness of the *pradhâna* rests) is not absolutely safe, let us assume that the *pradhâna* consists of parts.—If you do that, we reply, it follows that the *pradhâna* cannot be eternal, and so on.—Let it then be said that the various powers of the *pradhâna* to which the variety of its effects is pointing are its parts.—Well, we reply, those various powers are admitted by us also who see the cause of the world in Brahman.

The same objections lie against the doctrine of the world having originated from atoms. For on that doctrine one atom when combining with another must, as it is not made up of parts, enter into the combination with its whole extent, and as thus no increase of bulk takes place we do not get beyond the first atom¹. If, on the other hand, you maintain that the atom enters into the combination with a part only, you offend against the assumption of the atoms having no parts.

As therefore all views are equally obnoxious to the objections raised, the latter cannot be urged against any one view in particular, and the advocate of Brahman has consequently cleared his doctrine.

30. And (the highest divinity is) endowed with all (powers) because that is seen (from Scripture).

We have stated that this multiform world of effects is possible to Brahman, because, although one only, it is endowed with various powers.—How then—it may be asked—do you know that the highest Brahman is endowed with various powers?—He is, we reply, endowed with all powers, ‘because that is seen.’ For various scriptural passages declare that the highest divinity possesses all powers, ‘He to whom all actions, all desires, all odours, all tastes belong, he who embraces all this, who never speaks, and is

¹ As an atom has no parts it cannot enter into partial contact with another, and the only way in which the two can combine is entire interpenetration; in consequence of which the compound of two atoms would not occupy more space than one atom.

never surprised' (*Kh. Up.* III, 14, 4); 'He who desires what is true and imagines what is true' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 7, 1); 'He who knows all (in its totality), and cognizes all (in its detail)' (*Mu. Up.* I, 1, 9); 'By the command of that Imperishable, O Gârgi, sun and moon stand apart' (*Bri. Up.* III, 8, 9); and other similar passages.

31. If it be said that (Brahman is devoid of powers) on account of the absence of organs; (we reply that) this has been explained (before).

Let this be granted.—Scripture, however, declares the highest divinity to be without (bodily) organs of action¹; so, for instance, in the passage, 'It is without eyes, without ears, without speech, without mind' (*Bri. Up.* III, 8, 8). Being such, how should it be able to produce effects, although it may be endowed with all powers? For we know (from mantras, arthavâdas, &c.) that the gods and other intelligent beings, though endowed with all powers, are capable of producing certain effects only because they are furnished with bodily instruments of action. And, moreover, how can the divinity, to whom the scriptural passage, 'No, no,' denies all attributes, be endowed with all powers?

The appropriate reply to this question has been already given above. The transcendent highest Brahman can be fathomed by means of Scripture only, not by mere reasoning. Nor are we obliged to assume that the capacity of one being is exactly like that which is observed in another. It has likewise been explained above that although all qualities are denied of Brahman we nevertheless may consider it to be endowed with powers, if we assume in its nature an element of plurality, which is the mere figment of Nescience. Moreover, a scriptural passage ('Grasping without hands, hastening without feet, he sees without eyes, he hears without ears,' *Sve. Up.* III, 19) declares that Brahman,

¹ The Sûtra is concerned with the body only as far as it is an instrument; the case of extraneous instruments having already been disposed of in Sûtra 24.

although devoid of bodily organs, possesses all possible capacities.

32. (Brahman is) not (the creator of the world), on account of (beings engaging in any action) having a motive.

Another objection is raised against the doctrine of an intelligent cause of the world.—The intelligent highest Self cannot be the creator of the sphere of this world, 'on account of actions having a purpose.'—We know from ordinary experience that man, who is an intelligent being, begins to act after due consideration only, and does not engage even in an unimportant undertaking unless it serves some purpose of his own; much less so in important business. There is also a scriptural passage confirming this result of common experience, 'Verily everything is not dear that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self therefore everything is dear' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 5*). Now the undertaking of creating the sphere of this world, with all its various contents, is certainly a weighty one. If, then, on the one hand, you assume it to serve some purpose of the intelligent highest Self, you thereby sublate its self-sufficiency vouched for by Scripture; if, on the other hand, you affirm absence of motive on its part, you must affirm absence of activity also.—Let us then assume that just as sometimes an intelligent person when in a state of frenzy proceeds, owing to his mental aberration, to action without a motive, so the highest Self also created this world without any motive.—That, we reply, would contradict the omniscience of the highest Self, which is vouched for by Scripture.—Hence the doctrine of the creation proceeding from an intelligent Being is untenable.

33. But (Brahman's creative activity) is mere sport, such as we see in ordinary life.

The word 'but' discards the objection raised.—We see in every-day life that certain doings of princes or other men of high position who have no unfulfilled desires left have no

reference to any extraneous purpose, but proceed from mere sportfulness, as, for instance, their recreations in places of amusement. We further see that the process of inhalation and exhalation is going on without reference to any extraneous purpose, merely following the law of its own nature. Analogously, the activity of the Lord also may be supposed to be mere sport, proceeding from his own nature¹, without reference to any purpose. For on the ground neither of reason nor of Scripture can we construe any other purpose of the Lord. Nor can his nature be questioned².—Although the creation of this world appears to us a weighty and difficult undertaking, it is mere play to the Lord, whose power is unlimited. And if in ordinary life we might possibly, by close scrutiny, detect some subtle motive, even for sportful action, we cannot do so with regard to the actions of the Lord, all whose wishes are fulfilled, as Scripture says. —Nor can it be said that he either does not act or acts like a senseless person; for Scripture affirms the fact of the creation on the one hand, and the Lord's omniscience on the other hand. And, finally, we must remember that the scriptural doctrine of creation does not refer to the highest reality; it refers to the apparent world only, which is characterised by name and form, the figments of Nescience, and it, moreover, aims at intimating that Brahman is the Self of everything.

34. Inequality (of dispensation) and cruelty (the Lord can)not (be reproached with), on account of

¹ The nature (svabhāva) of the Lord is, the commentators say, Mâyā joined with time and karman.

² This clause is an answer to the objection that the Lord might remain at rest instead of creating a world useless to himself and the cause of pain to others. For in consequence of his conjunction with Mâyā the creation is unavoidable. Go. Ân. Avidyā naturally tends towards effects, without any purpose. Bhā.

Ân. Gi. remarks: Nanu lîlādāv asmadâdînâm akasmâd eva nîvṛtîter api darsanâd îsvarasyâpi mâyâmayyâm lîlâyâm tathâ-bhâve vinâpi samyagjñânam samsârasamukhîttir iti tatrâha na keti. Anirvâkyâ khalv avidyâ parasyesvarasya ka svabhâvo lîleti kokyate tatra na prâtîktisvabhâvâyâm anupapattir avatârâtîy arthah.

his regarding (merit and demerit) ; for so (Scripture) declares.

In order to strengthen the tenet which we are at present defending, we follow the procedure of him who shakes a pole planted in the ground (in order to test whether it is firmly planted), and raise another objection against the doctrine of the Lord being the cause of the world.—The Lord, it is said, cannot be the cause of the world, because, on that hypothesis, the reproach of inequality of dispensation and cruelty would attach to him. Some beings, viz. the gods and others, he renders eminently happy ; others, as for instance the animals, eminently unhappy ; to some again, as for instance men, he allots an intermediate position. To a Lord bringing about such an unequal condition of things, passion and malice would have to be ascribed, just as to any common person acting similarly ; which attributes would be contrary to the essential goodness of the Lord affirmed by *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*. Moreover, as the infliction of pain and the final destruction of all creatures would form part of his dispensation, he would have to be taxed with great cruelty, a quality abhorred by low people even. For these two reasons Brahman cannot be the cause of the world.

The Lord, we reply, cannot be reproached with inequality of dispensation and cruelty, 'because he is bound by regards.' If the Lord on his own account, without any extraneous regards, produced this unequal creation, he would expose himself to blame ; but the fact is, that in creating he is bound by certain regards, i. e. he has to look to merit and demerit. Hence the circumstance of the creation being unequal is due to the merit and demerit of the living creatures created, and is not a fault for which the Lord is to blame. The position of the Lord is to be looked on as analogous to that of *Parganya*, the Giver of rain. For as *Parganya* is the common cause of the production of rice, barley, and other plants, while the difference between the various species is due to the various potentialities lying hidden in the respective seeds, so the Lord is the common cause of the creation of gods, men, &c., while the differences between these classes of beings

are due to the different merit belonging to the individual souls. Hence the Lord, being bound by regards, cannot be reproached with inequality of dispensation and cruelty.—And if we are asked how we come to know that the Lord, in creating this world with its various conditions, is bound by regards, we reply that Scripture declares that; compare, for instance, the two following passages, ‘For he (the Lord) makes him, whom he wishes to lead up from these worlds, do a good deed; and the same makes him, whom he wishes to lead down from these worlds, do a bad deed’ (Kaush. Up. III, 8)¹; and, ‘A man becomes good by good work, bad by bad work’ (Bri. Up. III, 2, 13). Smṛiti passages also declare the favour of the Lord and its opposite to depend on the different quality of the works of living beings; so, for instance, ‘I serve men in the way in which they approach me’ (Bha. Gī. IV, 11).

35. If it be objected that it (viz. the Lord’s having regard to merit and demerit) is impossible on account of the non-distinction (of merit and demerit, previous to the first creation); we refute the objection on the ground of (the world) being without a beginning.

But—an objection is raised—the passage, ‘Being only this was in the beginning, one, without a second,’ affirms that before the creation there was no distinction and consequently no merit on account of which the creation might have become unequal. And if we assume the Lord to have been guided in his dispensations by the actions of living beings subsequent to the creation, we involve ourselves in the circular reasoning that work depends on diversity of

¹ From this passage we must not—the commentators say—infer injustice on the part of the Lord; for the previous merit or demerit of a being determines the specific quality of the actions which he performs in his present existence, the Lord acting as the common cause only (as Parganya does).

condition of life, and diversity of condition again on work. The Lord may be considered as acting with regard to religious merit after distinction had once arisen ; but as before that the cause of inequality, viz. merit, did not exist, it follows that the first creation must have been free from inequalities.

This objection we meet by the remark, that the transmigratory world is without beginning.—The objection would be valid if the world had a beginning ; but as it is without beginning, merit and inequality are, like seed and sprout, caused as well as causes, and there is therefore no logical objection to their operation.—To the question how we know that the world is without a beginning, the next Sūtra replies.

36. (The beginninglessness of the world) recommends itself to reason and is seen (from Scripture).

The beginninglessness of the world recommends itself to reason. For if it had a beginning it would follow that, the world springing into existence without a cause, the released souls also would again enter into the circle of transmigratory existence ; and further, as then there would exist no determining cause of the unequal dispensation of pleasure and pain, we should have to acquiesce in the doctrine of rewards and punishments being allotted, without reference to previous good or bad actions. That the Lord is not the cause of the inequality, has already been remarked. Nor can Nescience by itself be the cause, as it is of a uniform nature. On the other hand, Nescience may be the cause of inequality, if it be considered as having regard to merit accruing from action produced by the mental impressions of wrath, hatred, and other afflicting passions¹. Without merit and demerit nobody can enter into existence, and again, without a body merit and demerit cannot be formed ; so that—on the doc-

¹ Rāgadvēṣhamohā rāgādayas te ka puruṣaṁ dukhādibhiḥ klīṣyanti klesās teshāṁ vāsanāḥ karma pravṛtīyanugunās tābhir ākṣiptaṁ dharmādīlakṣaṇaṁ karma tadapekṣhāvīdyā. Ān. Gi.

trine of the world having a beginning—we are led into a logical see-saw. The opposite doctrine, on the other hand, explains all matters in a manner analogous to the case of the seed and sprout, so that no difficulty remains.—Moreover, the fact of the world being without a beginning, is seen in *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*. In the first place, we have the scriptural passage, ‘Let me enter with this living Self (*gīva*),’ &c. (*Kh. Up.* VI, 3, 2). Here the circumstance of the embodied Self (the individual soul) being called, previously to creation, ‘the living Self’—a name applying to it in so far as it is the sustaining principle of the *prâṇas*—shows that this phenomenal world is without a beginning. For if it had a beginning, the *prâṇas* would not exist before that beginning, and how then could the embodied Self be denoted, with reference to the time of the world’s beginning, by a name which depends on the existence of those *prâṇas*? Nor can it be said that it is so designated with a view to its future relation to the *prâṇas*; it being a settled principle that a past relation, as being already existing, is of greater force than a mere future relation.—Moreover, we have the mantra, ‘As the creator formerly devised (*akalpayat*) sun and moon’ (*Ri. Samh.* X, 190, 3), which intimates the existence of former *Kalpas*. *Smṛiti* also declares the world to be without a beginning, ‘Neither its form is known here, nor its end, nor its beginning, nor its support’ (*Bha. Gi.* XV, 3). And the *Purâṇa* also declares that there is no measure of the past and the future *Kalpas*.

37. And because all the qualities (required in the cause of the world) are present (in Brahman).

The teacher has now refuted all the objections, such as difference of character, and the like, which other teachers have brought forward against what he had established as the real sense of the Veda, viz. that the intelligent Brahman is the cause and matter of this world.

Now, before entering on a new chapter, whose chief aim it will be to refute the (positive) opinions held by other teachers, he sums up the foregoing chapter, the purport of which

it was to show why his view should be accepted.—Because, if that Brahman is acknowledged as the cause of the world, all attributes required in the cause (of the world) are seen to be present—Brahman being all-knowing, all-powerful, and possessing the great power of Mâyâ,—on that account this our system, founded on the Upanishads, is not open to any objections.

SECOND PÂDA.

REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. That which is inferred (by the Sâṅkhyas, viz. the *pradhâna*) cannot be the cause (of the world), on account of the orderly arrangement (of the world) being impossible (on that hypothesis).

Although it is the object of this system to define the true meaning of the Vedânta-texts and not, like the science of Logic, to establish or refute some tenet by mere ratiocination, still it is incumbent on thorough students of the Vedânta to refute the Sâṅkhya and other systems which are obstacles in the way of perfect knowledge. For this purpose a new chapter is begun. (Nor must it be said that the refutation of the other systems ought to have preceded the establishment of the Vedânta position; for) as the determination of the sense of the Vedânta-passages directly subserves perfect knowledge, we have at first, by means of such a determination, established our own position, since this is a task more important than the refutation of the views entertained by others.

Here an opponent might come forward and say that we are indeed entitled to establish our own position, so as to define perfect knowledge which is the means of release to those desirous of it, but that no use is apparent of a refutation of other opinions, a proceeding productive of nothing but hate and anger.—There is a use, we reply. For there is some danger of men of inferior intelligence looking upon the Sâṅkhya and similar systems as requisite for perfect knowledge, because those systems have a weighty appearance, have been adopted by authoritative persons, and profess to lead to perfect knowledge. Such people might therefore think that those systems with their abstruse argu-

ments were propounded by omniscient sages, and might on that account have faith in them. For this reason we must endeavour to demonstrate their intrinsic worthlessness.

But, it might be said, the Sāṅkhya and similar systems have already been impugned in several Sūtras of the first adhyāya (I, 1, 5, 18; I, 4, 28); why, then, controvert them again?—The task—we reply—which we are now about to undertake differs from what we have already accomplished. As the Sāṅkhyas and other philosophers also quote, in order to establish their own positions, the Vedānta-passages and interpret them in such a manner as to make them agree with their own systems, we have hitherto endeavoured to show that their interpretations are altogether fallacious. Now, however, we are going to refute their arguments in an independent manner, without any reference to the Vedānta-texts.

The Sāṅkhyaś, to make a beginning with them, argue as follows.—Just as jars, dishes, and other products which possess the common quality of consisting of clay are seen to have for their cause clay in general; so we must suppose that all the outward and inward (i. e. inanimate and animate) effects which are endowed with the characteristics of pleasure, pain, and dulness¹ have for their causes pleasure, pain, and dulness in general. Pleasure, pain, and dulness in their generality together constitute the threefold pradhāna. This pradhāna which is non-intelligent evolves itself spontaneously into multiform modifications², in order thus to effect the purposes (i. e. enjoyment, release, and so on) of the intelligent soul.—The existence of the pradhāna is to be inferred from other circumstances also, such as the limitation of all effects and the like³.

Against this doctrine we argue as follows.—If you Sāṅkhyas base your theory on parallel instances merely, we point

¹ The characteristics of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, the three constituent elements (*guṇa*) of the pradhāna. Sā. Kā. 12, 13.

² Viz. the great principle (*mahat*), *ahaṅkāra*, &c. Sā. Kā. 3.

³ The arguments here referred to are enumerated in the Sā. Kā. 15; Sā. Sūtras I, 129 ff.

out that a non-intelligent thing which, without being guided by an intelligent being, spontaneously produces effects capable of subserving the purposes of some particular person is nowhere observed in the world. We rather observe that houses, palaces, couches, pleasure-grounds, and the like—things which according to circumstances are conducive to the obtainment of pleasure or the avoidance of pain—are made by workmen endowed with intelligence. Now look at this entire world which appears, on the one hand, as external (i. e. inanimate) in the form of earth and the other elements enabling (the souls) to enjoy the fruits of their various actions, and; on the other hand, as animate, in the form of bodies which belong to the different classes of beings, possess a definite arrangement of organs, and are therefore capable of constituting the abodes of fruition; look, we say, at this world, of which the most ingenious workmen cannot even form a conception in their minds, and then say if a non-intelligent principle like the *pradhâna* is able to fashion it! Other non-intelligent things such as stones and clods of earth are certainly not seen to possess analogous powers. We rather must assume that just as clay and similar substances are seen to fashion themselves into various forms, if worked upon by potters and the like, so the *pradhâna* also (when modifying itself into its effects) is ruled by some intelligent principle. When endeavouring to determine the nature of the primal cause (of the world), there is no need for us to take our stand on those attributes only which form part of the nature of material causes such as clay, &c., and not on those also which belong to extraneous agents such as potters, &c.¹ Nor (if remembering this latter point) do we enter into conflict with any means of right knowledge; we, on the contrary, are in direct agreement with Scripture which teaches that an intelligent

¹ If we attempt to infer the nature of the universal cause from its effects on the ground of parallel instances, as, for instance, that of an earthen jar whose material cause is clay, we must remember that the jar has sprung from clay not without the co-operation of an intelligent being, viz. the potter.

cause exists.—For the reason detailed in the above, i. e. on account of the impossibility of the ‘orderly arrangement’ (of the world), a non-intelligent cause of the world is not to be inferred.—The word ‘and’ (in the Sūtra) adds other reasons on account of which the pradhāna cannot be inferred, viz. ‘on account of the non-possibility of endowment,’ &c. For it cannot be maintained¹ that all outward and inward effects are ‘endowed’ with the nature of pleasure, pain, and dulness, because pleasure, &c. are known as inward (mental) states, while sound, &c. (i. e. the sense-objects) are known as being of a different nature (i. e. as outward things), and moreover as being the operative causes of pleasure, &c.² And, further, although the sense-object such as sound and so on is one, yet we observe that owing to the difference of the mental impressions (produced by it) differences exist in the effects it produces, one person being affected by it pleasantly, another painfully, and so on³.—(Turning to the next Sāṅkhya argument which infers the existence of the pradhāna from the limitation of all effects), we remark that he who concludes that all inward and outward effects depend on a conjunction of several things, because they are limited (a conclusion based on the observation that some limited effects such as root and sprout, &c. depend on the conjunction of several things), is driven to the conclusion that the three constituents of the pradhāna, viz. Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, likewise depend on the conjunction of several

¹ As had been asserted above for the purpose of inferring therefrom, according to the principle of the equality of cause and effect, the existence of the three constituents of the pradhāna.

² And a thing cannot consist of that of which it is the cause.

³ Which differences cannot be reconciled with the Sāṅkhya hypothesis of the object itself consisting of either pleasure or pain, &c.—‘If things consisted in themselves of pleasure, pain, &c., then sandal ointment (which is cooling, and on that account pleasant in summer) would be pleasant in winter also; for sandal never is anything but sandal.—And as thistles never are anything but thistles they ought, on the Sāṅkhya hypothesis, to be eaten with enjoyment not only by camels but by men also.’ Bhā.

antecedents¹; for they also are limited².—Further³, it is impossible to use the relation of cause and effect as a reason for assuming that all effects whatever have a non-intelligent principle for their antecedent; for we have shown already that that relation exists in the case of couches and chairs also, over whose production intelligence presides.

2. And on account of (the impossibility of) activity.

Leaving the arrangement of the world, we now pass on to the activity by which it is produced.—The three *gunas*, passing out of the state of equipoise and entering into the condition of mutual subordination and superordination, originate activities tending towards the production of particular effects.—Now these activities also cannot be ascribed to a non-intelligent *pradhâna* left to itself, as no such activity is seen in clay and similar substances, or in chariots and the like. For we observe that clay and the like, and chariots—which are in their own nature non-intelligent—enter on activities tending towards particular effects only when they are acted upon by intelligent beings such as potters, &c. in the one case, and horses and the like in the other case. From what is seen we determine what is not seen. Hence a non-intelligent cause of the world is not to be inferred because, on that hypothesis, the activity without which the world cannot be produced would be impossible.

But, the Sâṅkhya rejoins, we do likewise not observe activity on the part of mere intelligent beings.—True; we however see activity on the part of non-intelligent things such as chariots and the like when they are in conjunction with intelligent beings.—But, the Sâṅkhya again objects, we never actually observe activity on the part of an intel-

¹ *Samsargapûrvakatvaprasaṅga iti gunânâm samsrīṣh'ânekavastuprakṛṭikatvaprasaktir ity arthaḥ. Ân. Gi.*

² For they limit one another.

³ To proceed to the argument 'from the separateness of cause and effect' (Sâ. Kâ. 15).

lignant being even when in conjunction with a non-intelligent thing.—Very well; the question then arises: Does the activity belong to that in which it is actually observed (as the Sāṅkhya says), or to that on account of the conjunction with which it is observed (as the Vedāntin avers)?—We must, the Sāṅkhya replies, attribute activity to that in which it is actually seen, since both (i. e. the activity and its abode) are matter of observation. A mere intelligent being, on the other hand, is never observed as the abode of activity while a chariot is. The¹ existence of an intelligent Self joined to a body and so on which are the abode of activity can be established (by inference) only; the inference being based on the difference observed between living bodies and mere non-intelligent things, such as chariots and the like. For this very reason, viz. that intelligence is observed only where a body is observed while it is never seen without a body, the Materialists consider intelligence to be a mere attribute of the body.—Hence activity belongs only to what is non-intelligent.

To all this we—the Vedāntins—make the following reply.—We do not mean to say that activity does not belong to those non-intelligent things in which it is observed; it does indeed belong to them; but it results from an intelligent principle, because it exists when the latter is present and does not exist when the latter is absent. Just as the effects of burning and shining, which have their abode in wood and similar material, are indeed not observed when there is mere fire (i. e. are not due to mere fire; as mere fire, i. e. fire without wood, &c., does not exist), but at the same time result from fire only as they are seen when fire is present and are not seen when fire is absent; so, as the Materialists also admit, only intelligent bodies are observed

¹ The next sentences furnish the answer to the question how the intelligent Self is known at all if it is not the object of perception.—*Pratyakṣatvābhāve katham ātmasiddhir ity āsāṅkya anumānād ity āha, pravṛtīti. Anumānasiddhasya ketanasya na pravṛtīṅśrayateti darsayitum evakāraḥ. Katham anumānam ity apekṣhāyām tatprakāram sūkayati kevaleti. Vailakṣṇyam prāṇādimattvam. Ān. Gi.*

to be the movers of chariots and other non-intelligent things. The motive power of intelligence is therefore incontrovertible.—But—an objection will be raised—your Self even if joined to a body is incapable of exercising moving power, for motion cannot be effected by that the nature of which is pure intelligence.—A thing, we reply, which is itself devoid of motion may nevertheless move other things. The magnet is itself devoid of motion, and yet it moves iron; and colours and the other objects of sense, although themselves devoid of motion, produce movements in the eyes and the other organs of sense. So the Lord also who is all-present, the Self of all, all-knowing and all-powerful may, although himself unmoving, move the universe.—If it finally be objected that (on the Vedânta doctrine) there is no room for a moving power as in consequence of the oneness (aduality) of Brahman no motion can take place; we reply that such objections have repeatedly been refuted by our pointing to the fact of the Lord being fictitiously connected with Mâyâ, which consists of name and form presented by Nescience.—Hence motion can be reconciled with the doctrine of an all-knowing first cause; but not with the doctrine of a non-intelligent first cause.

3. If it be said (that the pradhâna moves) like milk or water, (we reply that) there also (the motion is due to intelligence).

Well, the Sâṅkhya resumes, listen then to the following instances.—As non-sentient milk flows forth from its own nature merely for the nourishment of the young animal, and as, non-sentient water, from its own nature, flows along for the benefit of mankind; so the pradhâna also, although non-intelligent, may be supposed to move from its own nature merely for the purpose of effecting the highest end of man.

This argumentation, we reply, is unsound again; for as the adherents of both doctrines admit that motion is not observed in the case of merely non-intelligent things such as chariots, &c., we infer that water and milk also move only because they are directed by intelligent powers. Scriptural passages, moreover (such as 'He who dwells in

the water and within the water, who rules the water within,' *Bṛi. Up. III, 7, 4*; and, 'By the command of that Akshara, O Gārgî, some rivers flow to the East,' &c., *Bṛi. Up. III, 8, 9*), declare that everything in this world which flows is directed by the Lord. Hence the instances of milk and water as belonging themselves to that class of cases which prove our general principle¹ cannot be used to show that the latter is too wide.—Moreover, the cow, which is an intelligent being and loves her calf, makes her milk flow by her wish to do so, and the milk is in addition drawn forth by the sucking of the calf. Nor does water move either with absolute independence—for its flow depends on the declivity of the soil and similar circumstances—or independently of an intelligent principle, for we have shown that the latter is present in all cases.—If, finally, our opponent should point to *Sūtra II, 1, 24* as contradicting the present *Sūtra*, we remark that there we have merely shown on the ground of ordinary experience that an effect may take place in itself independently of any external instrumental cause; a conclusion which does not contradict the doctrine, based on Scripture, that all effects depend on the Lord.

4. And because (the *pradhâna*), on account of there existing nothing beyond it, stands in no relation; (it cannot be active.)

The three *gunas* of the *Sāṅkhyas* when in a state of equipoise form the *pradhâna*. Beyond the *pradhâna* there exists no external principle which could either impel the *pradhâna* to activity or restrain it from activity. The soul (*purusha*), as we know, is indifferent, neither moves to—nor restrains from—action. As therefore the *pradhâna* stands in no relation, it is impossible to see why it should sometimes modify itself into the great principle (*mahat*) and sometimes not. The activity and non-activity (by turns) of the Lord,

¹ Viz. that whatever moves or acts does so under the influence of intelligence. — *Sâdhyapakshanikshiptatvam sâdhyavati pakshe pravishatvam eva tat ka sapakshanikshiptatvasyâpy upalakshanam, anupanyâso na vyabhihârabhûmir ity arthaḥ. Ān. Gi.*

on the other hand, are not contrary to reason, on account of his omniscience and omnipotence, and his being connected with the power of illusion (mâyâ).

5. Nor (can it be said that the pradhâna modifies itself spontaneously) like grass, &c. (which turn into milk); for (milk) does not exist elsewhere (but in the female animal).

Let this be (the Sâṅkhya resumes). Just as grass, herbs, water, &c. independently of any other instrumental cause transform themselves, by their own nature, into milk; so, we assume, the pradhâna also transforms itself into the great principle, and so on. And, if you ask how we know that grass transforms itself independently of any instrumental cause; we reply, 'Because no such cause is observed.' For if we did perceive some such cause, we certainly should apply it to grass, &c. according to our liking, and thereby produce milk. But as a matter of fact we do no such thing. Hence the transformation of grass and the like must be considered to be due to its own nature merely; and we may infer therefrom that the transformation of the pradhâna is of the same kind.

To this we make the following reply.—The transformation of the pradhâna might be ascribed to its own nature merely if we really could admit that grass modifies itself in the manner stated by you; but we are unable to admit that, since another instrumental cause is observed. How? 'Because it does not exist elsewhere.' For grass becomes milk only when it is eaten by a cow or some other female animal, not if it is left either uneaten or is eaten by a bull. If the transformation had no special cause, grass would become milk even on other conditions than that of entering a cow's body. Nor would the circumstance of men not being able to produce milk according to their liking prove that there is no instrumental cause; for while some effects can be produced by men, others result from divine action only¹. The fact, however, is that men also are able, by

¹ It might be held that for the transformation of grass into milk no other cause is required than the digestive heat of the cow's

applying a means in their power, to produce milk from grass and herbs; for when they wish to procure a more abundant supply of milk they feed the cow more plentifully and thus obtain more milk from her.—For these reasons the spontaneous modification of the *pradhâna* cannot be proved from the instance of grass and the like.

6. Even if we admit (the Sāṅkhya position refuted in what precedes, it is invalidated by other objections) on account of the absence of a purpose (on the part of the *pradhâna*).

Even if we, accommodating ourselves to your (the Sāṅkhya's) belief, should admit what has been disproved in the preceding Sūtra, viz. that the *pradhâna* is spontaneously active, still your opinion would lie open to an objection 'on account of the absence of a purpose.' For if the spontaneous activity of the *pradhâna* has, as you say, no reference to anything else, it will have no reference not only to any aiding principle, but also to any purpose or motive, and consequently your doctrine that the *pradhâna* is active in order to effect the purpose of man will become untenable. If you reply that the *pradhâna* does not indeed regard any aiding principle, but does regard a purpose, we remark that in that case we must distinguish between the different possible purposes, viz. either enjoyment (on the part of the soul), or final release, or both. If enjoyment, what enjoyment, we ask, can belong to the soul which is naturally incapable of any accretion (of pleasure or pain) ¹? Moreover, there would in that case be no opportunity for release ².—If release, then the activity of the *pradhâna* would be purposeless, as even antecedently to it the soul is in the

body; but a reflecting person will acknowledge that there also the omniscient Lord is active. Bhâ.

¹ Anâdheyâtisayasya sukhadukhaprâptiparihârarûpâtisayasûnyasetye arthaḥ. Ân. Gi.

² For the soul as being of an entirely inactive nature cannot of itself aim at release, and the *pradhâna* aims—ex hypothesi—only at the soul's undergoing varied experience.

state of release ; moreover, there would then be no occasion for the perception of sounds, &c.¹—If both, then, on account of the infinite number of the objects of pradhâna to be enjoyed (by the soul)², there would be no opportunity for final release. Nor can the satisfaction of a desire be considered as the purpose of the activity of the pradhâna ; for neither the non-intelligent pradhâna nor the essentially pure soul can feel any desire.—If, finally, you should assume the pradhâna to be active, because otherwise the power of sight (belonging to the soul on account of its intelligent nature) and the creative power (belonging to the pradhâna) would be purposeless ; it would follow that, as the creative power of the pradhâna does not cease at any time any more than the soul's power of sight does, the apparent world would never come to an end, so that no final release of the soul could take place³.—It is, therefore, impossible to maintain that the pradhâna enters on its activity for the purposes of the soul.

7. And if you say (that the soul may move the pradhâna) as the (lame) man (moves the blind one) or as the magnet (moves the iron) ; thus also (the difficulty is not overcome).

Well then—the Sâṅkhya resumes, endeavouring to defend his position by parallel instances—let us say that, as some lame man devoid of the power of motion, but possessing the power of sight, having mounted the back of a blind man who is able to move but not to see, makes the latter move ; or as the magnet not moving itself, moves the iron, so the soul moves the pradhâna.—Thus also, we reply, you do not free your doctrine from all shortcomings ; for this your new position involves an abandonment of your old

¹ I. e. for the various items constituting enjoyment or experience.

² *Trīṇīye-pi katipayarabdâdyupalabdhir vâ samastatadupalabdhir vâ bhoga iti vikalpyâdye sarveshâm ekadaiva muktiḥ syâd iti manvâno dvitīyam pratyâha ubhayârthateti.* Âṇ. Gi.

³ The MSS. of Âṇanda Giri omit *samsârânuḥkṛt* ; the Bhāmatī's reading is : *Sargasaktyanuḥkṛtavad drīksaktyanuḥkṛt*.

position, according to which the pradhâna is moving of itself, and the (indifferent, inactive) soul possesses no moving power. And how should the indifferent soul move the pradhâna? A man, although lame, may make a blind man move by means of words and the like; but the soul which is devoid of action and qualities cannot possibly put forth any moving energy. Nor can it be said that it moves the pradhâna by its mere proximity as the magnet moves the iron; for from the permanency of proximity (of soul and pradhâna) a permanency of motion would follow. The proximity of the magnet, on the other hand (to the iron), is not permanent, but depends on a certain activity and the adjustment of the magnet in a certain position; hence the (lame) man and the magnet do not supply really parallel instances.—The pradhâna then being non-intelligent and the soul indifferent, and there being no third principle to connect them, there can be no connexion of the two. If we attempted to establish a connexion on the ground of capability (of being seen on the part of the pradhâna, of seeing on the part of the soul), the permanency of such capability would imply the impossibility of final release.—Moreover, here as well as before (in the preceding Sûtra) the different alternatives connected with the absence of purpose (on the pradhâna's part) have to be considered ¹.—The highest Self, on the other hand (which is the cause of the world, according to the Vedântins), is characterised by non-activity inherent in its own nature, and, at the same time, by moving power inherent in Mâyâ and is thus superior (to the soul of the Sâṅkhyas).

8. And, again, (the pradhâna cannot be active) because the relation of principal (and subordinate matter) is impossible (between the three guṇas).

For the following reason also activity on the part of the pradhâna is not possible.—The condition of the pradhâna

¹ On the theory that the soul is the cause of the pradhâna's activity we again have to ask whether the pradhâna acts for the soul's enjoyment or for its release, &c.

consists in the three *gunas*, viz. goodness, passion, and darkness, abiding in themselves in a state of equipoise without standing to one another in the relation of mutual superiority or inferiority. In that state the *gunas* cannot possibly enter into the relation of mutual subserviency because thereby they would forfeit their essential characteristic, viz. absolute independence. And as there exists no extraneous principle to stir up the *gunas*, the production of the great principle and the other effects—which would require for its operative cause a non-balanced state of the *gunas*—is impossible.

9. And although another inference be made, (the objections remain in force) on account of the (*pradhâna*) being devoid of the power of intelligence.

But—the Sāṅkhya resumes—we draw another inference, so as to leave no room for the objection just stated. We do not acknowledge the *gunas* to be characterised by absolute irrelativity and unchangeableness, since there is no proof for such an assumption. We rather infer the characteristics of the *gunas* from those of their effects, presuming that their nature must be such as to render the production of the effects possible. Now the *gunas* are admitted to be of an unsteady nature ; hence the *gunas* themselves are able to enter into the relation of mutual inequality, even while they are in a state of equipoise.

Even in that case, we reply, the objections stated above which were founded on the impossibility of an orderly arrangement of the world, &c., remain in force on account of the *pradhâna* being devoid of the power of intelligence. And if (to escape those objections) the Sāṅkhya should infer (from the orderly arrangement of the world, &c.), that the primal cause is intelligent, he would cease to be an antagonist, since the doctrine that there is one intelligent cause of this multiform world would be nothing else but the Vedāntic doctrine of Brahman.—Moreover, if the *gunas* were capable of entering into the relation of mutual inequality even while in the state of equipoise, one of two

things would happen ; they would either not be in the condition of inequality on account of the absence of an operative cause ; or else, if they were in that condition, they would always remain in it ; the absence of an operative cause being a non-changing circumstance. And thus the doctrine would again be open to the objection stated before ¹.

10. And moreover (the Sāṅkhya doctrine) is objectionable on account of its contradictions.

The doctrine of the Sāṅkhyas, moreover, is full of contradictions. Sometimes they enumerate seven senses, sometimes eleven ². In some places they teach that the subtle elements of material things proceed from the great principle, in other places again that they proceed from self-consciousness. Sometimes they speak of three internal organs, sometimes of one only ³. That their doctrine, moreover, contradicts *Sruti*, which teaches that the Lord is the cause of the world, and *Smṛti*, based on *Sruti*, is well known.—For these reasons also the Sāṅkhya system is objectionable.

Here the Sāṅkhya again brings a countercharge.—The system of the Vedāntins also, he says, must be declared to be objectionable ; for it does not admit that that which suffers and that which causes suffering ⁴ are different classes of things (and thereby renders futile the well-established distinction of causes of suffering and suffering beings). For

¹ Anantaro dosho mahadâdikâryotpâdâyogah. Ân. Gi.

² In the former case the five intellectual senses are looked upon as mere modifications of the sense of touch.

³ *Buddhi* in the latter case being the generic name for *buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra*, and *manas*.

⁴ Lit. that which burns and that which is burned, which literal rendering would perhaps be preferable throughout. As it is, the context has necessitated its retention in some places.—The sufferers are the individual souls, the cause of suffering the world in which the souls live.

those who admit the one Brahman to be the Self of everything and the cause of the whole world, have to admit also that the two attributes of being that which causes suffering and that which suffers belong to the one supreme Self (not to different classes of beings). If, then, these two attributes belong to one and the same Self, it never can divest itself of them, and thus Scripture, which teaches perfect knowledge for the purpose of the cessation of all suffering, loses all its meaning. For—to adduce a parallel case—a lamp as long as it subsists as such is never divested of the two qualities of giving heat and light. And if the Vedântin should adduce the case of water with its waves, ripples, foam, &c.¹, we remark that there also the waves, &c. constitute attributes of the water which remain permanently, although they by turns manifest themselves, and again enter into the state of non-manifestation; hence the water is never really destitute of waves, not any more than the lamp is ever destitute of heat and light.—That that which causes suffering, and that which suffers constitute different classes of things is, moreover, well known from ordinary experience. For (to consider the matter from a more general point of view) the person desiring and the thing desired² are understood to be separate existences. If the object of desire were not essentially different and separate from the person desiring, the state of being desirous could not be ascribed to the latter, because the object with reference to which alone he can be called desiring would already essentially be established in him (belong to him). The latter state of things exists in the case of a lamp and its light, for instance. Light essentially belongs to the lamp, and hence the latter never can stand in want of light; for want or desire can exist only if the thing wanted or desired is not yet obtained.

¹ In the case of the lamp, light and heat are admittedly essential; hence the Vedântin is supposed to bring forward the sea with its waves, and so on, as furnishing a case where attributes pass away while the substance remains.

² 'Artha,' a useful or beneficial thing, an object of desire.

(And just as there could be no desiring person, if the object of desire and the desiring person were not essentially separate), so the object of desire also would cease to be an object for the desiring person, and would be an object for itself only. As a matter of fact, however, this is not the case; for the two ideas (and terms), 'object of desire' and 'desiring person,' imply a relation (are correlative), and a relation exists in two things, not in one only. Hence the desiring person and the object of desire are separate.—The same holds good with regard to what is not desired (object of aversion; *anartha*) and the non-desiring person (*anarthin*). An object of desire is whatever is of advantage to the desiring person, an object of aversion whatever is of disadvantage; with both one person enters into relation by turns.

On account of the comparative paucity of the objects of desire, and the comparative multitude of the objects of aversion, both may be comprised under the general term, 'object of aversion.' Now, these objects of aversion we mean when we use the term 'causes of suffering,' while by the term 'sufferer' we understand the soul which, being one, enters into successive relations with both (i.e. the objects of desire and the objects of aversion). If, then, the causes of suffering and the sufferer constitute one Self (as the Vedānta teaches), it follows that final release is impossible.—But if, on the other hand, the two are assumed to constitute separate classes, the possibility of release is not excluded, since the cause of the connexion of the two (viz. wrong knowledge) may be removed.

All this reasoning—we, the Vedāntins, reply—is futile, because on account of the unity of the Self the relation, whose two terms are the causes of suffering, and the sufferer cannot exist (in the Self).—Our doctrine would be liable to your objection if that which causes suffering and that which suffers did, while belonging to one and the same Self, stand to each other in the relation of object and subject. But they do not stand in that relation just because they are one. If fire, although it possesses different attributes, such as heat and light, and is capable of change, does neither burn nor illumine itself since it is one only; how can the

one unchangeable Brahman enter with reference to itself into the relation of cause of suffering and sufferer?—Where then, it may be asked, does the relation discussed (which after all cannot be denied altogether) exist?—That, we reply, is not difficult to see¹. The living body which is the object of the action of burning is the sufferer; the sun, for instance, is a cause of suffering (burning).—But, the opponent rejoins, burning is a pain, and as such can affect an intelligent being only, not the non-intelligent body; for if it were an affection of the mere body, it would, on the destruction of the body, cease of itself, so that it would be needless to seek for means to make it cease.—But it is likewise not observed, we reply, that a mere intelligent being destitute of a body is burned and suffers pain.—Nor would you (the Sāṅkhya) also assume that the affection called burning belongs to a mere intelligent being. Nor can you admit² a real connexion of the soul and the body, because through such a connexion impurity and similar imperfections would attach to the soul³. Nor can suffering itself be said to suffer. And how then, we ask, can you explain the relation existing between a sufferer and the causes of suffering? If (as a last refuge) you should maintain that the *sattva-guṇa* is that which suffers, and the *guṇa* called passion that which causes suffering, we again object, because the intelligent principle (the soul) cannot be really connected with these two⁴. And if you should say that the soul suffers as it were because it leans towards⁵ the *sattva-guṇa*, we point out that the employment of the phrase, ‘as it were,’ shows that the soul does not really suffer.

¹ In reality neither suffering nor sufferers exist, as the Vedāntin had pointed out in the first sentences of his reply; but there can of course be no doubt as to who suffers and what causes suffering in the *vyavahārika*-state, i. e. the phenomenal world.

² In order to explain thereby how the soul can experience pain.

³ And that would be against the Sāṅkhya dogma of the soul’s essential purity.

⁴ So that the fact of suffering which cannot take place apart from an intelligent principle again remains unexplained.

⁵ *Ātmanas tapte sattve pratibimbitatvād yuktā taptir iti saṅkate sattveti.* An. Gi.

If it is understood that its suffering is not real, we do not object to the phrase 'as it were'¹. For the amphisbena also does not become venomous because it is 'a serpent as it were' ('like a serpent'), nor does the serpent lose its venom because it is 'like an amphisbena.' You must therefore admit that the relation of causes of suffering and of sufferers is not real, but the effect of Nescience. And if you admit that, then my (the Vedāntic) doctrine also is free from objections².

But perhaps you (the Sāṅkhya) will say that, after all, suffering (on the part of the soul) is real³. In that case, however, the impossibility of release is all the more undeniable⁴, especially as the cause of suffering (viz. the *pradhāna*) is admitted to be eternal.—And if (to get out of this difficulty) you maintain that, although the potentialities of suffering (on the part of the soul) and of causing suffering (on the part of the *pradhāna*) are eternal, yet suffering, in order to become actual, requires the conjunction of the two—which conjunction in its turn depends on a special reason, viz. the non-discrimination of the *pradhāna* by the soul—and that hence, when that reason no longer exists, the conjunction of the two comes to an absolute termination, whereby the absolute release of the soul becomes possible; we are again unable to accept your explanation, because that on which the non-discrimination depends, viz. the *guṇa*, called Darkness, is acknowledged by you to be eternal.

¹ For it then indicates no more than a fictitious resemblance.

² The Sāṅkhya *Pūrvapakshin* had objected to the Vedānta doctrine that, on the latter, we cannot account for the fact known from ordinary experience that there are beings suffering pain and things causing suffering.—The Vedāntin in his turn endeavours to show that on the Sāṅkhya doctrine also the fact of suffering remains inexplicable, and is therefore to be considered not real, but fictitious merely, the product of Nescience.

³ Not only 'suffering as it were,' as it had been called above.

⁴ For real suffering cannot be removed by mere distinctive knowledge on which—according to the Sāṅkhya also—release depends.

And as¹ there is no fixed rule for the (successive) rising and sinking of the influence of the particular *gunas*, there is also no fixed rule for the termination of the cause which effects the conjunction of soul and *pradhâna* (i. e. non-discrimination); hence the disjunction of the two is uncertain, and so the *Sāṅkhyas* cannot escape the reproach of absence of final release resulting from their doctrine. To the *Vedāntin*, on the other hand, the idea of final release being impossible cannot occur in his dreams even; for the Self he acknowledges to be one only, and one thing cannot enter into the relation of subject and object, and Scripture, moreover, declares that the plurality of effects originates from speech only. For the phenomenal world, on the other hand, we may admit the relation of sufferer and suffering just as it is observed, and need neither object to it nor refute it.

Herewith we have refuted the doctrine which holds the *pradhâna* to be the cause of the world. We have now to dispose of the atomic theory.

We begin by refuting an objection raised by the atomists against the upholders of Brahman.—The *Vaiseshikas* argue as follows: The qualities which inhere in the substance constituting the cause originate qualities of the same kind in the substance constituting the effect; we see, for instance, that from white threads white cloth is produced, but do not observe what is contrary (viz. white threads resulting in a piece of cloth of a different colour). Hence, if the intelligent Brahman is assumed as the cause of the world, we should expect to find intelligence inherent in the effect also, viz. the world. But this is not the case, and consequently the intelligent Brahman cannot be the cause of the world.—This reasoning the *Sûtrakâra* shows to be fallacious, on the ground of the system of the *Vaiseshikas* themselves.

11. Or (the world may originate from Brahman)

¹ This in answer to the remark that possibly the conjunction of soul and *pradhâna* may come to an end when the influence of Darkness declines, it being overpowered by the knowledge of Truth.

as the great and the long originate from the short and the atomic.

The system of the Vaiseshikas is the following:—The atoms which possess, according to their special kind ¹, the qualities of colour, &c., and which are of spherical form ², subsist during a certain period ³ without producing any effects ⁴. After that, the unseen principle (*adrishṭa*), &c. ⁵, acting as operative causes and conjunction constituting the non-inherent cause ⁶, they produce the entire aggregate of effected things, beginning with binary atomic compounds. At the same time the qualities of the causes (i. e. of the simple atoms) produce corresponding qualities in the effects. Thus, when two atoms produce a binary atomic compound, the special qualities belonging to the simple atoms, such as white colour, &c., produce a corresponding white colour in the binary compound. One special quality, however, of the simple atoms, viz. atomic sphericity, does not produce corresponding sphericity in the binary compound; for the forms of extension belonging to the latter are said to be minuteness (*anutva*) and shortness. And, again, when two binary compounds combining produce a quaternary atomic compound, the qualities, such as whiteness, &c., inherent in the binary compounds produce corresponding qualities in the quaternary compounds; with the exception, however, of the two qualities of minuteness and shortness. For it is

¹ I. e. according as they are atoms of earth, water, fire, or air.

² Parimandala, spherical is the technical term for the specific form of extension of the atoms, and, secondarily, for the atoms themselves. The latter must apparently be imagined as infinitely small spheres. Cp. Vais. Sūt. VII, 1, 20.

³ Viz. during the period of each pralaya. At that time all the atoms are isolated and motionless.

⁴ When the time for a new creation has come.

⁵ The &c. implies the activity of the Lord.

⁶ The inherent (material) cause of an atomic compound are the constituent atoms, the non-inherent cause the conjunction of those atoms, the operative causes the *adrishṭa* and the Lord's activity which make them enter into conjunction.

admitted that the forms of extension belonging to quaternary compounds are not minuteness and shortness, but bigness (*mahattva*) and length. The same happens¹ when many simple atoms or many binary compounds or a simple atom and a binary compound combine to produce new effects.

Well, then, we say, just as from spherical atoms binary compounds are produced, which are minute and short, and ternary compounds which are big and long, but not anything spherical ; or as from binary compounds, which are minute and short, ternary compounds, &c., are produced which are big and long, not minute and short ; so this non-intelligent world may spring from the intelligent Brahman. This is a doctrine to which you—the *Vaiśeṣika*—cannot, on your own principles, object.

Here the *Vaiśeṣika* will perhaps come forward with the following argumentation². As effected substances, such as binary compounds and so on, are engrossed by forms of extension contrary to that of the causal substances, the forms of extension belonging to the latter, viz. sphericity and so on, cannot produce similar qualities in the effects. The world, on the other hand, is not engrossed by any quality contrary to intelligence owing to which the intelligence inherent in the cause should not be able to originate a new intelligence in the effect. For non-intelligence is not a quality contrary to intelligence, but merely its negation. As thus the case of sphericity is not an exactly parallel one, intelligence may very well produce an effect similar to itself.

This argumentation, we rejoin, is not sound. Just as the qualities of sphericity and so on, although existing in the cause, do not produce corresponding effects, so it is with

¹ I. e. in all cases the special form of extension of the effect depends not on the special extension of the cause, but on the number of atoms composing the cause (and thereby the effect).

² In order to escape the conclusion that the non-acceptance of the doctrine of Brahman involves the abandonment of a fundamental *Vaiśeṣika* principle.

intelligence also ; so that the two cases are parallel so far. Nor can the circumstance of the effects being engrossed by a different form of extension be alleged as the reason of sphericity, &c. not originating qualities similar to themselves ; for the power of originating effects belongs to sphericity, &c. before another form of extension begins to exist. For it is admitted that the substance produced remains for a moment devoid of qualities, and that thereupon only (i. e. after that moment) its qualities begin to exist. Nor, again, can it be said that sphericity, &c. concentrate their activity on originating other forms of extension¹, and therefore do not originate forms of extension belonging to the same class as their own ; for it is admitted that the origin of other forms is due to other causes ; as the Sûtras of Kaṇabhūg (Kaṇāda) themselves declare (Vais. Sût. VII, 1, 9, ' Bigness is produced from plurality inherent in the causes, from bigness of the cause and from a kind of accumulation ;' VII, 1, 10, ' The contrary of this (the big) is the minute ;' VII, 1, 17, ' Thereby length and shortness are explained²').—Nor, again, can it be said that plurality, &c. inherent in the cause originate (like effects) in consequence of some peculiar proximity (in which they are supposed to stand to the effected substance), while sphericity, &c. (not standing in a like proximity) do not ; for when a new substance or a new quality is origin-

¹ I. e. forms of extension different from sphericity, &c.

² The first of the three Sûtras quoted comprises, in the present text of the Vaiseshika-sûtras, only the following words, ' Kâraṇabahutvâḥ ka ;' the ka of the Sûtra implying, according to the commentators, mahattva and prakāya.—According to the Vaiseshikas the form of extension called anu, minute, has for its cause the dvitva inherent in the material causes, i. e. the two atoms from which the minute binary atomic compound originates.—The form of extension called mahat, big, has different causes, among them bahutva, i. e. the plurality residing in the material causes of the resulting ' big' thing ; the cause of the mahattva of a ternary atomic compound, for instance, is the tritva inherent in the three constituent atoms. In other cases mahattva is due to antecedent mahattva, in others to prakāya, i. e. accumulation. See the Upaskāra on Vais. Sût. VII, 1, 9 ; 10.

ated, all the qualities of the cause stand in the same relation of inherence to their abode (i.e. the causal substance in which they inhere). For these reasons the fact of sphericity, &c. not originating like effects can be explained from the essential nature of sphericity, &c. only, and the same may therefore be maintained with regard to intelligence¹. Moreover, from that observed fact also, that from conjunction (*samyoga*) there originate substances, &c. belonging to a class different (from that to which conjunction itself belongs), it follows that the doctrine of effects belonging to the same class as the causes from which they spring is too wide. If you remark against this last argument that, as we have to do at present with a substance (viz. Brahman), it is inappropriate to instance a quality (viz. conjunction) as a parallel case; we point out that at present we only wish to explain the origination of effects belonging to a different class in general. Nor is there any reason for the restriction that substances only are to be adduced as examples for substances, and qualities only for qualities. Your own Sûtrakâra adduces a quality as furnishing a parallel case for a substance (Vais. Sût. IV, 2, 2, 'On account of the conjunction of things perceptible and things imperceptible being imperceptible the body is not composed of five elements'). Just as the conjunction which inheres in the perceptible earth and the imperceptible ether is not perceptible, the body also, if it had for its inherent cause the five elements which are part of them perceptible, part of them imperceptible, would itself be imperceptible; but, as a matter of fact, it is perceptible; hence it is not composed of the five elements. Here conjunction is a quality and the body a substance.—The origin of effects different in nature (from the cause) has, moreover, been already treated of under II, 1, 6.—Well then, this being so, the matter has been settled there already (why then is it again discussed here?)—Because, we reply, there we argued

¹ I.e. if the Vaiseshikas have to admit that it is the nature of sphericity, &c. not to produce like effects, the Vedântin also may maintain that Brahman produces an unlike effect, viz. the non-intelligent world.

against the Sāṅkhya, and at present we have to do with the Vaiśeṣhika.—But, already once before (II, 1, 3) a line of argument equally applicable to a second case was simply declared to extend to the latter also; (why then do you not simply state now that the arguments used to defeat the Sāṅkhya are equally valid against the Vaiśeṣhika?)—Because here, we reply, at the beginning of the examination of the Vaiśeṣhika system we prefer to discuss the point with arguments specially adapted to the doctrine of the Vaiśeṣhikas.

12. In both cases also (in the cases of the *adrīṣṭa* inhering either in the atoms or the soul) action (of the atoms) is not (possible); hence absence of that (viz. creation and pralaya).

The Sūtrakāra now proceeds to refute the doctrine of atoms being the cause of the world.—This doctrine arises in the following manner. We see that all ordinary substances which consist of parts as, for instance, pieces of cloth originate from the substances connected with them by the relation of inherence, as for instance threads, conjunction co-operating (with the parts to form the whole). We thence draw the general conclusion that whatever consists of parts has originated from those substances with which it is connected by the relation of inherence, conjunction co-operating. That thing now at which the distinction of whole and parts stops and which marks the limit of division into minuter parts is the atom.—This whole world, with its mountains, oceans, and so on, is composed of parts; because it is composed of parts it has a beginning and an end¹; an effect may not be assumed without a cause; therefore the atoms are the cause of the world. Such is Kaṇāda's doctrine.—As we observe four elementary substances consisting of parts, viz. earth, water, fire, and air (wind), we have to assume four different kinds of atoms. These atoms marking the limit of subdivision into minuter parts can-

¹ Like other things, let us say a piece of cloth, which consists of parts.

not be divided themselves ; hence when the elements are destroyed they can be divided down to atoms only ; this state of atomic division of the elements constitutes the pralaya (the periodical destruction of the world). After that when the time for creation comes, motion (karman) springs up in the aerial atoms. This motion which is due to the unseen principle ¹ joins the atom in which it resides to another atom ; thus binary compounds, &c. are produced, and finally the element of air. In a like manner are produced fire, water, earth, the body with its organs. Thus the whole world originates from atoms. From the qualities inhering in the atoms the qualities belonging to the binary compounds are produced, just as the qualities of the cloth result from the qualities of the threads.—Such, in short, is the teaching of the followers of Kanāda.

This doctrine we controvert in the following manner.—It must be admitted that the atoms when they are in a state of isolation require action (motion) to bring about their conjunction ; for we observe that the conjunction of threads and the like is effected by action. Action again, which is itself an effect, requires some operative cause by which it is brought about ; for unless some such cause exists, no original motion can take place in the atoms. If, then, some operative cause is assumed, we may, in the first place, assume some cause analogous to seen causes, such as endeavour or impact. But in that case original motion could not occur at all in the atoms, since causes of that kind are, at the time, impossible. For in the pralaya state endeavour, which is a quality of the soul, cannot take place because no body exists then. For the quality of the soul called endeavour originates when the soul is connected with the internal organ which abides in the body. The same reason precludes the assumption of other seen causes such as impact and the like. For they all are possible only after the creation of the world has taken place, and cannot therefore be the

¹ Or, more particularly, to the conjunction of the atoms with the souls to which merit and demerit belong.—*Adriśh/āpeksham adriśh/avatkshetragāsamīyogāpeksham iti yāvat.* Ān. Gi.

causes of the original action (by which the world is produced).—If, in the second place, the unseen principle is assumed as the cause of the original motion of the atoms, we ask: Is this unseen principle to be considered as inhering in the soul or in the atom? In both cases it cannot be the cause of motion in the atoms, because it is non-intelligent. For, as we have shown above in our examination of the Sāṅkhya system, a non-intelligent thing which is not directed by an intelligent principle cannot of itself either act or be the cause of action, and the soul cannot be the guiding principle of the *adrishya* because at the time of *pralaya* its intelligence has not yet arisen¹. If, on the other hand, the unseen principle is supposed to inhere in the soul, it cannot be the cause of motion in the atoms, because there exists no connexion of it with the latter. If you say that the soul in which the unseen principle inheres is connected with the atoms, then there would result, from the continuity of connexion², continuity of action, as there is no other restricting principle.—Hence, there being no definite cause of action, original action cannot take place in the atoms; there being no action, conjunction of the atoms which depends on action cannot take place; there being no conjunction, all the effects depending on it, viz. the formation of binary atomic compounds, &c., cannot originate.

How, moreover, is the conjunction of one atom with another to be imagined? Is it to be total interpenetration of the two or partial conjunction? If the former, then no increase of bulk could take place, and consequently atomic size only would exist; moreover, it would be contrary to what is observed, as we see that conjunction takes place between substances having parts (*pradesa*). If the latter, it would follow that the atoms are composed of parts.—Let then the atoms be imagined to consist of parts.—If so, imagined things being unreal, the conjunction also of the atoms would be unreal and thus could not be the non-

¹ According to the Vaiseshikas intelligence is not essential to the soul, but a mere adventitious quality arising only when the soul is joined to an internal organ.

² The soul being all-pervading.

inherent cause of real things. And without non-inherent causes effected substances such as binary compounds, &c. could not originate. And just as at the time of the first creation motion of the atoms leading to their conjunction could not take place, there being no cause of such motion ; thus at the time of a general pralaya also no action could take place leading to their separation, since for that occurrence also no definite seen cause could be alleged. Nor could the unseen principle be adduced as the cause, since its purport is to effect enjoyment (of reward and punishment on the part of the soul), not to bring about the pralaya. There being then no possibility of action to effect either the conjunction or the separation of the atoms, neither conjunction nor separation would actually take place, and hence neither creation nor pralaya of the world.—For these reasons the doctrine of the atoms being the cause of the world must be rejected.

13. And because in consequence of samavâya being admitted a regressus in infinitum results from parity of reasoning.

You (the Vaiseshika) admit that a binary compound which originates from two atoms, while absolutely different from them, is connected with them by the relation of inherence ; but on that assumption the doctrine of the atoms being the general cause cannot be established, 'because parity involves here a retrogressus ad infinitum.' For just as a binary compound which is absolutely different from the two constituent atoms is connected with them by means of the relation of inherence (samavâya), so the relation of inherence itself being absolutely different from the two things which it connects, requires another relation of inherence to connect it with them, there being absolute difference in both cases. For this second relation of inherence again, a third relation of inherence would have to be assumed and so on ad infinitum.—But—the Vaiseshika is supposed to reply—we are conscious of the so-called samavâya relation as eternally connected with the things between which it exists, not as

either non-connected with them or as depending on another connexion; we are therefore not obliged to assume another connexion, and again another, and so on, and thus to allow ourselves to be driven into a regressus in infinitum.—Your defence is unavailing, we reply, for it would involve the admission that conjunction (*samyoga*) also as being eternally connected with the things which it joins does, like *samavāya*, not require another connexion¹. If you say that conjunction does require another connexion because it is a different thing², we reply that then *samavāya* also requires another connexion because it is likewise a different thing. Nor can you say that conjunction does require another connexion because it is a quality (*guna*), and *samavāya* does not because it is not a quality; for (in spite of this difference) the reason for another connexion being required is the same in both cases³, and not that which is technically called 'quality' is the cause (of another connexion being required)⁴.—For these reasons those who acknowledge *samavāya* to be a separate existence are driven into a regressus in infinitum, in consequence of which, the impossibility of one term involving the impossibility of the entire series, not even the origination of a binary compound from two atoms can be accounted for.—For this reason also the atomic doctrine is inadmissible.

14. And on account of the permanent existence (of activity or non-activity).

Moreover, the atoms would have to be assumed as either

¹ Which is inadmissible on Vaiseshika principles, because *samyoga* as being a quality is connected with the things it joins by *samavāya*.

² Viz. from those things which are united by conjunction. The argument is that conjunction as an independent third entity requires another connexion to connect it with the two things related to each other in the way of conjunction.

³ Viz. the absolute difference of *samavāya* and *samyoga* from the terms which they connect.

⁴ Action (*karman*), &c. also standing in the *samavāya* relation to their substrates.

essentially active (moving) or essentially non-active, or both or neither ; there being no fifth alternative. But none of the four alternatives stated is possible. If they were essentially active, their activity would be permanent so that no pralaya could take place. If they were essentially non-active, their non-activity would be permanent, and no creation could take place. Their being both is impossible because self-contradictory. If they were neither, their activity and non-activity would have to depend on an operative cause, and then the operative causes such as the *adrîshṭa* being in permanent proximity to the atoms, permanent activity would result ; or else the *adrîshṭa* and so on not being taken as operative causes, the consequence would be permanent non-activity on the part of the atoms.—For this reason also the atomic doctrine is untenable.

15. And on account of the atoms having colour, &c., the reverse (of the Vaiseshika tenet would take place) ; as thus it is observed.

Let us suppose, the Vaiseshikas say, all substances composed of parts to be disintegrated into their parts ; a limit will finally be reached beyond which the process of disintegration cannot be continued. What constitutes that limit are the atoms, which are eternal (permanent), belong to four different classes, possess the qualities of colour, &c., and are the originating principles of this whole material world with its colour, form, and other qualities.

This fundamental assumption of the Vaiseshikas we declare to be groundless because from the circumstance of the atoms having colour and other qualities there would follow the contrary of atomic minuteness and permanency, i.e. it would follow that, compared to the ultimate cause, they are gross and non-permanent. For ordinary experience teaches that whatever things possess colour and other qualities are, compared to their cause, gross and non-permanent. A piece of cloth, for instance, is gross compared to the threads of which it consists, and non-permanent ; and the threads again are non-permanent and gross com-

pared to the filaments of which they are made up. Therefore the atoms also which the Vaiseshikas admit to have colour, &c. must have causes compared to which they are gross and non-permanent. Hence that reason also which Kaṇāda gives for the permanence of the atoms (IV, 1, 1, 'that which exists without having a cause is permanent') does not apply at all to the atoms because, as we have shown just now, the atoms are to be considered as having a cause.—The second reason also which Kaṇāda brings forward for the permanency of the atoms, viz. in IV, 1, 4, 'the special negation implied in the term non-eternal would not be possible'¹ (if there did not exist something eternal, viz. the atoms), does not necessarily prove the permanency of the atoms; for supposing that there exists not any permanent thing, the formation of a negative compound such as 'non-eternal' is impossible. Nor does the existence of the word 'non-permanent' absolutely presuppose the permanency of atoms; for there exists (as we Vedāntins maintain) another permanent ultimate Cause, viz. Brahman. Nor can the existence of anything be established merely on the ground of a word commonly being used in that sense, since there is room for common use only if word and matter are well-established by some other means of right knowledge.—The third reason also given in the Vais. Sūtras (IV, 1, 5) for the permanency of the atoms ('and Nescience') is unavailing. For if we explain that Sūtra to mean 'the non-perception of those actually existing causes whose effects are seen is Nescience,' it would follow that the binary atomic compounds also are permanent². And if we tried to escape from that difficulty by including (in the explanation of the Sūtra as given above) the qualification 'there being absence of (originating) sub-

¹ Our Vaiseshika-sūtras read 'pratishedhabhāvaḥ;' but as all MSS. of Śaṅkara have 'pratishedhābhāvaḥ' I have kept the latter reading and translated according to Ānandagiri's explanation: Kāryam anityam iti kārye viśeshato nityatvanishedho na syād yadi kāraṇe py anityatvam ato nūnām kāraṇānām nityateti sūtrārthaḥ.

² Because they also are not perceptible; the ternary aggregates, the so-called *trasareṇus*, constituting the *minima perceptibilia*.

stances,' then nothing else but the absence of a cause would furnish the reason for the permanency of the atoms, and as that reason had already been mentioned before (in IV, 1, 1) the Sûtra IV, 1, 5 would be a useless restatement.—Well, then (the Vaiseshika might say), let us understand by 'Nescience' (in the Sûtra) the impossibility of conceiving a third reason of the destruction (of effects), in addition to the division of the causal substance into its parts, and the destruction of the causal substance; which impossibility involves the permanency of the atoms¹.—There is no necessity, we reply, for assuming that a thing when perishing must perish on account of either of those two reasons. That assumption would indeed have to be made if it were generally admitted that a new substance is produced only by the conjunction of several causal substances. But if it is admitted that a causal substance may originate a new substance by passing over into a qualified state after having previously existed free from qualifications, in its pure generality, it follows that the effected substance may be destroyed by its solidity being dissolved, just as the hardness of ghee is dissolved by the action of fire².—Thus there would result, from the circumstance of the atoms having colour, &c., the opposite of what the Vaiseshikas mean. For this reason also the atomic doctrine cannot be maintained.

16. And as there are difficulties in both cases.

Earth has the qualities of smell, taste, colour, and touch, and is gross; water has colour, taste, and touch, and is fine; fire has colour and touch, and is finer yet; air is finest of all, and has the quality of touch only. The question now arises whether the atoms constituting the four elements are to be assumed to possess the same greater or smaller

¹ As they have no cause which could either be disintegrated or destroyed.

² This according to the Vedânta view. If atoms existed they might have originated from avidyâ by a mere parizâma and might again be dissolved into avidyâ, without either disintegration or destruction of their cause taking place.

number of qualities as the respective elements.—Either assumption leads to unacceptable consequences. For if we assume that some kinds of atoms have more numerous qualities, it follows that their solid size (*mūrti*) will be increased thereby, and that implies their being atoms no longer. That an increase of qualities cannot take place without a simultaneous increase of size we infer from our observations concerning effected material bodies.—If, on the other hand, we assume, in order to save the equality of atoms of all kinds, that there is no difference in the number of their qualities, we must either suppose that they have all one quality only; but in that case we should not perceive touch in fire nor colour and touch in water, nor taste, colour, and touch in earth, since the qualities of the effects have for their antecedents the qualities of the causes. Or else we must suppose all atoms to have all the four qualities; but in that case we should necessarily perceive what we actually do not perceive, viz. smell in water, smell and taste in fire, smell, taste, and colour in air.—Hence on this account also the atomic doctrine shows itself to be unacceptable.

17. And as the (atomic theory) is not accepted (by any authoritative persons) it is to be disregarded altogether.

While the theory of the *pradhāna* being the cause of the world has been accepted by some adherents of the Veda—as, for instance, *Manu*—with a view to the doctrines of the effect existing in the cause already, and so on, the atomic doctrine has not been accepted by any persons of authority in any of its parts, and therefore is to be disregarded entirely by all those who take their stand on the Veda.

There are, moreover, other objections to the *Vaiśeṣika* doctrine.—The *Vaiśeṣikas* assume six categories, which constitute the subject-matter of their system, viz. substance, quality, action, generality, particularity, and inherence. These six categories they maintain to be absolutely different from each other, and to have different characteristics;

just as a man, a horse, a hare differ from one another. Side by side with this assumption they make another which contradicts the former one, viz. that quality, action, &c. have the attribute of depending on substance. But that is altogether inappropriate; for just as ordinary things, such as animals, grass, trees, and the like, being absolutely different from each other do not depend on each other, so the qualities, &c. also being absolutely different from substance, cannot depend on the latter. Or else let the qualities, &c. depend on substance; then it follows that, as they are present where substance is present, and absent where it is absent, substance only exists, and, according to its various forms, becomes the object of different terms and conceptions (such as quality, action, &c.); just as Devadatta, for instance, according to the conditions in which he finds himself is the object of various conceptions and names. But this latter alternative would involve the acceptance of the Sāṅkhya doctrine¹ and the abandonment of the Vaiśeṣika standpoint.—But (the Vaiśeṣika may say) smoke also is different from fire and yet it is dependent on it.—True, we reply; but we ascertain the difference of smoke and fire from the fact of their being apperceived in separation. Substance and quality, on the other hand, are not so apperceived; for when we are conscious of a white blanket, or a red cow, or a blue lotus, the substance is in each case cognised by means of the quality; the latter therefore has its Self in the substance. The same reasoning applies to action, generality, particularity, and inherence.

If you (the Vaiśeṣika) say that qualities, actions, &c. (although not non-different from substances) may yet depend on the latter because substances and qualities stand in the relation of one not being able to exist without the other (*ayutasiddhi*²); we point out that things which are

¹ The Sāṅkhyas looking on everything (except the soul) as being the *pradhāna* in various forms.—There is no need of assuming with Govindānanda that by the Sāṅkhya of the text we have to understand the Vedānta.

² *Yayor dvayor madhya ekam avinasyad aparāśritam evāvā-tish/hate tāv ayutasiddhau yathāvayavāvayavināu.*

ayutasiddha must either be non-separate in place, or non-separate in time, or non-separate in nature, and that none of these alternatives agrees with Vaiseshika principles. For the first alternative contradicts your own assumptions according to which the cloth originating from the threads occupies the place of the threads only, not that of the cloth, while the qualities of the cloth, such as its white colour, occupy the place of the cloth only, not that of the threads. So the Vaiseshika-sūtras say (I, 1, 10), 'Substances originate another substance and qualities another quality.' The threads which constitute the causal substance originate the effected substance, viz. the cloth, and the qualities of the threads, such as white colour, &c., produce in the cloth new corresponding qualities. But this doctrine is clearly contradicted by the assumption of substance and quality being non-separate in place.—If, in the second place, you explain ayutasiddhatva as non-separation in time, it follows also that, for instance, the right and the left horn of a cow would be ayutasiddha.—And if, finally, you explain it to mean 'non-separation in character,' it is impossible to make any further distinction between the substance and the quality, as then quality is conceived as being identical with substance.

Moreover, the distinction which the Vaiseshikas make between conjunction (*samyoga*) as being the connexion of things which can exist separately, and inherence (*samavāya*) as being the connexion of things which are incapable of separate existence is futile, since the cause which exists before the effect¹ cannot be said to be incapable of separate existence. Perhaps the Vaiseshika will say that his definition refers to one of the two terms only, so that *samavāya* is the connexion, with the cause, of the effect which is incapable of separate existence. But this also is of no avail; for as a connexion requires two terms, the effect as long as it has not yet entered into being cannot be connected with the cause. And it would be equally unavailing to say that the effect enters into the connexion after it has begun to exist; for if the Vaiseshika admits that the effect

¹ The connexion of cause and effect is of course *samavāya*.

may exist previous to its connexion with the cause, it is no longer *ayutasiddha* (incapable of separate existence), and thereby the principle that between effect and cause conjunction and disjunction do not take place is violated¹. And² just as conjunction, and not *samavâya*, is the connexion in which every effected substance as soon as it has been produced stands with the all-pervading substances as ether, &c.—although no motion has taken place on the part of the effected substance—so also the connexion of the effect with the cause will be conjunction merely, not *samavâya*.

Nor is there any proof for the existence of any connexion, *samavâya* or *samyoga*, apart from the things which it connects. If it should be maintained that *samyoga* and *samavâya* have such an existence because we observe that there are names and ideas of them in addition to the names and ideas of the things connected, we point out that one and the same thing may be the subject of several names and ideas if it is considered in its relations to what lies without it. Devadatta although being one only forms the object of many different names and notions according as he is considered in himself or in his relations to others; thus he is thought and spoken of as man, *Brâhmaṇa*, learned in the Veda, generous, boy, young man, old man, father, son, grandson, brother, son-in-law, &c. So, again, one and the same stroke is, according to the place it is connected with, spoken of and conceived as meaning either ten, or hundred, or thousand, &c. Analogously, two connected things are not only conceived and denoted as connected things, but in addition constitute the object of the ideas and terms 'conjunction' or 'inherence,' which however do not prove

¹ If the effect can exist before having entered into connexion with the cause, the subsequent connexion of the two is no longer *samavâya* but *samyoga*; and that contradicts a fundamental *Vaiśeṣika* principle.

² This clause replies to the objection that only those connexions which have been produced by previous motion are to be considered conjunctions.

themselves to be separate entities.—Things standing thus, the non-existence of separate entities (conjunction, &c.), which entities would have to be established on the ground of perception, follows from the fact of their non-perception.—Nor, again¹, does the circumstance of the word and idea of connexion having for its object the things connected involve the connexion's permanent existence, since we have already shown above that one thing may, on account of its relations to other things, be conceived and denoted in different ways.

Further², conjunction cannot take place between the atoms, the soul, and the internal organ, because they have no parts; for we observe that conjunction takes place only of such substances as consist of parts. If the Vaiseshika should say that parts of the atoms, soul and mind may be assumed (in order to explain their alleged conjunction), we remark that the assumption of actually non-existing things would involve the result that anything might be established; for there is no restrictive rule that only such and such non-existing things—whether contradictory to reason or not—should be assumed and not any other, and assumptions depend on one's choice only and may be carried to any extent. If we once allow assumptions, there is no reason why there should not be assumed a further hundred or thousand things, in addition to the six categories assumed by the Vaiseshikas. Anybody might then assume anything, and we could neither stop a compassionate man from assuming that this transmigratory world which is the cause of so much misery to living beings is not to be, nor a malicious man from assuming that even the released souls are to enter on a new cycle of existences.

¹ A clause meant to preclude the assumption that the permanent existence of the things connected involves the permanent existence of the connexion.

² It having been shown above that atoms cannot enter into *samyoga* with each other, it is shown now that *samyoga* of the soul with the atoms cannot be the cause of the motion of the latter, and that *samyoga* of soul and manas cannot be the cause of cognition.

Further, it is not possible that a binary atomic compound, which consists of parts, should be connected with the simple indivisible atoms by an intimate connexion (*samslesha*) any more than they can thus be connected with ether; for between ether and earth, &c. there does not exist that kind of intimate connexion which exists, for instance, between wood and varnish¹.

Let it then be said (the *Vaiseshika* resumes) that the *samavâya* relation must be assumed, because otherwise the relation of that which abides and that which forms the abode—which relation actually exists between the effected substance and the causal substance—is not possible.—That would, we reply, involve the vice of mutual dependence; for only when the separateness of cause and effect is established, the relation of the abode and that which abides can be established; and only when the latter relation is established, the relation of separateness can be established. For the *Vedântins* acknowledge neither the separateness of cause and effect, nor their standing to each other in the relation of abode and thing abiding, since according to their doctrine the effect is only a certain state of the cause².—Moreover, as the atoms are limited (not of infinite extension), they must in reality consist of as many parts as we acknowledge regions of space³, whether those be six or eight or ten, and consequently they cannot be permanent; conclusions contrary to the *Vaiseshika* doctrine of the indivisibility and permanency of the atoms.—If the *Vaiseshika* replies that those very parts which are owing to the existence of the different regions of space are his (indestructible)

¹ *Ekasambandhyâkarshane yatra sambandhyantarâkarshanam tatra samsleshaḥ, sa tu sâvayavânâm gatukâsh/hâdinâm drish/o na tu niravayavaiḥ sâvayavânâm, ato dvyanukasya sâvayavasya niravayavena paramânunâ sa nopapadyate. Brahmavidyâbh.*

² In answer to the question how, in that case, the practically recognised relation of abode, &c. existing between the cause and the effect is accounted for.

³ For they must in that case have a northern end, an eastern end, &c.

atoms; we deny that because all things whatever, forming a series of substances of ever-increasing minuteness, are capable of dissolution, until the highest cause (Brahman) is reached. Earth—which is, in comparison with a binary compound, the grossest thing of all—undergoes decomposition; so do the substances following next which belong to the same class as earth; so does the binary compound; and so does, finally, the atom which (although the minutest thing of all) still belongs to the same general class (i. e. matter) with earth, &c. The objection (which the Vaiseshika might possibly raise here again) that things can be decomposed only by the separation of their parts¹, we have already disposed of above, where we pointed out that decomposition may take place in a manner analogous to the melting of ghee. Just as the hardness of ghee, gold, and the like, is destroyed in consequence of those substances being rendered liquid by their contact with fire, no separation of the parts taking place all the while; so the solid shape of the atoms also may be decomposed by their passing back into the indifferenced condition of the highest cause. In the same way the origination of effects also is brought about not merely in the way of conjunction of parts; for we see that milk, for instance, and water originate effects such as sour milk and ice without there taking place any conjunction of parts.

It thus appears that the atomic doctrine is supported by very weak arguments only, is opposed to those scriptural passages which declare the Lord to be the general cause, and is not accepted by any of the authorities taking their stand on Scripture, such as Manu and others. Hence it is to be altogether disregarded by highminded men who have a regard for their own spiritual welfare.

18. (If there be assumed) the (dyad of) aggregates with its two causes, (there takes place) non-establishment of those (two aggregates).

The reasons on account of which the doctrine of the

¹ And that on that account the atoms which he considers as the ultimate simple constituents of matter cannot be decomposed.

Vaiseshikas cannot be accepted have been stated above. That doctrine may be called semi-destructive (or semi-nihilistic¹). That the more thorough doctrine which teaches universal non-permanency is even less worthy of being taken into consideration, we now proceed to show.

That doctrine is presented in a variety of forms, due either to the difference of the views (maintained by Buddha at different times), or else to the difference of capacity on the part of the disciples (of Buddha). Three principal opinions may, however, be distinguished; the opinion of those who maintain the reality of everything (Realists, *sarvāstitvavādin*); the opinion of those who maintain that thought only is real (Idealists, *viġñānavādin*); and the opinion of those who maintain that everything is void (unreal; Nihilists, *sūnyavādin*²).—We first controvert those

¹ Because according to their opinion difference of size constitutes difference of substance, so that the continuous change of size in animal bodies, for instance, involves the continual perishing of old and the continual origination of new substances.

² The following notes on Bauddha doctrines are taken exclusively from the commentaries on the *Saṅkarabhāṣya*, and no attempt has been made to contrast or reconcile the Brahminical accounts of Bauddha psychology with the teaching of genuine Bauddha books. Cp. on the chief sects of the Buddhistic philosophers the Bauddha chapter of the *Sarvadarsanasamgraha*.—The Nihilists are the *Mādhyamikas*; the Idealists are the *Yogākāras*; the *Sautrāntikas* and the *Vaiśbhāshikas* together constitute the class of the Realists.—I subjoin the account given of those sects in the *Brahmavidyābharana*.—*Buddhasya hi mādhyamika-yogākāra-sautrāntika-vaiśbhāshikasamgñākāś katvārah sishyāḥ. Tatra buddhena prathamam yān prati sarvam sūnyam ity upadisham te mādhyamikāś te hi gurunā yathoktam tathaiva śraddhayā gr̥hītavanta iti kr̥tvā nāpakr̥ishāḥ punas ka taduktasyārthasya buddhyanusārenākshepasyākṛīatvān notkr̥ishābuddhaya iti mādhyamikāḥ. Anyais tu sishyair gurunā sarvasūnyatva upadish/e gñānātiriktasya sarvasya sūnyatvam astu nāmeti gurūktir yoga iti bauddaiḥ paribhāshitopetāḥ tad upari ka gñānasya tu sūnyatvam na sambhavati tathātve gagadāndhyaprasaṅgāt sūnyasiddher apy asambhavāk keti buddhamate ākārātvena paribhāshita ākshepo pi kr̥ta iti yogākārāḥ, viġñānamātrāstitvavādināḥ. Tadanantaram anyaiḥ sishyaiḥ*

who maintain that everything, external as well as internal, is real. What is external is either element (*bhūta*) or elementary (*bhautika*); what is internal is either mind (*kitta*) or mental (*kaitta*). The elements are earth, water, and so on; elemental are colour, &c. on the one hand, and the eye and the other sense-organs on the other hand. Earth and the other three elements arise from the aggregation of the four different kinds of atoms; the atoms of earth being hard; those of water viscid, those of fire hot, those of air mobile.—The inward world consists of the five so-called ‘groups’ (*skandha*), the group of sensation (*rūpaskandha*), the group of knowledge (*viġñānaskandha*), the group of feeling (*vedanāskandha*), the group of verbal knowledge (*samġñāskandha*), and the group of impressions (*samskārankandha*)¹; which

pratīṣṭisiddhasya katham sūnyatvam vaktum sakyam ato gñānavad vāhyārtho•pi satya ity ukte tarhi tathaiva so•stu, param tu so •numeyo na tu pratyaksha ity ukte tathāṅgīkrītyaivam sishyamatim anusrīya kiyatparyantam sūtram bhavishyatīti taiḥ prīṣṭam atas te sautrāntikāḥ. Anye punar yady ayam ghaṭa iti praṭītibalād vāhyo•rtha upeyate tarhi tasyā eva praṭīter aparokṣhatvāt sa katham parokṣo•to vāhyo•rtho na pratyaksha iti bhāṣhā viruddhety ākṣhipann atas te vaibhāṣhikāḥ.

¹ The *rūpaskandha* comprises the senses and their objects, colour, &c.; the sense-organs were above called *bhautika*, they here re-appear as *kaittika* on account of their connexion with thought. Their objects likewise are classed as *kaittika* in so far as they are perceived by the senses.—The *viġñānaskandha* comprises the series of self-cognitions (*ahamāham ity ālayaviġñānapravāhaḥ*), according to all commentators; and in addition, according to the *Brahmavidyābhāṣana*, the knowledge, determinate and indeterminate, of external things (*savikalpakam nirvikalpakam ka pravṛtīviġñānasamġnitam*).—The *vedanāskandha* comprises pleasure, pain, &c.—The *samġñāskandha* comprises the cognition of things by their names (*gaur arva ityādisabdasamgalpitapratyayaḥ*, *Ān. Gi.*; *gaur arva ityevam nāmavisishṭasavikalpakaḥ pratyayaḥ*, *Go. Ān.*; *samġñā yagñadattādīpadatadullekhī savikalpapratyayo vā, dvītyapakṣhe viġñānapadena savikalpapratyayo na grāhyaḥ*, *Brahmavidyābh.*). The *samskārankandha* comprises passion, aversion, &c., *dharma* and *adharma*.—Compare also the *Bhāmatī*.—The *viġñānaskandha* is *kitta*, the other *skandhas* *kaitta*.

taken together constitute the basis of all personal existence¹.

With reference to this doctrine we make the following remarks.—Those two aggregates, constituting two different classes, and having two different causes which the Bauddhas assume, viz. the aggregate of the elements and elementary things whose cause the atoms are, and the aggregate of the five skandhas whose cause the skandhas are, cannot, on Bauddha principles, be established, i. e. it cannot be explained how the aggregates are brought about. For the parts constituting the (material) aggregates are devoid of intelligence, and the kindling (*abhigvalana*) of intelligence depends on an aggregate of atoms having been brought about previously². And the Bauddhas do not admit any other permanent intelligent being, such as either an enjoying soul or a ruling Lord, which could effect the aggregation of the atoms. Nor can the atoms and skandhas be assumed to enter on activity on their own account; for that would imply their never ceasing to be active³. Nor can the cause of aggregation be looked for in the so-called abode (i. e. the *ālayavigñāna-pravāha*, the train of self-cognitions); for the latter must be described either as different from the single cognitions or as not different from them. (In the former case it is either permanent, and then it is nothing else but the permanent soul of the Vedāntins; or non-permanent;) then being admitted to be momentary merely, it cannot exercise any influence and cannot therefore be the cause of the motion of the atoms⁴.

¹ It has to be kept in view that the sarvāstitvavādins as well as the other Bauddha sects teach the momentariness (*kṣaṇikatva*), the eternal flux of everything that exists, and are on that ground controverted by the upholders of the permanent Brahman.

² Mind, on the Bauddha doctrine, presupposes the existence of an aggregate of atoms, viz. the body.

³ In consequence of which no release could take place.

⁴ The *Brahmaṇḍa-sūtra* explains the last clause—from *kṣaṇikatvāt ka*—somewhat differently: *Api ka paramāṇūnām api kṣaṇikatvābhyupagamān melanam na sambhavati, paramāṇūnām melanam paramāṇukriyādhīnam, tathā ka svakriyām prati paramāṇūnām kāraṇatvāt kriyāpūrvakṣaṇe paramāṇubhir bhāvyaṃ, kriyā*

(And in the latter case we are not further advanced than before.)—For all these reasons the formation of aggregates cannot be accounted for. But without aggregates there would be an end of the stream of mundane existence which presupposes those aggregates.

19. If it be said that (the formation of aggregates may be explained) through (Nescience, &c.) standing in the relation of mutual causality; we say 'No,' because they merely are the efficient causes of the origin (of the immediately subsequent links).

Although there exists no permanent intelligent principle of the nature either of a ruling Lord or an enjoying soul, under whose influence the formation of aggregates could take place, yet the course of mundane existence is rendered possible through the mutual causality¹ of Nescience and so on, so that we need not look for any other combining principle.

The series beginning with Nescience comprises the following members: Nescience, impression, knowledge, name and form, the abode of the six, touch, feeling, desire, activity, birth, species, decay, death, grief, lamentation, pain, mental affliction, and the like². All these terms con-

srayatayâ kriyâkshane-pi teshâm avasthânam apekshitam evam melanakshane-pi, nahi melanâsrayasyâbhâve melanarûpâ pravṛttir upapadyate, tathâ ka sthiraparamâṇusâdhyâ melanarûpâ pravṛttiḥ katham teshâm kshamikatve bhavet.—Ānanda Giri also divides and translates differently from the translation in the text.

¹ The *kāramatvât* of Sāṅkara explains the *pratyayatvât* of the Sūtra; *kāryam* *praty ayate ganakatvena gakkhati*.

² The commentators agree on the whole in their explanations of the terms of this series.—The following is the substance of the comment of the *Brahmavidyābharana*: Nescience is the error of considering that which is momentary, impure, &c. to be permanent, pure, &c.—Impression (affection, *saṃskāra*) comprises desire, aversion, &c., and the activity caused by them.—Knowledge (*viġñāna*) is the self-consciousness (*aham ity ālayaviġñānasya vṛttilābhaḥ*) springing up in the embryo.—Name and form is the rudimentary flake- or bubble-like condition of the embryo.—The

stitute a chain of causes and are as such spoken of in the Bauddha system, sometimes cursorily, sometimes at length. They are, moreover, all acknowledged as existing, not by the Bauddhas only, but by the followers of all systems. And as the cycles of Nescience, &c. forming uninterrupted chains of causes and effects revolve unceasingly like water-wheels, the existence of the aggregates (which constitute bodies and minds) must needs be assumed, as without such Nescience and so on could not take place.

This argumentation of the Bauddha we are unable to accept, because it merely assigns efficient causes for the origination of the members of the series, but does not intimate an efficient cause for the formation of the aggregates. If the Bauddha reminds us of the statement made above that the existence of aggregates must needs be inferred from the existence of Nescience and so on, we point out that, if he means thereby that Nescience and so on cannot exist without aggregates and hence require the existence of such, it remains to assign an efficient cause for the formation of the aggregates. But, as we have already shown—when examining the Vaiseshika doctrine—that the formation of aggregates cannot be accounted for even on the assumption of permanent atoms and individual souls in

abode of the six (*shadâyatana*) is the further developed stage of the embryo in which the latter is the abode of the six senses.—Touch (*sparsa*) is the sensations of cold, warmth, &c. on the embryo's part.—Feeling (*vedanâ*) the sensations of pleasure and pain resulting therefrom.—Desire (*trishnâ*) is the wish to enjoy the pleasurable sensations and to shun the painful ones.—Activity (*upâdâna*) is the effort resulting from desire.—Birth is the passing out from the uterus.—Species (*gâti*) is the class of beings to which the new-born creature belongs.—Decay (*garâ*).—Death (*maranam*) is explained as the condition of the creature when about to die (*mumûrshâ*).—Grief (*śoka*) the frustration of wishes connected therewith.—Lament (*paridevanam*) the lamentations on that account.—Pain (*duḥkha*) is such pain as caused by the five senses.—Durmanas is mental affliction.—The 'and the like' implies death, the departure to another world and the subsequent return from there.

which the *adrishṭa* abides¹; how much less then are aggregates possible if there exist only momentary atoms not connected with enjoying souls and devoid of abodes (i. e. souls), and that which abides in them (the *adrishṭa*).—Let us then assume (the Buddha says) that Nescience, &c. themselves are the efficient cause of the aggregate.—But how—we ask—can they be the cause of that without which—as their abode—they themselves are not capable of existence? Perhaps you will say that in the eternal *samsāra* the aggregates succeed one another in an unbroken chain, and hence also Nescience, and so on, which abide in those aggregates. But in that case you will have to assume either that each aggregate necessarily produces another aggregate of the same kind, or that, without any settled rule, it may produce either a like or an unlike one. In the former case a human body could never pass over into that of a god or an animal or a being of the infernal regions; in the latter case a man might in an instant be turned into an elephant or a god and again become a man; either of which consequences would be contrary to your system.—Moreover, that for the purpose of whose enjoyment the aggregate is formed is, according to your doctrine, not a permanent enjoying soul, so that enjoyment subserves itself merely and cannot be desired by anything else; hence final release also must, according to you, be considered as subserving itself

¹ Ānanda Giri and Go. Ānanda explain: *Āsrayāśrayibhūteshv iti bhoktrivisheshanam adrishṭāśrayeshv ity arthaḥ*.—The Brahmagovindyaśāstra says: *Nityeshv āsrayāśrayibhūteshv anushv abhyupagamyamāneshu bhoktrishu ka satsv ity anvayaḥ*. *Āsrayāśrayibhūteshv ity asyopakāryopakārakabhāvaprāpteshv ity arthaḥ*.—And with regard to the subsequent *āsrayāśrayisūnyeshu: āsrayāśrayitvasūnyeshu, ayaṁ bhāvaḥ, sthireshu paramānushu yadanvaye paramānūnām samghātāpattiḥ yadvyatiरेके ka na tad upakārakam upakāryāḥ paramānavāḥ yena tatkrīto bhogaḥ prārthyate sa tatra karteti grahītum sakyate, kshanikeshu tu paramānushu anvayavyatiरेकाग्रahasyānekakshanasādhyasyāsambhavān nopakāryopakārakabhāvo nirdhārayitum sakyah*.—Ānanda Giri remarks on the latter: *Adrishṭāśrayakartrirāhityam āhārayeti*. Another reading appears to be *āsrayāśrayasūnyeshu*.

only, and no being desirous of release can be assumed. If a being desirous of both were assumed, it would have to be conceived as permanently existing up to the time of enjoyment and release, and that would be contrary to your doctrine of general impermanency.—There may therefore exist a causal relation between the members of the series consisting of Nescience, &c., but, in the absence of a permanent enjoying soul, it is impossible to establish on that ground the existence of aggregates.

20. (Nor can there be a causal relation between Nescience, &c.), because on the origination of the subsequent (moment) the preceding one ceases to be.

We have hitherto argued that Nescience, and so on, stand in a causal relation to each other merely, so that they cannot be made to account for the existence of aggregates; we are now going to prove that they cannot even be considered as efficient causes of the subsequent members of the series to which they belong.

Those who maintain that everything has a momentary existence only admit that when the thing existing in the second moment¹ enters into being the thing existing in the first moment ceases to be. On this admission it is impossible to establish between the two things the relation of cause and effect, since the former momentary existence which ceases or has ceased to be, and so has entered into the state of non-existence, cannot be the cause of the later momentary existence.—Let it then be said that the former momentary existence when it has reached its full development becomes the cause of the later momentary existence.—That also is impossible; for the assumption that a fully developed existence exerts a further energy, involves the conclusion that it is connected with a second moment (which contradicts the doctrine of universal momentariness).—Then let the mere existence of the antecedent entity constitute its

¹ *Bauddhânâm kṣhaṇapadena ghaṭḍir eva padârtho vyavahriyate na tu tadatiriktaḥ kaṣṭit kṣhaṇo nâma hâlo'sti. Brahmâvidyâbh.*

causal energy.—That assumption also is fruitless, because we cannot conceive the origination of an effect which is not imbued with the nature of the cause (i. e. in which the nature of the cause does not continue to exist). And to assume that the nature of the cause does continue to exist in the effect is impossible (on the Bauddha doctrine), as that would involve the permanency of the cause, and thus necessitate the abandonment of the doctrine of general non-permanency.—Nor can it be admitted that the relation of cause and effect holds good without the cause somehow giving its colouring to the effect ; for that doctrine might unduly be extended to all cases¹.—Moreover, the origination and cessation of things of which the Bauddha speaks must either constitute a thing's own form or another state of it, or an altogether different thing. But none of these alternatives agrees with the general Bauddha principles. If, in the first place, origination and cessation constituted the form of a thing, it would follow that the word 'thing' and the words 'origination' and 'cessation' are interchangeable (which is not the case).—Let then, secondly, the Bauddha says, a certain difference be assumed, in consequence of which the terms 'origination' and 'cessation' may denote the initial and final states of that which in the intermediate state is called thing.—In that case, we reply, the thing will be connected with three moments, viz. the initial, the intermediate, and the final one, so that the doctrine of general momentariness will have to be abandoned.—Let then, as the third alternative, origination and cessation be altogether different from the thing, as much as a buffalo is from a horse.—That too cannot be, we reply ; for it would lead to the conclusion that the thing, because altogether disconnected with origination and cessation, is everlasting. And the same conclusion would be led up to, if we understood by the origination and cessation of a thing merely its perception and non-perception ; for the latter are attributes of the percipient mind only, not of the thing itself.—Hence

¹ And whereupon then could be established the difference of mere efficient causes such as the potter's staff, &c., and material causes such as clay, &c.?

we have again to declare the Bauddha doctrine to be untenable.

21. On the supposition of there being no (cause; while yet the effect takes place), there results contradiction of the admitted principle; otherwise simultaneousness (of cause and effect).

It has been shown that on the doctrine of general non-permanency, the former momentary existence, as having already been merged in non-existence, cannot be the cause of the later one.—Perhaps now the Bauddha will say that an effect may arise even when there is no cause.—That, we reply, implies the abandonment of a principle admitted by yourself, viz. that the mind and the mental modifications originate when in conjunction with four kinds of causes¹. Moreover, if anything could originate without a cause, there would be nothing to prevent that anything might originate at any time.—If, on the other hand, you should say that we may assume the antecedent momentary existence to last until the succeeding one has been produced, we point out that that would imply the simultaneousness of cause and effect, and so run counter to an accepted Bauddha tenet, viz. that all things² are momentary merely.

¹ These four causes are the so-called defining cause (*adhipati-pratyaya*), the auxiliary cause (*śahakāri-pratyaya*), the immediate cause (*samanantarapratyaya*), and the substantial cause (*ālambana-pratyaya*).—I extract the explanation from the *Brahmaṇḍa-sūtra*: *Adhipatir indriyam tad dhi kakshurādirūpam utpannasya gñānasya rūpādivishayatām niyakkhati niyāmakas ka loke adhipatir ity ukyate. Sahakāri ālokaḥ. Samanantarapratyayaḥ pūrvagñānam, bauddhamate hi kṣaṇikagñānasamtatau pūrvagñānam uttaragñānasya kāranam tad eva ka mana ity ukyate. Ālambanam ghaṭādiḥ. Etān hetūn pratīya prāpya kakshurādiganyam ity ādi.*

² *Samskāra itī, tanmate pūrvakṣaṇa eva hetubhūtaḥ samskāro vāsaneti ka vyavahriyate kāryam tu tadviśayatayā karmavyutpattyā samskāraḥ, tathā ka kāryakāranātmakam sarvaṃ bhāvarūpam kṣaṇikam itī pratigñārthaḥ. Brahmaṇḍa-sūtra.*

22. Cessation dependent on a sublative act of the mind, and cessation not so dependent cannot be established, there being no (complete) interruption.

The Bauddhas who maintain that universal destruction is going on constantly, assume that 'whatever forms an object of knowledge and is different from the triad is produced (*samskrīta*) and momentary.' To the triad there mentioned they give the names 'cessation dependent on a sublative act of the mind,' 'cessation not dependent on such an act,' and 'space.' This triad they hold to be non-substantial, of a merely negative character (*abhāvamātra*), devoid of all positive characteristics. By 'cessation dependent on a sublative act of the mind,' we have to understand such destruction of entities as is preceded by an act of thought¹; by 'cessation not so dependent' is meant destruction of the opposite kind²; by 'space' is meant absence in general of something covering (or occupying space). Out of these three non-existences 'space' will be refuted later on (Sūtra 24); the two other ones are refuted in the present Sūtra.

Cessation which is dependent on a sublative act of the mind, and cessation which is not so dependent are both impossible, 'on account of the absence of interruption.' For both kinds of cessation must have reference either to the series (of momentary existences) or to the single members constituting the series.—The former alternative is impossible, because in all series (of momentary existences) the members of the series stand in an unbroken relation of cause and effect so that the series cannot be interrupted³.—The latter

¹ As when a man smashes a jar having previously formed the intention of doing so.

² I.e. the insensible continual decay of things.—*Viparīta iti pratikṣhaṇam ghaṭādīnāṃ yuktyā sādhyamāno-kusalair avagantum asakyaḥ sūkṣhmo vināso-pratisamkhyānirodhaḥ. Brahmāv.*

³ A series of momentary existences constituting a chain of causes and effects can never be entirely stopped; for the last momentary existence must be supposed either to produce its effect or not to produce it. In the former case the series is continued; the latter alternative would imply that the last link does not really

alternative is likewise inadmissible, for it is impossible to maintain that any momentary existence should undergo complete annihilation entirely undefinable and disconnected (with the previous state of existence), since we observe that a thing is recognised in the various states through which it may pass and thus has a connected existence¹. And in those cases also where a thing is not clearly recognised (after having undergone a change) we yet infer, on the ground of actual observations made in other cases, that one and the same thing continues to exist without any interruption.—For these reasons the two kinds of cessation which the Bauddhas assume cannot be proved.

23. And on account of the objections presenting themselves in either case.

The cessation of Nescience, &c. which, on the assumption of the Bauddhas, is included in the two kinds of cessation discussed hitherto, must take place either in consequence of perfect knowledge together with its auxiliaries, or else of its own accord. But the former alternative would imply the abandonment of the Bauddha doctrine that destruction takes place without a cause, and the latter alternative would involve the uselessness of the Bauddha instruction as to the 'path'². As therefore both alternatives are open to objections, the Bauddha doctrine must be declared unsatisfactory.

exist, since the Bauddhas define the *sattā* of a thing as its causal efficiency (cp. *Sarvadaśanasamgraha*). And the non-existence of the last link would retrogressively lead to the non-existence of the whole series.

¹ Thus clay is recognised as such whether it appears in the form of a jar, or of the potsherds into which the jar is broken, or of the powder into which the potsherds are ground.—Analogously we infer that even things which seem to vanish altogether, such as a drop of water which has fallen on heated iron, yet continue to exist in some form.

² The knowledge that everything is transitory, pain, &c.

24. And in the case of space also (the doctrine of its being a non-entity is untenable) on account of its not differing (from the two other kinds of non-entity).

We have shown so far that of the triad declared by the Bauddhas to be devoid of all positive characteristics, and therefore non-definable, two (viz. prati-samkhyāvirodha and aprati¹) cannot be shown to be such; we now proceed to show the same with regard to space (ether, ākāśa).

With regard to space also it cannot be maintained that it is non-definable, since substantiality can be established in the case of space no less than in the case of the two so-called non-entities treated of in the preceding Sūtras. That space is a real thing follows in the first place from certain scriptural passages, such as 'space sprang from the Self.'—To those, again, who (like the Bauddhas) disagree with us as to the authoritativeness of Scripture we point out that the real existence of space is to be inferred from the quality of sound, since we observe that earth and other real things are the abodes of smell and the other qualities.—Moreover, if you declare that space is nothing but the absence in general of any covering (occupying) body, it would follow that while one bird is flying—whereby space is occupied—there would be no room for a second bird wanting to fly at the same time. And if you should reply that the second bird may fly there where there is absence of a covering body, we point out that that something by which the absence of covering bodies is distinguished must be a positive entity, viz. space in our sense, and not the mere non-existence of covering bodies¹.—Moreover, the Bauddha places himself, by his view of space, in opposition to other parts of his system. For we find, in the Bauddha Scriptures, a series of questions and answers (beginning, 'On what, O reverend Sir, is the earth founded?'), in which the following

¹ What does enable us to declare that there is āvaranābhāva in one place and not in another? Space; which therefore is something real.

question occurs, 'On what is the air founded?' to which it is replied that the air is founded on space (ether). Now it is clear that this statement is appropriate only on the supposition of space being a positive entity, not a mere negation.—Further, there is a self-contradiction in the Bauddha statements regarding all the three kinds of negative entities, it being said, on the one hand, that they are not positively definable, and, on the other hand, that they are eternal. Of what is not real neither eternity nor non-eternity can be predicated, since the distinction of subjects and predicates of attribution is founded entirely on real things. Anything with regard to which that distinction holds good we conclude to be a real thing, such as jars and the like are, not a mere undefinable negation.

25. And on account of remembrance.

The philosopher who maintains that all things are momentary only would have to extend that doctrine to the perceiving person (*upalabdhrî*) also; that is, however, not possible, on account of the remembrance which is consequent on the original perception. That remembrance can take place only if it belongs to the same person who previously made the perception; for we observe that what one man has experienced is not remembered by another man. How, indeed, could there arise the conscious state expressed in the sentences, 'I saw that thing, and now I see this thing,' if the seeing person were not in both cases the same? That the consciousness of recognition takes place only in the case of the observing and remembering subject being one, is a matter known to every one; for if there were, in the two cases, different subjects, the state of consciousness arising in the mind of the remembering person would be, 'I remember; another person made the observation.' But no such state of consciousness does arise.—When, on the other hand, such a state of consciousness does arise, then everybody knows that the person who made the original observation, and the person who remembers, are different persons, and then the state of consciousness is expressed as follows, 'I remember that that other person saw that and that.'—

In the case under discussion, however, the Vaināsika himself—whose state of consciousness is, 'I saw that and that'—knows that there is one thinking subject only to which the original perception as well as the remembrance belongs, and does not think of denying that the past perception belonged to himself, not any more than he denies that fire is hot and gives light.

As thus one agent is connected with the two moments of perception and subsequent remembrance, the Vaināsika has necessarily to abandon the doctrine of universal momentariness. And if he further recognises all his subsequent successive cognitions, up to his last breath, to belong to one and the same subject, and in addition cannot but attribute all his past cognitions, from the moment of his birth, to the same Self, how can he maintain, without being ashamed of himself, that everything has a momentary existence only? Should he maintain that the recognition (of the subject as one and the same) takes place on account of the similarity (of the different self-cognitions; each, however, being momentary only), we reply that the cognition of similarity is based on two things, and that for that reason the advocate of universal momentariness who denies the existence of one (permanent) subject able mentally to grasp the two similar things simply talks deceitful nonsense when asserting that recognition is founded on similarity. Should he admit, on the other hand, that there is one mind grasping the similarity of two successive momentary existences, he would thereby admit that one entity endures for two moments and thus contradict the tenet of universal momentariness.—Should it be said that the cognition 'this is similar to that' is a different (new) cognition, not dependent on the apperception of the earlier and later momentary existences, we refute this by the remark that the fact of different terms—viz. 'this' and 'that'—being used points to the existence of different things (which the mind grasps in a judgment of similarity). If the mental act of which similarity is the object were an altogether new act (not concerned with the two separate similar entities), the expression 'this is similar to that'

would be devoid of meaning ; we should in that case rather speak of 'similarity' only.—Whenever (to add a general reflexion) something perfectly well known from ordinary experience is not admitted by philosophers, they may indeed establish their own view and demolish the contrary opinion by means of words, but they thereby neither convince others nor even themselves. Whatever has been ascertained to be such and such must also be represented as such and such ; attempts to represent it as something else prove nothing but the vain talkativeness of those who make those attempts. Nor can the hypothesis of mere similarity being cognised account for ordinary empirical life and thought ; for (in recognising a thing) we are conscious of it being that which we were formerly conscious of, not of it being merely similar to that. We admit that sometimes with regard to an external thing a doubt may arise whether it is that or merely is similar to that ; for mistakes may be made concerning what lies outside our minds. But the conscious subject never has any doubt whether it is itself or only similar to itself ; it rather is distinctly conscious that it is one and the same subject which yesterday had a certain sensation and to-day remembers that sensation.—For this reason also the doctrine of the Nihilists is to be rejected.

26. (Entity) does not spring from non-entity on account of that not being observed.

The system of the Vaināśikas is objectionable for this reason also that those who deny the existence of permanent stable causes are driven to maintain that entity springs from non-entity. This latter tenet is expressly enunciated by the Bauddhas where they say, 'On account of the manifestation (of effects) not without previous destruction (of the cause).' For, they say, from the decomposed seed only the young plant springs, spoilt milk only turns into curds, and the lump of clay has ceased to be a lump when it becomes a jar. If effects did spring from the unchanged causes, all effects would originate from all causes at once,

as then no specification would be required¹. Hence, as we see that young plants, &c. spring from seeds, &c. only after the latter have been merged in non-existence, we hold that entity springs from non-entity.

To this Bauddha tenet we reply, ('Entity does) not (spring) from non-entity, on account of that not being observed.' If entity did spring from non-entity, the assumption of special causes would be purportless, since non-entity is in all cases one and the same. For the non-existence of seeds and the like after they have been destroyed is of the same kind as the non-existence of horns of hares and the like, i.e. non-existence is in all cases nothing else but the absence of all character of reality, and hence there would be no sense (on the doctrine of origination from non-existence) in assuming that sprouts are produced from seeds only, curds from milk only, and so on. And if non-distinguished non-existence were admitted to have causal efficiency, we should also have to assume that sprouts, &c. originate from the horns of hares, &c.—a thing certainly not actually observed.—If, again, it should be assumed that there are different kinds of non-existence having special distinctions—just as, for instance, blueness and the like are special qualities of lotuses and so on—we point out that in that case the fact of there being such special distinctions would turn the non-entities into entities no less real than lotuses and the like. In no case non-existence would possess causal efficiency, simply because, like the horn of a hare, it is non-existence merely.—Further, if existence sprang from non-existence, all effects would be affected with non-existence; while as a matter of fact they are observed to be merely positive entities distinguished by their various special characteristics. Nor² does any one

¹ If the cause were able, without having undergone any change, to produce effects, it would at the same moment produce all the effects of which it is capable.—Cp. on this point the *Sarvādarsana-samgraha*.

² This is added to obviate the remark that it is not a general rule that effects are of the same nature as their causes, and that therefore, after all, existent things may spring from non-existence.

think that things of the nature of clay, such as pots and the like, are the effects of threads and the like; but everybody knows that things of the nature of clay are the effects of clay only.—The Bauddha's tenet that nothing can become a cause as long as it remains unchanged, but has to that end to undergo destruction, and that thus existence springs from non-existence only is false; for it is observed that only things of permanent nature which are always recognised as what they are, such as gold, &c., are the causes of effects such as golden ornaments, and so on. In those cases where a destruction of the peculiar nature of the cause is observed to take place, as in the case of seeds, for instance, we have to acknowledge as the cause of the subsequent condition (i. e. the sprout) not the earlier condition in so far as it is destroyed, but rather those permanent particles of the seed which are not destroyed (when the seed as a whole undergoes decomposition).—Hence as we see on the one hand that no entities ever originate from non-entities such as the horns of a hare, and on the other hand that entities do originate from entities such as gold and the like, the whole Bauddha doctrine of existence springing from non-existence has to be rejected.—We finally point out that, according to the Bauddhas, all mind and all mental modifications spring from the four skandhas discussed above and all material aggregates from the atoms; why then do they stultify this their own doctrine by the fanciful assumption of entity springing from non-entity and thus needlessly perplex the mind of every one?

27. And thus (on that doctrine) there would be an accomplishment (of ends) in the case of non-active people also.

If it were admitted that entity issues from non-entity, lazy inactive people also would obtain their purposes, since 'non-existence' is a thing to be had without much trouble. Rice would grow for the husbandman even if he did not cultivate his field; vessels would shape themselves even if the potter did not fashion the clay; and the weaver too

lazy to weave the threads into a whole, would nevertheless have in the end finished pieces of cloth just as if he had been weaving. And nobody would have to exert himself in the least either for going to the heavenly world or for obtaining final release. All which of course is absurd and not maintained by anybody.—Thus the doctrine of the origination of entity from non-entity again shows itself to be futile.

28. The non-existence (of external things) cannot be maintained, on account of (our) consciousness (of them).

There having been brought forward, in what precedes, the various objections which lie against the doctrine of the reality of the external world (in the Bauddha sense), such as the impossibility of accounting for the existence of aggregates, &c., we are now confronted by those Bauddhas who maintain that only cognitions (or ideas, *vigñāna*) exist.—The doctrine of the reality of the external world was indeed propounded by Buddha conforming himself to the mental state of some of his disciples whom he perceived to be attached to external things; but it does not represent his own true view according to which cognitions alone are real.

According to this latter doctrine the process, whose constituting members are the act of knowledge, the object of knowledge, and the result of knowledge¹, is an altogether internal one, existing in so far only as it is connected with the mind (*buddhi*). Even if external things existed, that process could not take place but in connexion with the mind. If, the Bauddhas say, you ask how it is known that that entire process is internal and that no outward things exist apart from consciousness, we reply that we base our

¹ According to the *vigñānavādin* the cognition specialised by its various contents, such as, for instance, the idea of blue colour is the object of knowledge; the cognition in so far as it is consciousness (*avabhāsa*) is the result of knowledge; the cognition in so far as it is power is *māna*, knowledge; in so far as it is the abode of that power it is *pramātra*, knowing subject.

doctrine on the impossibility of external things. For if external things are admitted, they must be either atoms or aggregates of atoms such as posts and the like. But atoms cannot be comprehended under the ideas of posts and the like, it being impossible for cognition to represent (things as minute as) atoms. Nor, again, can the outward things be aggregates of atoms such as pillars and the like, because those aggregates can neither be defined as different nor as non-different from the atoms¹.—In the same way we can show that the external things are not universals and so on².

Moreover, the cognitions—which are of a uniform nature only in so far as they are states of consciousness—undergo, according to their objects, successive modifications, so that there is presented to the mind now the idea of a post, now the idea of a wall, now the idea of a jar, and so on. Now this is not possible without some distinction on the part of the ideas themselves, and hence we must necessarily admit that the ideas have the same forms as their objects. But if we make this admission, from which it follows that the form of the objects is determined by the ideas, the hypothesis of the existence of external things becomes altogether gratuitous. From the fact, moreover, of our always being conscious of the act of knowledge and the object of knowledge simultaneously it follows that the two are in reality identical. When we are conscious of the one we are conscious of the other also ; and that would not happen if the two were essentially distinct, as in that case there would be nothing to prevent our being conscious of one apart from the other. For this reason also we maintain that there are no outward things.—

¹ If they are said to be different from the atoms they can no longer be considered as composed of atoms ; if they are non-different from atoms they cannot be the cause of the mental representations of gross non-atomic bodies.

² Avayavāvayavirūpo vāhyo rtho nāsti ken mā bhūḍ gātivyaktyādirūpas tu syād ity āraṅkyāha evam iti. Gātyādinām vyaktyādinām kṛtyantabhinnaṭve svāntaryaprasaṅgād atyantābhinnaṭve tadvadavāṭadbhāvād bhinnābhinnaṭvasya viruddhatvād avayavāvayavibhedavag gātivyaktyādibhedo pi nāstīty arthaḥ.

Perception is to be considered as similar to a dream and the like. The ideas present to our minds during a dream, a magical illusion, a mirage and so on, appear in the twofold form of subject and object, although there is all the while no external object; hence we conclude that the ideas of posts and the like which occur in our waking state are likewise independent of external objects; for they also are simply ideas.—If we be asked how, in the absence of external things, we account for the actual variety of ideas, we reply that that variety is to be explained from the impressions left by previous ideas¹. In the beginningless *samsāra* ideas and mental impressions succeed each other as causes and effects, just as the plant springs from the seed and seeds are again produced from the plant, and there exists therefore a sufficient reason for the variety of ideas actually experienced. That the variety of ideas is solely due to the impressions left on the mind by past ideas follows, moreover, from the following affirmative and negative judgments: we both (the Vedāntins as well as the Bauddhas) admit that in dreams, &c. there presents itself a variety of ideas which arise from mental impressions, without any external object; we (the Bauddhas) do not admit that any variety of ideas can arise from external objects, without mental impressions.—Thus we are again led to conclude that no outward things exist.

To all this we (the Vedāntins) make the following reply.—The non-existence of external things cannot be maintained because we are conscious of external things. In every act of perception we are conscious of some external thing corresponding to the idea, whether it be a post or a wall or a piece of cloth or a jar, and that of which we are conscious cannot but exist. Why should we pay attention to the words of a man who, while conscious of an outward thing through its approximation to his senses, affirms that he is conscious of no outward thing, and that no such thing exists,

¹ Vāsanâ, above translated by mental impression, strictly means any member of the infinite series of ideas which precedes the present actual idea.

any more than we listen to a man who while he is eating and experiencing the feeling of satisfaction avers that he does not eat and does not feel satisfied?—If the Bauddha should reply that he does not affirm that he is conscious of no object but only that he is conscious of no object apart from the act of consciousness, we answer that he may indeed make any arbitrary statement he likes, but that he has no arguments to prove what he says. That the outward thing exists apart from consciousness, has necessarily to be accepted on the ground of the nature of consciousness itself. Nobody when perceiving a post or a wall is conscious of his perception only, but all men are conscious of posts and walls and the like as objects of their perceptions. That such is the consciousness of all men, appears also from the fact that even those who contest the existence of external things bear witness to their existence when they say that what is an internal object of cognition appears like something external. For they practically accept the general consciousness, which testifies to the existence of an external world, and being at the same time anxious to refute it they speak of the external things as ‘like something external.’ If they did not themselves at the bottom acknowledge the existence of the external world, how could they use the expression ‘like something external?’ No one says, ‘Vishnumitra appears like the son of a barren mother.’ If we accept the truth as it is given to us in our consciousness, we must admit that the object of perception appears to us as something external, not like something external.—But—the Bauddha may reply—we conclude that the object of perception is only like something external because external things are impossible.—This conclusion we rejoin is improper, since the possibility or impossibility of things is to be determined only on the ground of the operation or non-operation of the means of right knowledge; while on the other hand, the operation and non-operation of the means of right knowledge are not to be made dependent on preconceived possibilities or impossibilities. Possible is whatever is apprehended by perception or some other means of proof; impossible is what is not so apprehended. Now the external things are,

according to their nature, apprehended by all the instruments of knowledge ; how then can you maintain that they are not possible, on the ground of such idle dilemmas as that about their difference or non-difference from atoms?—Nor, again, does the non-existence of objects follow from the fact of the ideas having the same form as the objects ; for if there were no objects the ideas could not have the forms of the objects, and the objects are actually apprehended as external.—For the same reason (i. e. because the distinction of thing and idea is given in consciousness) the invariable concomitance of idea and thing has to be considered as proving only that the thing constitutes the means of the idea, not that the two are identical. Moreover, when we are conscious first of a pot and then of a piece of cloth, consciousness remains the same in the two acts while what varies are merely the distinctive attributes of consciousness ; just as when we see at first a black and then a white cow, the distinction of the two perceptions is due to the varying blackness and whiteness while the generic character of the cow remains the same. The difference of the one permanent factor (from the two—or more—varying factors) is proved throughout by the two varying factors, and vice versâ the difference of the latter (from the permanent factor) by the presence of the one (permanent factor). Therefore thing and idea are distinct. The same view is to be held with regard to the perception and the remembrance of a jar ; there also the perception and the remembrance only are distinct while the jar is one and the same ; in the same way as when conscious of the smell of milk and the taste of milk we are conscious of the smell and taste as different things but of the milk itself as one only.

Further, two ideas which occupy different moments of time and pass away as soon as they have become objects of consciousness cannot apprehend—or be apprehended by—each other. From this it follows that certain doctrines forming part of the Bauddha system cannot be upheld ; so the doctrine that ideas are different from each other ; the doctrine that everything is momentary, void, &c. ; the doctrine of the distinction of individuals and classes ; the

doctrine that a former idea leaves an impression giving rise to a later idea; the doctrine of the distinction, owing to the influence of Nescience, of the attributes of existence and non-existence; the doctrine of bondage and release (depending on absence and presence of right knowledge)¹.

Further, if you say that we are conscious of the idea, you must admit that we are also conscious of the external thing. And if you rejoin that we are conscious of the idea on its own account because it is of a luminous nature like a lamp, while the external thing is not so; we reply that by maintaining the idea to be illuminated by itself you make yourself guilty of an absurdity no less than if you said that fire burns itself. And at the same time you refuse to accept the common and altogether rational opinion that we are conscious of the external thing by means of the idea different from the thing! Indeed a proof of extraordinary philosophic insight!—It cannot, moreover, be asserted in any way that the idea apart from the thing is the object of our consciousness; for it is absurd to speak of a thing as the object of its own activity. Possibly you (the Bauddha) will rejoin that, if the idea is to be apprehended by something different from it, that something also must be apprehended by something different and so on *ad infinitum*. And, moreover, you will perhaps object that as each cognition is of an essentially illuminating nature like a lamp, the assumption of a further cognition is uncalled for; for as they are both equally illuminating the one cannot give light to the other.—But both these objections are unfounded. As the idea only is apprehended, and there is consequently no necessity to assume something to apprehend the Self which witnesses the idea (is conscious of the idea), there results no *regressus ad infinitum*. And the witnessing Self and the idea are of an essentially different nature, and may therefore stand to each other in the relation of knowing subject and object known. The existence of the witness-

¹ For all these doctrines depend on the comparison of ideas which is not possible unless there be a permanent knowing subject in addition to the transitory ideas.

ing Self is self-proved and cannot therefore be denied.—Moreover, if you maintain that the idea, lamplike, manifests itself without standing in need of a further principle to illuminate it, you maintain thereby that ideas exist which are not apprehended by any of the means of knowledge, and which are without a knowing being; which is no better than to assert that a thousand lamps burning inside some impenetrable mass of rocks manifest themselves. And if you should maintain that thereby we admit your doctrine, since it follows from what we have said that the idea itself implies consciousness; we reply that, as observation shows, the lamp in order to become manifest requires some other intellectual agent furnished with instruments such as the eye, and that therefore the idea also, as equally being a thing to be illuminated, becomes manifest only through an ulterior intelligent principle. And if you finally object that we, when advancing the witnessing Self as self-proved, merely express in other words the Bauddha tenet that the idea is self-manifested, we refute you by remarking that your ideas have the attributes of originating, passing away, being manifold, and so on (while our Self is one and permanent).—We thus have proved that an idea, like a lamp, requires an ulterior intelligent principle to render it manifest.

29. And on account of their difference of nature (the ideas of the waking state) are not like those of a dream.

We now apply ourselves to the refutation of the averment made by the Bauddha, that the ideas of posts, and so on, of which we are conscious in the waking state, may arise in the absence of external objects, just as the ideas of a dream, both being ideas alike.—The two sets of ideas, we maintain, cannot be treated on the same footing, on account of the difference of their character. They differ as follows.—The things of which we are conscious in a dream are negated by our waking consciousness. ‘I wrongly thought that I had a meeting with a great man; no such meeting took place, but my mind was dulled by slumber, and so the

false idea arose.' In an analogous manner the things of which we are conscious when under the influence of a magic illusion, and the like, are negated by our ordinary consciousness. Those things, on the other hand, of which we are conscious in our waking state, such as posts and the like, are never negated in any state.—Moreover, the visions of a dream are acts of remembrance, while the visions of the waking state are acts of immediate consciousness; and the distinction between remembrance and immediate consciousness is directly cognised by every one as being founded on the absence or presence of the object. When, for instance, a man remembers his absent son, he does not directly perceive him, but merely wishes so to perceive him. As thus the distinction between the two states is evident to every one, it is impossible to formulate the inference that waking consciousness is false because it is mere consciousness, such as dreaming consciousness; for we certainly cannot allow would-be philosophers to deny the truth of what is directly evident to themselves. Just because they feel the absurdity of denying what is evident to themselves, and are consequently unable to demonstrate the baselessness of the ideas of the waking state from those ideas themselves, they attempt to demonstrate it from their having certain attributes in common with the ideas of the dreaming state. But if some attribute cannot belong to a thing on account of the latter's own nature, it cannot belong to it on account of the thing having certain attributes in common with some other thing. Fire, which is felt to be hot, cannot be demonstrated to be cold, on the ground of its having attributes in common with water. And the difference of nature between the waking and the sleeping state we have already shown.

30. The existence (of mental impressions) is not possible (on the Baudhdha view) on account of the absence of perception (of external things).

We now proceed to that theory of yours, according to which the variety of ideas can be explained from the

variety of mental impressions, without any reference to external things, and remark that on your doctrine the existence of mental impressions is impossible, as you do not admit the perception of external things. For the variety of mental impressions is caused altogether by the variety of the things perceived. How, indeed, could various impressions originate if no external things were perceived? The hypothesis of a beginningless series of mental impressions would lead only to a baseless regressus ad infinitum, sublative of the entire phenomenal world, and would in no way establish your position.—The same argument, i. e. the one founded on the impossibility of mental impressions which are not caused by external things, refutes also the positive and negative judgments, on the ground of which the denier of an external world above attempted to show that ideas are caused by mental impressions, not by external things. We rather have on our side a positive and a negative judgment whereby to establish our doctrine of the existence of external things, viz. ‘the perception of external things is admitted to take place also without mental impressions,’ and ‘mental impressions are not admitted to originate independently of the perception of external things.’—Moreover, an impression is a kind of modification, and modifications cannot, as experience teaches, take place unless there is some substratum which is modified. But, according to your doctrine, such a substratum of impressions does not exist, since you say that it cannot be cognised through any means of knowledge.

31. And on account of the momentariness (of the ālayavigñāna, it cannot be the abode of mental impressions).

If you maintain that the so-called internal cognition (ālayavigñāna¹) assumed by you may constitute the abode

¹ The vigñānaskandha comprises vigñānas of two different kinds, the ālayavigñāna and the pravṛttivigñāna. The ālayavigñāna comprises the series of cognitions or ideas which refer to the ego; the pravṛttivigñāna comprises those ideas which refer to apparently external objects, such as colour and the like. The ideas of the

of the mental impressions, we deny that, because that cognition also being admittedly momentary, and hence non-permanent, cannot be the abode of impressions any more than the quasi-external cognitions (*pravṛtti-vigñāna*). For unless there exists one continuous principle equally connected with the past, the present, and the future¹, or an absolutely unchangeable (Self) which cognises everything, we are unable to account for remembrance, recognition, and so on, which are subject to mental impressions dependent on place, time, and cause. If, on the other hand, you declare your *ālayavigñāna* to be something permanent, you thereby abandon your tenet of the *ālayavigñāna* as well as everything else being momentary.—Or (to explain the Sūtra in a different way) as the tenet of general momentariness is characteristic of the systems of the idealistic as well as the realistic Bauddhas, we may bring forward against the doctrines of the former all those arguments dependent on the principle of general momentariness which we have above urged against the latter.

We have thus refuted both nihilistic doctrines, viz. the doctrine which maintains the (momentary) reality of the external world, and the doctrine which asserts that ideas only exist. The third variety of Bauddha doctrine, viz. that everything is empty (i. e. that absolutely nothing exists), is contradicted by all means of right knowledge, and therefore requires no special refutation. For this apparent world, whose existence is guaranteed by all the means of knowledge, cannot be denied, unless some one should find out some new truth (based on which he could impugn its existence)—for a general principle is proved by the absence of contrary instances.

32. And on account of its general deficiency in probability.

No further special discussion is in fact required. From

latter class are due to the mental impressions left by the antecedent ideas of the former class.

¹ Viz. in the present case the principle that what presents itself to consciousness is not non-existent.

whatever new points of view the Bauddha system is tested with reference to its probability, it gives way on all sides, like the walls of a well dug in sandy soil. It has, in fact, no foundation whatever to rest upon, and hence the attempts to use it as a guide in the practical concerns of life are mere folly. —Moreover, Buddha by propounding the three mutually contradictory systems, teaching respectively the reality of the external world, the reality of ideas only, and general nothingness, has himself made it clear either that he was a man given to make incoherent assertions, or else that hatred of all beings induced him to propound absurd doctrines by accepting which they would become thoroughly confused.—So that—and this the Sūtra means to indicate—Buddha's doctrine has to be entirely disregarded by all those who have a regard for their own happiness.

33. On account of the impossibility (of contradictory attributes) in one thing, (the *Gaina* doctrine is) not (to be accepted).

Having disposed of the Bauddha doctrine we now turn to the system of the Gymnosophists (*Gainas*).

The *Gainas* acknowledge seven categories (*tattvas*), viz. soul (*gīva*), non-soul (*agīva*), the issuing outward (*âsrava*), restraint (*saṃvara*), destruction (*nirgara*), bondage (*bandha*), and release (*moksha*)¹. Shortly it may be said that they acknowledge two categories, viz. soul and non-soul, since the five other categories may be subsumed under these two. —They also set forth a set of categories different from the two mentioned. They teach that there are five so-called

¹ Soul and non-soul are the enjoying souls and the objects of their enjoyment; *âsrava* is the forward movement of the senses towards their objects; *saṃvara* is the restraint of the activity of the senses; *nirgara* is self-mortification by which sin is destroyed; the works constitute bondage; and release is the ascending of the soul, after bondage has ceased, to the highest regions.—For the details, see Professor Cowell's translation of the *Ârhatta* chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*.

astikāyas ('existing bodies,' i.e. categories), viz. the categories of soul (*gîva*), body (*pudgala*), merit (*dharma*), demerit (*adharma*), and space (*ākāśa*). All these categories they again subdivide in various fanciful ways¹.—To all things they apply the following method of reasoning, which they call the *saptabhaṅgīnaya*: somehow it is; somehow it is not; somehow it is and is not; somehow it is indescribable; somehow it is and is indescribable; somehow it is not and is indescribable; somehow it is and is not and is indescribable.

To this unsettling style of reasoning they submit even such conceptions as that of unity and eternity².

This doctrine we meet as follows.—Your reasoning, we say, is inadmissible 'on account of the impossibility in one thing.' That is to say, it is impossible that contradictory attributes such as being and non-being should at the same time belong to one and the same thing; just as observation teaches us that a thing cannot be hot and cold at the same moment. The seven categories asserted by you must either be so many and such or not be so many and such; the third alternative expressed in the words 'they either are such or not such' results in a cognition of indefinite nature which is no more a source of true knowledge than doubt is. If you should plead that the cognition that a thing is of more than one nature is definite and therefore a source of true knowledge, we deny this. For the unlimited assertion that all things are of a non-exclusive nature is itself something, falls as such under the alternative predications 'somehow it is,' 'somehow it is not,' and so ceases to be a definite assertion. The same happens to the person making the assertion and to the result of the assertion; partly they are, partly they are not. As thus the means of knowledge, the object of knowledge, the knowing subject, and the act of knowledge are all alike indefinite, how can the Tīrthakara (*Gina*) teach with any claim to authority, and how can his followers act on a doctrine the matter of which is altogether

¹ Cp. translation of *Sarvadarsanasamgraha*, p. 59.

² And so impugn the doctrine of the one eternal Brahman.

indeterminate? Observation shows that only when a course of action is known to have a definite result people set about it without hesitation. Hence a man who proclaims a doctrine of altogether indefinite contents does not deserve to be listened to any more than a drunken man or a madman.—Again, if we apply the *Gaina* reasoning to their doctrine of the five categories, we have to say that on one view of the matter they are five and on another view they are not five; from which latter point of view it follows that they are either fewer or more than five. Nor is it logical to declare the categories to be indescribable. For if they are so, they cannot be described; but, as a matter of fact, they are described so that to call them indescribable involves a contradiction. And if you go on to say that the categories on being described are ascertained to be such and such, and at the same time are not ascertained to be such and such, and that the result of their being ascertained is perfect knowledge or is not perfect knowledge, and that imperfect knowledge is the opposite of perfect knowledge or is not the opposite; you certainly talk more like a drunken or insane man than like a sober, trustworthy person.—If you further maintain that the heavenly world and final release exist or do not exist and are eternal or non-eternal, the absence of all determinate knowledge which is implied in such statements will result in nobody's acting for the purpose of gaining the heavenly world and final release. And, moreover, it follows from your doctrine that soul, non-soul, and so on, whose nature you claim to have ascertained, and which you describe as having existed from all eternity, relapse all at once into the condition of absolute indetermination.—As therefore the two contradictory attributes of being and non-being cannot belong to any of the categories—being excluding non-being and vice versâ non-being excluding being—the doctrine of the *Arhat* must be rejected.—The above remarks dispose likewise of the assertions made by the *Gainas* as to the impossibility of deciding whether of one thing there is to be predicated oneness or plurality, permanency or non-permanency, separateness or non-separateness, and so on.—The *Gaina* doctrine that

aggregates are formed from the atoms—by them called pudgalas—we do not undertake to refute separately as its refutation is already comprised in that of the atomistic doctrine given in a previous part of this work.

34. And likewise (there results from the *Gaina* doctrine) non-universality of the Self.

We have hitherto urged against the *Gaina* doctrine an objection resulting from the *syādvāda*, viz. that one thing cannot have contradictory attributes. We now turn to the objection that from their doctrine it would follow that the individual Self is not universal, i.e. not omnipresent.—The *Gainas* are of opinion that the soul has the same size as the body. From this it would follow that the soul is not of infinite extension, but limited, and hence non-eternal like jars and similar things. Further, as the bodies of different classes of creatures are of different size, it might happen that the soul of a man—which is of the size of the human body—when entering, in consequence of its former deeds, on a new state of existence in the body of an elephant would not be able to fill the whole of it; or else that a human soul being relegated to the body of an ant would not be able to find sufficient room in it. The same difficulty would, moreover, arise with regard to the successive stages of one state of existence, infancy, youth, and old age.—But why, the *Gaina* may ask, should we not look upon the soul as consisting of an infinite number of parts capable of undergoing compression in a small body and dilatation in a big one?—Do you, we ask in return, admit or not admit that those countless particles of the soul may occupy the same place or not?—If you do not admit it, it follows that the infinite number of particles cannot be contained in a body of limited dimensions.—If you do admit it, it follows that, as then the space occupied by all the particles may be the space of one particle only, the extension of all the particles together will remain inconsiderable, and hence the soul be of minute size (not of the size of the body). You have, moreover, no right to assume that a body

of limited size contains an infinite number of soul particles.

Well then, the *Gaina* may reply, let us assume that by turns whenever the soul enters a big body some particles accede to it while some withdraw from it whenever it enters a small body.—To this hypothesis the next Sūtra furnishes a reply.

35. Nor is non-contradiction to be derived from the succession (of parts acceding to and departing from the soul), on account of the change, &c. (of the soul).

Nor can the doctrine of the soul having the same size as the body be satisfactorily established by means of the hypothesis of the successive accession and withdrawal of particles. For this hypothesis would involve the soul's undergoing changes and the like. If the soul is continually being repleted and depleted by the successive addition and withdrawal of parts, it of course follows that it undergoes change, and if it is liable to change it follows that it is non-permanent, like the skin and similar substances. From that, again, it follows that the *Gaina* doctrine of bondage and release is untenable; according to which doctrine 'the soul, which in the state of bondage is encompassed by the ogdoad of works and sunk in the ocean of *samsāra*, rises when its bonds are sundered, as the gourd rises to the surface of the water when it is freed from the encumbering clay¹.—Moreover, those particles which in turns come and depart have the attributes of coming and going, and cannot, on that account, be of the nature of the Self any more than the body is. And if it be said that the Self consists of some permanently remaining parts, we remark that it would be impossible to determine which are the permanent and which the temporary parts.—We have further to ask from whence those particles originate when they accede to the soul, and into what they are merged when they detach themselves from it. They cannot spring from the material elements

¹ Cp. *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* translation, p. 58.

and re-enter the elements ; for the soul is immaterial. Nor have we any means to prove the existence of some other, general or special, reservoir of soul-particles.—Moreover, on the hypothesis under discussion the soul would be of indefinite nature, as the size of the particles acceding and departing is itself indefinite.—On account of all these and similar difficulties it cannot be maintained that certain particles by turns attach themselves to, and detach themselves from, the soul.

The Sûtra may be taken in a different sense also. The preceding Sûtra has proved that the soul if of the same size as the body cannot be permanent, as its entering into bigger and smaller bodies involves its limitation. To this the Gymnosophist may be supposed to rejoin that although the soul's size successively changes it may yet be permanent, just as the stream of water is permanent (although the water continually changes). An analogous instance would be supplied by the permanency of the stream of ideas while the individual ideas, as that of a red cloth and so on, are non-permanent.—To this rejoinder our Sûtra replies that if the stream is not real we are led back to the doctrine of a general void, and that, if it is something real, the difficulties connected with the soul's changing, &c. present themselves and render the *Gaina* view impossible.

36. And on account of the permanency of the final (size of the soul) and the resulting permanency of the two (preceding sizes) there is no difference (of size, at any time).

Moreover, the *Gainas* themselves admit the permanency of the final size of the soul which it has in the state of release. From this it follows also that its initial size and its intervening sizes must be permanent¹, and that hence

¹ The inference being that the initial and intervening sizes of the soul must be permanent because they are sizes of the soul, like its final size.

there is no difference between the three sizes. But this would involve the conclusion that the different bodies of the soul have one and the same size, and that the soul cannot enter into bigger and smaller bodies.—Or else (to explain the Sūtra in a somewhat different way) from the fact that the final size of the soul is permanent, it follows that its size in the two previous conditions also is permanent. Hence the soul must be considered as being always of the same size—whether minute or infinite—and not of the varying size of its bodies.—For this reason also the doctrine of the Arhat has to be set aside as not in any way more rational than the doctrine of Buddha.

37. The Lord (cannot be the cause of the world), on account of the inappropriateness (of that doctrine).

The Sūtrakāra now applies himself to the refutation of that doctrine, according to which the Lord is the cause of the world only in so far as he is the general ruler.—But how do you know that that is the purport of the Sūtra (which speaks of the Lord ‘without any qualification’)?—From the circumstance, we reply, that the teacher himself has proved, in the previous sections of the work, that the Lord is the material cause as well as the ruler of the world. Hence, if the present Sūtra were meant to impugn the doctrine of the Lord in general, the earlier and later parts of the work would be mutually contradictory, and the Sūtrakāra would thus be in conflict with himself. We therefore must assume that the purport of the present Sūtra is to make an energetic attack on the doctrine of those who maintain that the Lord is not the material cause, but merely the ruler, i.e. the operative cause of the world; a doctrine entirely opposed to the Vedāntic tenet of the unity of Brahman.

The theories about the Lord which are independent of the Vedānta are of various nature. Some taking their stand on the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems assume that the Lord acts as a mere operative cause, as the ruler of the

pradhāna and of the souls, and that pradhāna, soul, and Lord are of mutually different nature.—The Māhesvaras (Saivas) maintain that the five categories, viz. effect, cause, union, ritual, the end of pain, were taught by the Lord Paśupati (Siva) to the end of breaking the bonds of the animal (i.e. the soul); Paśupati is, according to them, the Lord, the operative cause.—Similarly, the Vaiśeṣikas and others also teach, according to their various systems, that the Lord is somehow the operative cause of the world.

Against all these opinions the Sūtra remarks 'the Lord, on account of the inappropriateness.' I.e. it is not possible that the Lord as the ruler of the pradhāna and the soul should be the cause of the world, on account of the inappropriateness of that doctrine. For if the Lord is supposed to assign to the various classes of animate creatures low, intermediate, and high positions, according to his liking, it follows that he is animated by hatred, passion, and so on, is hence like one of us, and is no real Lord. Nor can we get over this difficulty by assuming that he makes his dispositions with a view to the merit and demerit of the living beings; for that assumption would lead us to a logical see-saw, the Lord as well as the works of living beings having to be considered in turns both as acting and as acted upon. This difficulty is not removed by the consideration that the works of living beings and the resulting dispositions made by the Lord form a chain which has no beginning; for in past time as well as in the present mutual interdependence of the two took place, so that the beginningless series is like an endless chain of blind men leading other blind men. It is, moreover, a tenet set forth by the Naiyāyikas themselves that 'imperfections have the characteristic of being the causes of action' (Nyāya Sūtra I, 1, 18). Experience shows that all agents, whether they be active for their own purposes or for the purposes of something else, are impelled to action by some imperfection. And even if it is admitted that an agent even when acting for some extrinsic purpose is impelled by an intrinsic motive, your doctrine remains faulty all the same; for the

Lord is no longer a Lord, even if he is actuated by intrinsic motives only (such as the desire of removing the painful feeling connected with pity).—Your doctrine is finally inappropriate for that reason also that you maintain the Lord to be a special kind of soul ; for from that it follows that he must be devoid of all activity.

38. And on account of the impossibility of the connexion (of the Lord with the souls and the pradhâna).

Against the doctrine which we are at present discussing there lies the further objection that a Lord distinct from the pradhâna and the souls cannot be the ruler of the latter without being connected with them in a certain way. But of what nature is that connexion to be ? It cannot be conjunction (*samyoga*), because the Lord, as well as the pradhâna and the souls, is of infinite extent and devoid of parts. Nor can it be inherence, since it would be impossible to define who should be the abode and who the abiding thing. Nor is it possible to assume some other connexion, the special nature of which would have to be inferred from the effect, because the relation of cause and effect is just what is not settled as yet¹.—How, then, it may be asked, do you—the Vedântins—establish the relation of cause and effect (between the Lord and the world) ?—There is, we reply, no difficulty in our case, as the connexion we assume is that of identity (*tâdâtmya*). The adherent of Brahman, moreover, defines the nature of the cause, and so on, on the basis of Scripture, and is therefore not obliged to render his tenets throughout conformable to observation. Our adversary, on the other hand, who defines the nature of the cause and the like according to instances furnished by experience,

¹ The special nature of the connexion between the Lord and the pradhâna and the souls cannot be ascertained from the world considered as the effect of the pradhâna acted upon by the Lord ; for that the world is the effect of the pradhâna is a point which the Vedântins do not accept as proved.

may be expected to maintain only such doctrines as agree with experience. Nor can he put forward the claim that Scripture, because it is the production of the omniscient Lord, may be used to confirm his doctrine as well as that of the Vedântin; for that would involve him in a logical see-saw, the omniscience of the Lord being established on the doctrine of Scripture, and the authority of Scripture again being established on the omniscience of the Lord.—For all these reasons the Sâṅkhya-yoga hypothesis about the Lord is devoid of foundation. Other similar hypotheses which likewise are not based on the Veda are to be refuted by corresponding arguments.

39. And on account of the impossibility of rulership (on the part of the Lord).

The Lord of the argumentative philosophers is an untenable hypothesis, for the following reason also.—Those philosophers are obliged to assume that by his influence the Lord produces action in the *pradhâna*, &c. just as the potter produces motion in the clay, &c. But this cannot be admitted; for the *pradhâna*, which is devoid of colour and other qualities, and therefore not an object of perception, is on that account of an altogether different nature from clay and the like, and hence cannot be looked upon as the object of the Lord's action.

40. If you say that as the organs (are ruled by the soul so the *pradhâna* is ruled by the Lord), we deny that on account of the enjoyment, &c.

Well, the opponent might reply, let us suppose that the Lord rules the *pradhâna* in the same way as the soul rules the organ of sight and the other organs which are devoid of colour, and so on, and hence not objects of perception.

This analogy also, we reply, proves nothing. For we infer that the organs are ruled by the soul, from the observed fact that the soul feels pleasure, pain, and the like (which affect the soul through the organs). But we do not observe that the Lord experiences pleasure, pain, &c. caused

by the pradhāna. If the analogy between the pradhāna and the bodily organs were a complete one, it would follow that the Lord is affected by pleasure and pain no less than the transmigrating souls are.

Or else the two preceding Sūtras may be explained in a different way. Ordinary experience teaches us that kings, who are the rulers of countries, are never without some material abode, i.e. a body; hence, if we wish to infer the existence of a general Lord from the analogy of earthly rulers, we must ascribe to him also some kind of body to serve as the substratum of his organs. But such a body cannot be ascribed to the Lord, since all bodies exist only subsequently to the creation, not previously to it. The Lord, therefore, is not able to act because devoid of a material substratum; for experience teaches us that action requires a material substrate.—Let us then arbitrarily assume that the Lord possesses some kind of body serving as a substratum for his organs (even previously to creation).—This assumption also will not do; for if the Lord has a body he is subject to the sensations of ordinary transmigratory souls, and thus no longer is the Lord.

41. And (there would follow from that doctrine) either finite duration or absence of omniscience (on the Lord's part).

The hypothesis of the argumentative philosophers is invalid, for the following reason also.—They teach that the Lord is omniscient and of infinite duration, and likewise that the pradhāna, as well as the individual souls, is of infinite duration. Now, the omniscient Lord either defines the measure of the pradhāna, the souls, and himself, or does not define it. Both alternatives subvert the doctrine under discussion. For, on the former alternative, the pradhāna, the souls, and the Lord, being all of them of definite measure, must necessarily be of finite duration; since ordinary experience teaches that all things of definite extent, such as jars and the like, at some time cease to exist. The numerical measure of pradhāna, souls, and Lord is

defined by their constituting a triad, and the individual measure of each of them must likewise be considered as defined by the Lord (because he is omniscient). The number of the souls is a high one¹. From among this limited number of souls some obtain release from the *samsāra*, that means their *samsāra* comes to an end, and their subjection to the *samsāra* comes to an end. Gradually all souls obtain release, and so there will finally be an end of the entire *samsāra* and the *samsāra* state of all souls. But the *pradhāna* which is ruled by the Lord and which modifies itself for the purposes of the soul is what is meant by *samsāra*. Hence, when the latter no longer exists, nothing is left for the Lord to rule, and his omniscience and ruling power have no longer any objects. But if the *pradhāna*, the souls, and the Lord, all have an end, it follows that they also have a beginning, and if they have a beginning as well as an end, we are driven to the doctrine of a general void.—Let us then, in order to avoid these untoward conclusions, maintain the second alternative, i. e. that the measure of the Lord himself, the *pradhāna*, and the souls, is not defined by the Lord.—But that also is impossible, because it would compel us to abandon a tenet granted at the outset, viz. that the Lord is omniscient.

For all these reasons the doctrine of the argumentative philosophers, according to which the Lord is the operative cause of the world, appears unacceptable.

42. On account of the impossibility of the origination (of the individual soul from the highest Lord, the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas cannot be accepted).

We have, in what precedes, refuted the opinion of those who think that the Lord is not the material cause but only the ruler, the operative cause of the world. We are now

¹ I.e. a high one, but not an indefinite one; since the omniscient Lord knows its measure.

going to refute the doctrine of those according to whom he is the material as well as the operative cause.—But, it may be objected, in the previous portions of the present work a Lord of exactly the same nature, i.e. a Lord who is the material, as well as the operative, cause of the world, has been ascertained on the basis of Scripture, and it is a recognised principle that *Smṛiti*, in so far as it agrees with Scripture, is authoritative; why then should we aim at controverting the doctrine stated?—It is true, we reply, that a part of the system which we are going to discuss agrees with the Vedānta system, and hence affords no matter for controversy; another part of the system, however, is open to objection, and that part we intend to attack.

The so-called Bhāgavatas are of opinion that the one holy (bhagavat) Vāsudeva, whose nature is pure knowledge, is what really exists, and that he, dividing himself fourfold, appears in four forms (*vyūha*), as Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. Vāsudeva denotes the highest Self, Saṅkarṣaṇa the individual soul, Pradyumna the mind (*manas*), Aniruddha the principle of egoity (*ahaṅkāra*). Of these four Vāsudeva constitutes the ultimate causal essence, of which the three others are the effects.—The believer after having worshipped Vāsudeva for a hundred years by means of approach to the temple (*abhiḡamana*), procuring of things to be offered (*upādāna*), oblation (*īgyā*), recitation of prayers, &c. (*svādhyāya*), and devout meditation (*yoga*), passes beyond all affliction and reaches the highest Being.

Concerning this system we remark that we do not intend to controvert the doctrine that Nārāyaṇa, who is higher than the Undeveloped, who is the highest Self, and the Self of all, reveals himself by dividing himself in multiple ways; for various scriptural passages, such as ‘He is one-fold, he is threefold’ (*Kh. Up. VII, 26, 2*), teach us that the highest Self appears in manifold forms. Nor do we mean to object to the inculcation of unceasing concentration of mind on the highest Being which appears in the Bhāgavata doctrine under the forms of reverential approach,

&c. ; for that we are to meditate on the Lord we know full well from *Smṛiti* and Scripture. We, however, must take exception to the doctrine that *Saṅkarshana* springs from *Vāsudeva*, *Pradyumna* from *Saṅkarshana*, *Aniruddha* from *Pradyumna*. It is not possible that from *Vāsudeva*, i.e. the highest Self, there should originate *Saṅkarshana*, i.e. the individual soul ; for if such were the case, there would attach to the soul non-permanency, and all the other imperfections which belong to things originated. And thence release, which consists in reaching the highest Being, could not take place ; for the effect is absorbed only by entering into its cause.—That the soul is not an originated thing, the teacher will prove later on (II, 3, 17). For this reason the *Bhāgavata* hypothesis is unacceptable.

43. And (it is) not (observed that) the instrument is produced from the agent.

The *Bhāgavata* hypothesis is to be rejected for that reason also, that observation never shows us an instrument, such as a hatchet and the like, to spring from an agent such as *Devadatta*, or any other workman. But the *Bhāgavatas* teach that from an agent, viz. the individual soul termed *Saṅkarshana*, there springs its instrument, viz. the internal organ termed *Pradyumna*, and again from this offspring of the agent another instrument, viz. the *ahaṅkāra* termed *Aniruddha*. Such doctrines cannot be settled without observed instances. And we do not meet with any scriptural passage in their favour.

44. Or (if) in consequence of the existence of knowledge, &c. (*Vāsudeva*, &c. be taken as Lords), yet there is non-exclusion of that (i.e. the objection raised in *Sūtra* 42).

Let us then—the *Bhāgavatas* may say—understand by *Saṅkarshana*, and so on, not the individual soul, the mind, &c., but rather Lords, i.e. powerful beings distinguished by all the qualities characteristic of rulers, such as pre-eminence of knowledge and ruling capacity, strength, valour, glory.

All these are Vāsudevas free from faults, without a substratum (not sprung from pradhâna), without any imperfections. Hence the objection urged in Sûtra 42 does not apply.

Even on this interpretation of your doctrine, we reply, the 'non-exclusion of that,' i.e. the non-exclusion of the impossibility of origination, can be established.—Do you, in the first place, mean to say that the four individual Lords, Vāsudeva, and so on, have the same attributes, but do not constitute one and the same Self?—If so, you commit the fault of uselessly assuming more than one Lord, while all the work of the Lord can be done by one. Moreover, you offend thereby against your own principle, according to which there is only one real essence, viz. the holy Vāsudeva.—Or do you perhaps mean to say that from the one highest Being there spring those four forms possessing equal attributes?—In that case the objection urged in Sûtra 42 remains valid. For Saṅkarshana cannot be produced from Vāsudeva, nor Pradyumna from Saṅkarshana, nor Aniruddha from Pradyumna, since (the attributes of all of them being the same) there is no supereminence of any one of them. Observation shows that the relation of cause and effect requires some superiority on the part of the cause—as, for instance, in the case of the clay and the jar (where the cause is more extensive than the effect)—and that without such superiority the relation is simply impossible. But the followers of the Pāñkarâtra do not acknowledge any difference founded on superiority of knowledge, power, &c. between Vāsudeva and the other Lords, but simply say that they all are forms of Vāsudeva, without any special distinctions. The forms of Vāsudeva cannot properly be limited to four, as the whole world, from Brahman down to a blade of grass, is understood to be a manifestation of the supreme Being.

45. And on account of contradictions.

Moreover, manifold contradictions are met with in the Bhāgavata system, with reference to the assumption of qualities and their bearers. Eminence of knowledge and

ruling capacity, strength, valour, and glory are enumerated as qualities, and then they are in some other place spoken of as Selves, holy Vāsudevas, and so on.—Moreover, we meet with passages contradictory of the Veda. The following passage, for instance, blames the Veda, ‘Not having found the highest bliss in the Vedas *Sândilya* studied this *sâstra*.’—For this reason also the Bhâgavata doctrine cannot be accepted.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

| CONSONANTS | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pahlavi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|--|----------------------|------------|-------|-----------|-------------------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | | | | | | | | |
| | | III Class. | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | . . . | . . . | क | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | 𐬕 | k |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | . . . | . . . | ख | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | 𐬖 | kh |
| 3 Media | g | . . . | . . . | ग | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | 𐬗 | . . . |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | . . . | . . . | घ | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | 𐬘 | . . . |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 6 Nasalis | h (ng) | . . . | . . . | ङ | { 𐬙 (ng) } { 𐬚 (n) } | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | . . . | . . . | ह | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | 𐬛 | h, hs |
| 8 " lenis | , | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 9 " asper faucalis | 'h | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | 'h | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 11 " asper fricatus | . . . | 'h | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | . . . | 'h | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | k | . . . | . . . | च | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | 𐬜 | k |
| 14 " aspirata | kh | . . . | . . . | छ | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | 𐬝 | kh |
| 15 Media | g | . . . | . . . | ज | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | 𐬞 | . . . |
| 16 " aspirata | gh | . . . | . . . | झ | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | 𐬟 | . . . |
| 17 " Nasalis | ñ | . . . | . . . | ञ | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | 𐬠 | . . . |

| CONSONANTS (continued). | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | | | य | 𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init. | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | ' | y |
| 19 Spiritus asper | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 20 " lenis | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 21 " asper assibilatus | | s | | श | 𐬯 | 𐬯 | 𐬯 | 𐬯 | | |
| 22 " lenis assibilatus | | z | | | 𐬰 | 𐬰 | 𐬰 | 𐬰 | | z |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | | | त | 𐬥 | 𐬥 | 𐬥 | 𐬥 | ת | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | | | थ | 𐬦 | 𐬦 | 𐬦 | 𐬦 | ת | th |
| 25 " assibilata | | | TH | | | | | | | |
| 26 Media | d | | | द | 𐬧 | 𐬧 | 𐬧 | 𐬧 | | |
| 27 " aspirata | dh | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 " assibilata | | | DH | | | | | | | |
| 29 Nasalis | n | | | न | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | 𐬨 | נ | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | | | | 𐬩 | 𐬩 | 𐬩 | 𐬩 | | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | | l | | | | 𐬩 | 𐬩 | 𐬩 | | |
| 32 " mollis 2 | | | L | | | | | | | |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | | | स | 𐬱 | 𐬱 | 𐬱 | 𐬱 | ש | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | | | S | | | | | | | |
| 35 " lenis | z | | | | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | ז | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | | | z (z) | | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | ז | z |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | | | z (z) | | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | 𐬲 | ז | z |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | o | | | | | | | | | ə |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | œ | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 3 " labialis | ø | | | | | | | | | ... |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | | | अ | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | ا | ا | א | ... |
| 5 " longa | ā | (a) | | आ | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | آ | آ | א | ... |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | | | इ | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | ی | ی | י | ... |
| 7 " longa | ī | (i) | | ई | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | ی | ی | י | ... |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | u | | | उ | | | | | | ... |
| 9 " longa | ū | | | ऊ | | | | | | ... |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ɾi | | | ऋ | | | | | | ... |
| 11 " longa | ri | | | ॠ | | | | | | ... |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | | उ | | | | | | ... |
| 13 " longa | ū | (u) | | ऊ | | | | | | ... |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | | | ए | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | ه | ه | | ... |
| 15 " longa | ē (ai) | (e) | | ऐ | 𐬅 | 𐬅 | ه | ه | | ... |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | ai | (ai) | | ऐ | 𐬅 | 𐬅 | ه | ه | | ... |
| 17 " " | ei (ēi) | | | इ | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | ه | ه | | ... |
| 18 " " | oi (ōu) | | | उ | 𐬇 | 𐬇 | ه | ه | | ... |
| 19 Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | | | ओ | 𐬈 | 𐬈 | و | و | | ... |
| 20 " longa | ō (au) | (o) | | औ | 𐬉 | 𐬉 | و | و | | ... |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | au | (au) | | औ | 𐬉 | 𐬉 | و | و | | ... |
| 22 " " | eu (ēu) | | | इ | 𐬊 | 𐬊 | و | و | | ... |
| 23 " " | ou (ōu) | | | उ | 𐬋 | 𐬋 | و | و | | ... |
| 24 Gutturalis fracta | ä | | | अ | | | | | | ... |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | ī | | | इ | | | | | | ... |
| 26 Labialis fracta | ti | | | उ | | | | | | ... |

